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目 次（電子版）

Research Notes on Materials Development for Content-based Language Learning	Melvin Andrade	1
Compliments and Responses to Compliments in L2 and L1 Speakers’ Interaction : A Discursive Approach	Sachiko Kondo	19
Religious and Secular Monarchy in Medieval Europe and Japan	Sono Morishita	45
Seeking the Doom of Self-Annihilation: The “Fascism of the Heart” and the Death Drive in William Gass’s <i>The Tunnel</i>	Yoshihiro Nagano	71
An Episodic Transcription of a NNS-NNS English Conversation	Timothy Gould	87
多文化の子どもの家庭における言語使用と言語意識	宮 崎 幸 江	117
William Shakespeare の史劇における government と governance の使い方	平 野 幸 治	137

Research Notes on Materials Development for Content-based Language Learning

Melvin Andrade

Introduction

During a recent six-month sabbatical, the author was engaged in four research projects. One project was to collect information on international perspectives on faculty development. That research included attendance at the annual conference of the International Society for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (ISSoTL). The conference stressed the importance of student engagement through active learning, real-world projects, and critical thinking. The second research project involved collecting information on materials development for first-year academic success courses (study skills). That research included attendance at the annual conference on The First-Year Experience and Students in Transition sponsored by the National Resource Center at the University of South Carolina. The third research project involved joint research with a colleague at a national university. That project involved collecting and analyzing data on the effects of short-term study abroad on the English language ability of Japanese university students. The fourth research project involved preparing a bibliography and collecting information on materials development for content-based language teaching, especially regarding the Japanese context. Below are some research notes concerning this fourth research project, which is ongoing. Specifically, this paper offers an example of what a proposal for a content-based textbook might include, what advice an author might provide to instructors who decide to use it, and a list of references for further reading.

Background

Content-based language teaching (CBLT) is nothing new for junior colleges in Japan. For example, Hokusei Gakuen Women's Junior College began doing it in 1994, Heian Jogakuin (St. Agnes') Women's Junior College in 2000, Morioka

Women's Junior College in 2001, and Aichi University Junior College in 2004 or 2005. Aoyama Gakuin Women's Junior College has been doing it for many years as well. In English departments at the university level, Nanzan University and Aoyama Gakuin University began CBLT programs in the early 1990's. More recently, Brooks and Sandkamp (2007) described their own CBLT curriculum development project at Asia University. Many of these programs or courses include or are based on global issues and societal problems as their organizing theme. Others are discipline-based programs that emphasize mastery of specific content knowledge.

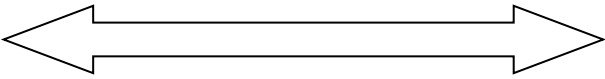
Overall, reports and research on CBLT in Japan suggest that content-based English programs work well with Japanese learners if certain conditions are met. First, the students' ability should not be too low. Students struggling with basic vocabulary and grammar will likely have difficulty in a course that stresses content over language skills. Second, there should be several different themes covered in one semester so students do not lose interest. Third, there should be a balance of personal topics and public topics. Each topic area, personal or public, has its own appeal for stimulating student engagement. Fourth, if the aim of the program is to measurably improve language skills, these skills should be clearly specified (task-based learning, can-do statements), or the students should take required discrete-skills (writing, reading, listening, speaking) courses concurrently or before taking content-based courses. Fifth, instructors need to use a variety of teaching techniques and adjust the pace and contents of the course to fit their particular students. Finally, the materials need to be easy for both the teacher and students to use.

A central concern in the development of a content-based language learning course is the balance of content and language. Met (1999) describes CBLT as being either "content-driven" or "language-driven" as seen in Figure 1. In practice, however, CBLT lies on a continuum between these two extremes, as seen in Figure 2. One major difference between these two approaches is that students in content-driven courses are evaluated on their mastery of content, not their language skills. In contrast, students in language-driven courses are evaluated on their language skills. Another major difference is that in discipline-based courses, the content becomes increasingly more advanced as the learners progress through the syllabus. On the other hand, in language-based courses, the content itself does not need to progress in difficulty over the duration of the course.

Figure1. Content-driven Versus Language-driven CBLT (Met 1999)

Content-driven	Language-driven
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content is taught in L2. • Content learning is priority. • Language learning is secondary. • Content objective determined by course goals or curriculum. • Teachers must select language objectives. • Students evaluated on content mastery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content is used to learn L2. • Language learning is priority. • Content learning is incidental. • Language objectives determined by L2 course goals or curriculum. • Students evaluated on content to be integrated. • Students evaluated on language skills (proficiency).

Figure 2: A Continuum of Content and Language Integration

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> Content-driven  Language-driven </div>					
<i>Taught by content instructors</i>			<i>Team-teaching</i>	<i>Taught by language instructors</i>	
Total immersion.	Partial immersion	Sheltered courses (modified language and other support)	Adjunct model (language tutoring, etc.)	Theme-based courses	Language classes with frequent use of content for language practice

Note: Adapted from Met (1999)

Example of a Proposal for a Theme-based CBLT Textbook

Below are a few components of a sample proposal that a textbook writer could consider submitting to a publisher interested in producing a CBLT textbook (adapted from Andrade & Andrade, 2009).

Aim of the book. This textbook is intended for intermediate learners of English in Japanese universities. It is particularly suited for non-English majors who are studying English as one of their general education courses. Accordingly, it aims to provide interesting, content-based practice that will appeal to a variety of students. The book offers practice in theme-based general English in the four basic skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing with an emphasis on content. In addition, it includes practice quizzes in a TOEIC-style format that will be useful to many students. The units are designed to be easy to use for both teacher and students.

Themes and units: Current, meaningful, and useful. There will be 20 units divided into five themes covering topics of global and personal interest. Each theme will consist of four units. Several of the units will include information that compares and contrasts Japan with other regions of the world. The following themes will be covered: “Cyber World and Technology,” “Globalization: Our Changing World,” “Society: Changing for Better or Worse?” “Environment: What We Need to Do,” and “Helping Ourselves and Helping Others.” (See Figure 3 below for the topics covered.)

Unit format: Consistency and variety. Each unit will be content-based. That is, the focus will be on acquiring and using meaningful information. Units include photographs, graphics, passages for reading and listening, and exercises of various types that students are familiar with such as true-false questions, matching exercises, comprehension questions, multiple-choice questions, fill-in-the-blank sentences, and dictations. In addition, other exercises will encourage students to express themselves orally and in writing. The type and arrangement of contents and exercises vary from unit to unit so that each unit has something new. Vocabulary notes for uncommon words will be included either within each unit or in the glossary at the back of the textbook.

Quizzes: TOEIC-style listening and reading. There will be a two-page TOEIC-style quiz following the completion of each theme. Three of the quizzes will be listening quizzes, and three will be reading quizzes. The quizzes will follow the standard TOEIC format. listening quizzes will consist of the following sections:

(1) Photographs, (2) Question-Response, (3) Short-talk, and (4) Short-Conversation. The reading quizzes will consist of two sections: (1) grammar-vocabulary and (2) reading comprehension. These quizzes will recycle and reinforce the vocabulary taught in the previous units.

Supporting resources for teacher and students. The teacher's manual will include the following: (1) translations of all the reading and listening passages, (2) vocabulary and culture notes, (3) scripts for the listening passages, (4) advice on teaching each unit, (5) answers to all the exercises, (6) ideas for additional drills, and (7) suggestions for using videos (online, DVD) and websites for further practice. A CD-ROM containing the listening passages will be included with each student's book. There will also be a companion website (PC and mobile) with additional listening practice, exercises, and quizzes.

Summary of the key features. (1) High interest, current topics. (2) Thematic arrangement of topics. (3) Balance of public and personal issues. (3) Appealing photographs and graphics. (3) Abundant exercises. (4) Easy-to-use, familiar exercises. (5) TOEIC-style quizzes. (6) Audio CD (7) Companion website. (7) Bilingual teacher's manual.

Example of Information to Include in a Teacher's Manual

An important function of the Teacher's Manual is to clearly explain the rationale, for and layout of the material, in addition to provides suggestion on how to teach the lessons. An example adapted from material prepared for *Life in Our Global Village* (Andrade and Andrade, 2009) is below.

Overview and aim of the lessons. The lessons aim to provide interesting, content-based practice on the general theme of global change and our place in the "global village." Each lesson offers intermediate-level practice in listening, speaking, reading, and writing with an emphasis on understanding content and then expressing one's opinion about it. The textbook consists of 20 units, which are divided into five themes covering topics of public and personal interest. There is some deliberate overlapping of content and vocabulary among units based on the same theme. This overlapping is intended to promote comprehension and fluency. In addition to having improved their English language skills, students who have successfully completed this textbook will have a deeper understanding of how the world is changing and what they can do to make it better.

Figure 3. Types of Exercises in Each Unit
(Adapted from Andrade & Andrade, 2009)

Unit	Image	Warm-Up	Vocabulary	Listen & Read	True or False	Comprehension	Fill in the Blanks	Fill in the Table	Dictation	Make a Sentence	What Do You Think?	Other
1. Cell Phones	fig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				<input type="radio"/>	
2. Online Social Networks	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	
3. Cyber Tips & Trouble	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	
4. Vending Machines	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
5. Indian IT Workers	pho	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
6. Global Economy	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	
7. Fair Trade	pho	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
8. Genetic Modified Foods	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
9. Food Miles	fig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
10. Population Trends	fig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	
11. Richer or Poorer?	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
12. UN Develop. Goals	pho	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>
13. Global Warming	fig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>				<input type="radio"/>	
14. The Water Crisis	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	
15. Green Belt Movement	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
16. The New JICA	fig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
17. Good Night's Rest	tab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	
18. Safe Driving	ill	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	
19. Keys to Happiness	fig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
20. Service Learning	pho	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					<input type="radio"/>

Key: ill = illustration, fig = graph, pho = photograph, tab = table

Format of the lessons. The core of each unit is the “Listen & Read” section, which presents the contents of the unit in detail. This section is preceded by warm-up and vocabulary building activities, and is followed by exercises to check comprehension. Further exercises, many of which combine listening and reading,

expand the contents introduced in the core section and give students practice in additional language skills as well. The unit wraps up with a “What do you think?” or alternative activity that allows students to express themselves more freely. For details on which exercises appear in which unit, see Figure 3.

Evaluation of learning outcomes. The contents and method of evaluation will vary depending on which skills the teacher would like to emphasize, the size of the class, and other aspects of the teaching situation. If the class is very large, the teacher may not be able to check homework weekly and so may have to rely on midterm and final exams. Some common ways of evaluating student performance are listed below:

1. Did the student complete all the homework assignments on time?
2. How many points correct did the student get on the objective textbook exercises?
3. Did the student participate actively in the classroom activities (e.g., pair work and small group work)?
4. How well did the student answer the teacher’s questions about the text?
5. How well did the student complete the “What Do You Think?” or alternative assignments?
6. Did the student take good notes for the “Listen and Take Notes” activity?
7. How well did the student write a summary or opinion of the unit?
8. How well did the student give an oral summary or opinion of the unit?
9. How well did the student do on short quizzes (for example, vocabulary, dictation, comprehension questions, writing a short summary or opinion in class)?
10. How well did the student do on the midterm and final examinations?

Model lesson plan. Below are some suggestions for teaching each of the sections of each unit. Teachers, of course, should use their own judgment and creativity to adapt the units to fit their teaching situation.

1. Title and subtitle:

Read aloud or ask students to read aloud the title and subtitles. Ask what that title means and try to elicit any background knowledge the students may have on the topic.

2. Image (photograph, illustration, graph):

Every unit begins with a photograph, illustration, or graph related to the topic of the lesson. Depending on the ability level of the class, the teacher can ask students to describe or interpret the image or use the image to elicit vocabulary related to the topic. Graphs are more complex than the photos and illustrations, so may take more time to interpret. The teacher can ask his/her own questions about the graph, varying the level of difficulty to suit their ability level. In some units, a question in the Warm-Up section is related to contents of the graph. As an optional activity for higher ability classes, students may be asked to write a short paragraph explaining what a graph means after completing the unit.

3. Warm-Up:

These questions can be used to stimulate interest in the topic and elicit the students' background knowledge. Not all the questions need to be done. Teachers can add their own questions as well.

4. Vocabulary:

This exercise can be done at home before class and the answers checked in class. *Optional Activity 1:* After checking the answers, students can work with a partner. One partner reads aloud a definition while the other partner covers the definition in his/her book and tries to recall the correct word. After doing about five words or more, they exchange roles. *Optional Activity 2:* Ask students to tell you synonyms or antonyms for the words in the list.

5. Listen and Read:

The reading passages can be assigned either as a homework assignment before class or else introduced in class and read again closely as homework. A model procedure for teaching the passage is below, which can be modified to suit the teaching situation.

(1) *Preview activity:* To get an impression of the contents, first read the subtitles that introduce each paragraph and look at the image or sidebar (information box) that appears with the reading. The subtitles set a purpose for reading.

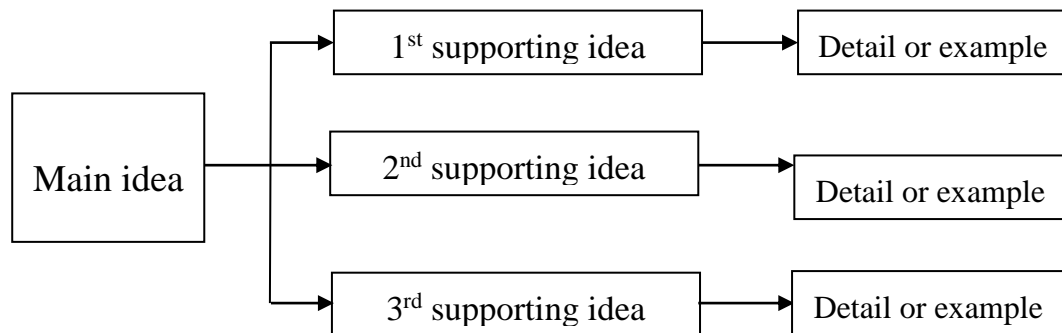
(2) *First listening*: With books closed, students listen to the CD to get an overall impression. This activity may be repeated with books open. The teacher can write a few simple questions on the blackboard to make this step a listening comprehension activity. The subtitles that introduce each paragraph can often be used for this purpose as well.

(3) *Read aloud*: Working with a partner or in small groups of three or four students, students read aloud the passage. Each student reads one sentence in turn. Emphasize that students should sit up straight, hold their book in their hands, and speak clearly with good pronunciation and good intonation. If they do not understand a word or sentence, they can ask each other for help or ask the teacher.

(4) *Close reading*: For lower ability classes, most readings are short enough so that they can be studied line-by-line if necessary within a typical 90-minute class period. The teacher can call on a student to read aloud one or two sentences, and then ask the student a question to confirm his/her comprehension. If necessary, the teacher can provide an explanation or paraphrase to help the student understand the meaning. To keep everyone involved, from time to time have the whole class repeat aloud key vocabulary items for pronunciation practice. Higher ability classes may not need to do a line-by-line close reading with the teacher. Instead, the teacher can ask his/her own comprehension questions or ask the students to re-tell the contents of the reading using their own words. Alternatively, students can work with a partner or in small groups, make their own comprehension questions, and quiz each other.

Note that most passages are in standard paragraph form beginning with a topic sentence (main idea) followed by supporting statements. Also, note the use of transition expressions such as “however” and “in addition” that help clarify the relationship between sentences. Students can use these paragraphs as models for their own writing. The structure of the paragraphs and longer readings can be made clear by using a graphic organizer such as the one below (Figure 4) and by asking questions such as “What is the main idea? How many supporting ideas are there? What are they?”

Figure 4. Model of a simple paragraph structure



(5) *Second Listening*: With books closed, students listen to the CD again. For additional practice, students can repeat along with CD with their books either open or closed.

6. True or False and Comprehension Questions:

These questions focus mainly on reading for main ideas, reading for detail, and making inferences. They can be done as homework or in class. Call on students one by one to check their answers.

7. Fill in the Blanks and Fill in the Table:

Most units have some type of fill-in-the-blank exercise, which may be in the form of a paragraph, conversation, or table. The aim of these exercises varies. An exercise may focus on verb forms, noun forms, prepositions, articles, vocabulary items, or deducing words based on context. These exercises can be done at home before class. In class, students can work together in small groups, read aloud the sentences, and compare their answers with their partners. Afterward, the teacher can play call on students one by one to check their answers or play the CD and have them listen for the answers. To save time, this activity can be done with the whole class rather than in small groups.

8. Student-made Comprehension Questions:

After completing a Fill-in-the- Blanks exercise, the teacher can give the students a few minutes to write their own comprehension questions and then let

them quiz each other. The teacher can introduce this activity by saying something like this: “Imagine that you are the teacher. What questions would you ask about this passage?” Write down several true-false or comprehension questions using who, what, when, where, why, or how. You have (5) minutes to prepare.”

9. Dictation:

A few units have dictation exercises that direct the students to fill in one word or a short phrase. The sentences are thematically related and form a complete paragraph. As above in the fill-in-the-blank exercises, the aim of the dictations varies. After completing this exercise, the teacher can give the students a few minutes to write their own comprehension questions as described in item 7 above.

10. Make a Sentence:

About half of the units have a “Make a Sentence” exercise in which students rearrange words and phrases to complete a sentence. The sentences are thematically related to each other and often form a complete paragraph. Call on students one by one to check their answers. These exercises can be done at home before class.

11. What Do You Think? and Listen & Take Notes (optional activities):

The questions in this section are examples of a follow-up writing task that can be assigned for homework and then presented at the beginning of the next class. Student can write their answers on a separate piece of paper. For presentations, divide the class into pairs or small groups. Students read aloud their answers while the other members of the group take notes. After taking notes, the students confirm what they wrote by asking, “You said (). Is that right?” Note-taking can be done on a piece of paper or in a notebook.

12. Alternative activities: Summary, opinion, and discussion:

Instead of answering the “What Do You Think?” questions, students can write a summary and their opinion of the topics covered in the unit. With a partner or in small groups, they read their summaries and opinions, and then discuss the topic freely among themselves or with the teacher. To write a summary, students can

follow a format such as the one below:

“This unit is about (*the good and bad points of using cell phones*). There are (3) main ideas. First, (). (). Second, (). (). Finally, (). (). The conclusion is ().”

To write an opinion, students can follow a format such as the one below:

“As for my opinion on (*cell phones*), there are (two) points I would like to make. My first point is (). (). My second point is (). (). In conclusion, I think ().”

As for the contents of the opinion, students can write freely, or they can use questions such as the ones below to guide their writing.

- (1) What did you find interesting, surprising, shocking, or strange about this topic?
- (2) How is this topic related to your life?
- (3) How is this topic related to Japan?
- (4) What is something new that you learned from this unit?
- (5) Have you changed your ideas about anything because of what you read in this unit?
- (6) What more would you like to know about this topic?
- (7) What do you agree or disagree with in this unit?
- (8) What do you predict will happen in the future regarding this topic?
- (9) What solutions do you suggest for solving the problems mentioned in this unit?
- (10) If you were the author of this textbook, what would you have written about this topic?

Summary

This paper has briefly described some of the issues involved in materials development for content-based language learning, especially as they relate to teaching in Japanese colleges and universities. It offers an example of what a proposal for a content-based textbook might include and what advice an author might provide to the instructor who decides to use such a book. In addition, this paper includes an extensive list of references on content-based teaching and learning in Japan that will be useful to other researchers, material writers, and instructors who are interested in this topic.

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Compliments and Responses to Compliments in L2 and L1 Speakers' Interaction: A Discursive Approach

Sachiko Kondo

1. Introduction

Compliments and responses to compliments are among the most widely studied speech acts in interlanguage pragmatics. A large share of empirical studies on the speech act of compliments investigates the productions of the speech act of complimenting and compliment responses using the written or oral Discourse Completion Task (DCT) as a method of data collection. Yet, although DCT allows us to collect a large amount of data under controlled external contexts, it does not allow us to explore speech acts in situated interaction. The present study takes a discursive approach (Kasper, 2006) to explore how first and second language (L1 and L2, respectively) speakers¹ sequentially co-construct compliment activities by using the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA).

2. Background

2.1 Compliments and Responses to Compliments

Compliment is a speech act that notices and attends to the hearer's "interests, wants, needs, goods" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:102). It is one of the many ways to express positive politeness² (Holmes, 1998) discussed in Brown and Levinson (1987).

Holmes (1986) specifically defines a compliment as follows:

A compliment is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit

to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer.

(Holmes, 1986:485)

In their daily conversations, people make many types of assessments. Compliment is one type of assessment, by which one evaluates the addressee positively. Assessments are social actions in the sense that people display their evaluation of what they are talking about to each other, and make judgments about, agree, or disagree with each other's evaluation (Pomerantz, 1975, 1978, 1984).

Responses to compliments, on the other hand, involve complicated face-work. The recipient of a compliment is faced with the decision of whether to agree with the addresser following the Agreement Maxim or to disagree following the Modesty Maxim proposed by Leech (1983) in his Politeness Principle. Pomerantz (1984) points out that "most compliment responses lie somewhere in between (not at the polar extremes of) acceptances and agreements on the one hand and rejections and disagreements on the other" (81).

2.2 Applying Conversation Analysis in Speech Act Research: Discursive Pragmatics

In the field of interlanguage pragmatics, in particular, L2 learners' compliment responses have been widely investigated (see Shimizu, 2009: 142-152 for an overview). Studies in interlanguage pragmatics investigate L2 learners' *communicative competence* (Bachman, 1990; Canale, 1983; Canale & Swain, 1980; Hymes, 1972) which resides in the brain of each individual learner. In pursuit of this cognitive-oriented notion of *communicative competence*, researchers have mainly explored second language acquisition (SLA) as individual cognition (i.e., the accomplishment of a single human mind), particularly through experimental data, and their interests have not particularly included how L2 speakers accomplish sociability through interactions with co-conversants. In the present study, I attempt to analyze learners' *interactional competence* (Hall, 1997; He & Young, 1998; Young, 1999; Young & Miller, 2004) rather than their *communicative competence*. I take the stance of viewing language as socially co-constructed among co-conversants rather than viewing it primarily

as forms. Similarly, cognition is not exclusively an individual phenomenon; it is also a socially distributed phenomenon that is observable in members' conversational behaviors (Schegloff, 1991). I have chosen CA as an approach to my study because it enables us to observe how L2 speakers socially co-construct interactions and achieve intersubjectivity, based on detailed transcripts of talk-in-interactions.

Kasper (2006) advocates *discursive pragmatics*, the notion of which is to apply CA to speech act research.

My argument for discursive pragmatics is strongly indebted to antecedent proposals for a discursive sociology (Bilmes, 1986) and discursive psychology (Edwards, 1997; Edwards and Potter, 1992), and to other theories that view meaning and action as constituted not only *in* but *through* social interaction, specifically Jacoby and Ochs's theory of co-construction (1995) and Arundale's co-constituting theory (1999, 2005).

(Kasper, 2006: 282; *Italics* in original)

Jacoby and Ochs (1995) define the notion of co-construction as "the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality" (p. 171). The theory and methodology of CA with its analytical principles and practices enable us to explore how speech acts are co-accomplished with co-conversants in and through social interaction.

2.3 Conversation Analysis in SLA

After Firth and Wagner's (1997) proposal for the reconceptualization of SLA toward increased attention to social and contextual dimensions of SLA and L2 use (Mori, 2007; Firth & Wagner, 2007; among others for an overview), the number of discussions on the usefulness of applying CA in SLA studies has been increasing annually (Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Schegloff et al., 2002; Wong & Olsner, 2000). Firth and Wagner (1997) point out an imbalance between cognitive and mentalistic orientations on the one hand, and social and contextual orientations to language on the other. The former orientation is overwhelmingly dominant in SLA research. For the reconceptualization of SLA, they proposed the following three

major changes to redress the imbalance:

(a) a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use, (b) an increased emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts, and (c) the broadening of the traditional SLA data base.

(Firth & Wagner, 1997: 286)

A growing number of SLA studies have adopted CA, especially in the past decade or so, and have contributed to enriching the social and contextual dimensions of the SLA data base (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Carroll, 2004; Gardner & Wagner, 2004; González-Lloret, 2009; Hauser, 2009; Hellermann, 2009; Hosoda, 2006; Ishida, 2009; Kasper, 2004; Kim, 2009; Kondo, 2011; Kurhila, 2004; Markee, 2004; Mori, 2004; Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Park, 2007; Seedhouse, 2004; Talmy, 2009; Waring, 2008; Wong, 2004; among others). In their edited book that specializes in L2 conversations, Wagner and Gardner (2004) point out that although L2 speakers may not be highly proficient, they are able to engage in quite exquisite activities in their interactions. They further suggest that L2 speakers are highly versatile in that they can use a variety of interactional resources even from the very beginning of their L2 learning. Thus, the findings of these studies indicate that L2 speakers are not “interactional dopes” (Garfinkel 1967: 68). This contrasts sharply with the way of thinking in traditional cognitive SLA, which conceives an L2 speaker as a deficient communicator “struggling to overcome an underdeveloped L2 competence, striving to reach the ‘target’ competence of an idealized native speaker” (Firth & Wagner, 1997: 285).

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

The participants in this study are three Japanese high school students (Kazu, Fumi and Hide), who attended local high schools and did home-stays for eleven months from Aug. 2001 to July 2002 in the U.S. They were in the study abroad program by American Field Service (AFS).³ I asked each participant to self-select an interlocutor, with whom they felt very comfortable talking and to

audiotape unplanned conversations during their stay in the U.S. The recordings took place twice, first around October 2001 (Time One) and second around May 2002 (Time Two). Kazu's interlocutors were Max (host brother) and Linda (host mother). Fumi's interlocutor was Kelly (host mother), and Hide's interlocutor was Sarah (AFS liaison⁴). The participants and their native -speaking interlocutors were encouraged to talk freely on any topic without regard for the fact that they were being recorded.

3.2 Transcription and Analysis

I transcribed all the recordings from Time One and Time Two using the transcription convention described in the Appendix, which is a modified version of the system devised by Jefferson (2004). Turn-by-turn analysis was made on sequences of compliment activity by following the general analytic strategies ten Have (2007) proposed: *turn-taking organization*, *sequence organization*, *repair organization*, and *the organization of turn-design*.

4. Research Questions

In the present study, I explored the following three research questions.

- (1) How do compliment activities emerge in conversations?
- (2) How do L2 and L1 speakers co-construct compliment activities?
- (3) How do L2 speakers sequentially respond to compliments?

5. Results and Discussion

To begin, I will analyze Excerpt 1, in which a compliment activity emerges in the assessment activity of Kazu's swimming season. First, Kazu negatively assesses the beginning of his swimming season and then positively assesses his improvement in his swimming skills. I will focus the analysis on how compliments and responses to compliments emerge in line 26, when Max pays a compliment in response to Kazu's self-deprecating assessment that he was not good at first (line 25).

Excerpt 1: [Swimming Season] Time Two

1 Linda: now (2) >ok now< we didn't talk about swimming season yet.
2 and Alice doesn't know a lot about your swimming season.
3 so: what what were some of the (.) highlights
4 of your swim season.
5 Kazu: o:kay:. (.) I can express the first month of swimming,
6 with only one ex- only one word. it wa:s terrible.
7 Linda: terrible?=
8 Kazu: =terrible. every- after every practice, I was exhaust:ed,
9 (.) a:nd (1) very tired, (.) (oh my-) I couldn't move
10 I couldn't talk at a:ll,
11 Max: °hhhhhh.°
12 Kazu: oh my go:d, what did I do:
11 like- (.) I felt so much gravity
12 after I got off from [wa:ter,]
13 Max: [°hhhhhh.°]
14 Kazu: (all) gravity.hhh (1)
15 Linda:hahaha.
16 Kazu: I can't walk solidly,
17 Max: °hhhhhh.°
18 Kazu: and in th- in meets, (.)
19 (in) the first meet, I got very bad times (.) but after that
20 I- I had no skill about swimming so: (.)
21 I: I'm improved very- very good,
22 Max: um hum,
23 Kazu: so I got award for most improved,
24 Max: um hum,
25 → Kazu: but be- but that is because I was not goo:d.
26 → Max: hahahaha but you were good at the end right?
27 → Kazu: yeah, a little bit,
28 → Max: a little bit, [that's good]
29 Kazu: [in state] championship
30 we- we got fourth place, in state in (four states)
31 → Max: yeah that's very good.
32 → Kazu: yeah but there were only five teams.
33 Max: (.) oh.
34 Kazu: oh. I [got-]
35 → Max: [still] that's very good.
36 Linda:yeah fourth place.
37 Max: fourth place isn't bad.
38 Kazu: in five teams?
39 Max: ehehhh:.

The topic proffer question asking Kazu about some highlights of the swimming season (lines 3, 4) is an initiation of the assessment activity of the swimming season. Although Linda formulates her question using the expression “highlights” to elicit a positive assessment of the season, Kazu gives a negative

assessment “terrible” about the first part of the season without hesitation (lines 5, 6). Then he elaborates and explains his assessment by giving details of how exhausted he was and how he felt gravity when he came out of the water (lines 8-16). He adds that his swimming time was not good at first (line 19). Although he basically sticks to his assessment that it was “terrible” in his explanation, he also talks about how he improved toward the end of the season (lines 20, 21), assessing it as “very good,” which shows some orientation to Linda’s question that asked for a positive assessment of the swimming season (lines 3, 4). Kazu follows up his positive assessment by saying that he received an award for “the most improved” (line 23).

Then, in line 25, he deflects his positive evaluation, which is designed with the contrast marker “but” and an account of why he received the award with the explicit account marker “because.” In this explanation, he tactically shifts the prior positive assessment to a slightly negative assessment to attend to the social norm of avoiding self-praise (Pomerantz, 1978). Max orients to this shift-down and pushes it up again using laughter and a positive evaluation in line 26, which is designed with the contrast marker “but” and the positive assessment expression that Kazu was “good at the end.” Max seeks agreement by using “right?” with a rising intonation. Kazu agrees immediately with the agreement token “yup” but follows it with the mitigation “a little bit” (line 27), again deflecting his own accomplishment so that he does not push up the positive assessment too high. Max orients to this and repeats “a little bit” to display his agreement, then makes a positive assessment saying “that’s good” (line 28). Max’s recycling Kazu’s expression “a little bit” and the following positive assessment displays Max’s alignment with Kazu’s speech. In lines 29 and 30, Kazu provides another example, that his team came in fourth place in the state championship, to explicate and reinforce positive assessment, to which Max shows his understanding of Kazu’s account by making a positive assessment again, “yeah that’s very good.”, this time upgrading his positive assessment with the intensifier “very” (line 31). Kazu receives it with the agreement token “yeah,” but again he pushes the positive assessment down with the contrasting marker “but” and providing information that his team was in fourth place among only five teams (line 32). In response to this tone-down, Max pushes the assessment up again by saying that in spite of the fact that there were only five teams, it is still very good (line 35), which is followed by Linda’s agreement (line 36).

Throughout this long sequence of evaluating the swimming season, which involves compliments and responses to compliments, Kazu tactically pushes his

assessment up and down both to align himself with Max and to attend to the social norm of avoiding appearing too proud of himself. Responding to compliments is truly a complex interactional work (Pomerantz, 1978). Pomerantz explains that hearers are in a dilemma of whether to agree or disagree with compliments because although agreement is a preferred social action, it is at the same time against the social norm of avoiding self-praise. Pomerantz points out the following pattern of agreement with scale-down as one of the possible types of agreement to compliments:

A: compliment ↑

B: scale-down ↓

A: strong positive term↑

In response to A's compliment as the first assessment, B provides scaled-down agreements containing more moderate-positive expressions as the second assessment. Then, A reaffirms the praise with a strong-positive term in the third assessment position. Pomerantz notes that the scale-down in the second assessment position "exhibits features of both agreements and disagreements" (p. 95). The L1 speaker's upgrade in lines 26, 28, and 31 of Excerpt 1 can be analyzed as the third place slot in the compliment pattern described above. The data that we have just observed show that, in the longer compliment sequence, Kazu in B's position is actively involved in both scale-down and agreement with compliments given by his co-participant. Kazu and Max engage in tactful negotiations of the assessments of whether Kazu's improvement is "good" or "not so good." Max gives a positive assessment of the improvement as a compliment to Kazu. On the other hand, Kazu does not go strong about giving a good assessment of himself in trying not to violate the Modesty Maxim (Leech, 1983; Pomerantz, 1978). However, the two are in no way opposing each other. Instead, Kazu tactfully balances his way of giving assessments in order to align himself with the interlocutor. He demonstrates his sensitivity to the conflicting constraints on compliment responses.

Next, I will analyze another example of compliment activity in the conversation among Kazu, Max and Linda. Prior to the excerpt, they had been talking about how Kazu's English has improved over the year. While Kazu explicates his assessment about his reading ability with detailed information, a compliment activity emerges in line 17.

Excerpt 2: [Reading Ability] Time Two

1 Linda: how about in reading.(.) I remember when you
2 first ca:me, tha:t you couldn't read
3 the newspaper. (.) very well.
4 (.)
5 Kazu: ↑I can read. no ↑I could read, (1) for sports paper,
6 Linda: uh huh,
7 (3)
8 Kazu: yeah () [yeah]
9 Linda: [do you] remember how long it would take you?
10 Kazu: yeah.
11 Linda: so what's changed about your reading.
12 Kazu: my (.) reading became so faster. (.)
13 very very very faster. (.) than it used to. (1)
14 eighty- thirty minutes to read newspaper, (1)
15 only one section. (.) but right now it only takes
16 like thirty seconds or one minute,
17 → Max: hhhhhu. that's very ↑GOOD.
18 → Kazu: yeah. (2) but it's because of (.) American studies.
19 Linda: [right.]
20 → Kazu: [they] made me read so: much.
21 (1)
22 Linda: do you remember how long it used to take you
23 to read thee history book?
24 Kazu: yup,
25 Linda: how- [how long]
26 Kazu: [five hours,] six hours,
27 Linda: to read how many pages.
28 Kazu: eight.
29 Linda: and uh now that we're at the end of the year,
30 Kazu: one or thr- one or two, co-=
31 Linda: =one or two what.
32 Kazu: couple hours,
33 Linda: to read eight pages?
34 Kazu: yup,
35 Linda: uh huh,
36 (2)
37 Max: well they're big pages.
38 Kazu: yeah.
39 Max: history textbook.

Linda produces a topic proffer statement to specifically talk about Kazu's reading ability (line 1). She makes an assessment that Kazu could not read newspapers very well when he first came to the States (lines 1-3). The action that Kazu takes in the following turn (line 5) is a disagreement. He claims that he could read sports papers. Then, Linda, after reminding him with "do you remember" how long it would take him to read, specifically asks what has changed about his reading (line 11). Kazu

initiates his response to this question with an explicit assessment strengthened by repetitive use of intensifiers, saying that his reading has become “very very very faster” compared to before (lines 12-13). Following this positive assessment, Kazu explicates the assessment of his reading ability in detail (lines 14-16).

In line 17, a compliment by Max emerges in response to the explanation Kazu gives of his improvement in reading ability. Max makes a positive assessment “that’s very good” (line 17), which is an action of complimenting Kazu at the same time. He intensifies his compliment with prosodic emphasis on the expression “good,” i.e., stress and high pitch. After an agreement token (line 18), Kazu explains that his improvement can be attributed to the “American Studies” course (line 18) that had a heavy reading load (line 20).

As we have observed in Excerpt 2, Kazu contrasts the past and the present to demonstrate his improvement in reading. This contrast is “reacted to” (Depperman, 2005: 293) by Max, bringing consequential effects on the sequential development. Max orients to the positive side of the contrast, and compliments Kazu’s improvement. In response to Max’s compliment, although Kazu gives an agreement token “yeah,” first, he shifts the merit to the course he took, that is, “American Studies.” Pomerantz (1978) advocates the principle of “referent shifts” (p. 101) as one of the solution types of compliment responses and explains it as follows:

In a compliment (A1) a recipient is praised either directly or indirectly; in this type of response, the recipient performs a subsequent praise (A2) which has other-than-self as referent.

A1: A praises B.

A2: B praises other-than-self

(Pomerantz, 1978: 101)

In Excerpt 2, in response to the compliment, Kazu reassigns the praise, “shifting the credit from himself to an other-than-self referent” (Pomerantz, 1978: 102), namely, the American Studies course. He does this in a contrasting way with the contrast marker “but” (line 18) as part of his account of why he has improved in reading. This example adds another piece of evidence that Kazu is able to show sensitivity to interactional norms in responding to compliments, as also discussed in the analysis of Excerpt 1.

In Excerpt 3, Fumi and Kelly are at first talking about the possible schedule

conflict between an AFS conference and a basketball tournament. Then, Fumi initiates an assessment activity about her basketball skill, in which a compliment activity emerges (lines 71-72). I will analyze how it emerges and how Fumi responds to the compliment.

Excerpt 3 [Dance Party & Basketball] Time One

1 Fumi: I think we should have another
2 dance party hehehe:..
3 Kelly: ↑U:. now that would be fu:n,
4 Fumi: \$ yeah:hh.\$
5 Kelly: () maybe they will.
6 (°maybe they have another dance
7 party.°)
8 (1)
9 Kelly: [and the:n]
10 Fumi: [do you know] anything about it,
11 Kelly: nhu-nhu (.) no
12 they haven't [sent me]any information=
13 Fumi: [why not.]
14 Kelly: =\$ yet. heh heh heh:\$
15 Kelly: they will send us
16 information-, (1) we should get it
17 in the mail probably
18 in the first week of January.
19 Fumi: °ok° but- I'm kind of afraid,
20 beca:use I might have
21 tournament [(at that time)]
22 Kelly: [oh for basketball.]
23 Fumi: yeah:..
24 Kelly: hu::m.
25 Fumi: so: but I have to be there, because
26 it's orientation.
27 Kelly: yeah.
28 Fumi: it's not like para:de.
29 Kelly: right. yeah. it's a required thing.
30 but sometimes, (.) they'll let you:
31 come later.
32 Fumi: oh really?
33 Kelly: so we'll have to ask. we'll
34 [find out.]
35 Fumi: [WA:] ah
36 \$ I don't wanna miss it.ha::hh. \$
37 Kelly: no. you don't wanna miss any of it,
38 it's FU:n. [hhhu:..]
39 Fumi: [YEAH::]hahaha: I kno:w
40 Kelly: [()] I think it'll be ok.
41 you know, am coach is very good about,
42 Fumi: yeah:..
43 Kelly: when AFS requires the students to go.

44 Fumi: yeah:.
45 Kelly: you just have to tell him (before). (.)
46 AFS, this is a requirement. I must
47 go to conference.
48 Fumi: yeah. but I'm getting better:.,
49 Kelly: °um-hum,°
50 I got my £ ↑FIRST three point in
51 the la:st ↑ga::me?£
52 Kelly: yee::hy. ((cheering voice))
53 Fumi: ha[haha::.]
54 Kelly: [hahaha.]
55 Kelly: well maybe it's because- I know um
56 Americans play basketball, don't they,
57 differently?
58 Fumi: yeah:..
59 Kelly: =than what you used to?
60 Fumi: it's really different.=
61 Kelly: =and you're also playing
62 [in a new position] and-
63 Fumi: [and they have-]
64 Fumi: yeah. and they have played more than
65 thi:rty ga:mes before I joined=
66 Kelly: =°oh.°=
67 Fumi: =the team.
68 Kelly: °yeah°. yeah together so- [that,]
69 → Fumi: [I'm]
70 → so behi:nd,
71 → Kelly: ↑yeah:. but getthing
72 → [a three pointer is goo:d.]
73 → Fumi: [\$ YEA:: I know \$ hahahaha:]
74 → Kelly: that was VE::RY good.
75 so, hopefully you'll be able to
76 play- (.)
77 Fumi: more.
78 Kelly: some more as you [go.]
79 Fumi: [yeah.]

Fumi and Kelly are talking about the dance party that they might have in January. Fumi initiates a new subtopic by saying that the basketball tournament might fall on the same date as the dance party (lines 19-21). After Kelly and Fumi exchange turns concerning possible ways to solve the problem (lines 29-47), Fumi initiates an assessment concerning her basketball ability in line 48. First, she explicitly assesses that she is getting better (line 48). Then she provides an account that she scored her first three points in the previous game (lines 50-51). Her emphasis on the word “first” implies that she had not been doing very well before the previous game. Kelly, at first, orients to Fumi’s positive assessment of her getting the three-pointer by using a cheering voice “yee::hy” (line 52). After the

two laugh together (lines 53-54), Kelly then orients to Fumi's negative assessment that she had not been doing well before the last game, by providing accounts of why Fumi had not been doing well. The first reason that Kelly provides is that Americans play basketball differently from Japanese (lines 55-59). The second reason Kelly gives is that Fumi is playing in a new position (lines 61-62). Then, Fumi participates in co-constructing accounts by providing the third reason that her teammates had played more than thirty games before she joined the team (lines 63-68). Kelly acknowledges this with a quiet "yeah" token (line 68), and before Kelly finishes what she initiated to add something, Fumi makes the concluding assessment that she is so behind (lines 69-70), which is a closure to the smaller sequence in which both speakers make a negative assessment that Fumi was not doing well. In response to Fumi's self-deprecating assessment, Kelly goes back to the previous positive assessment about Fumi's getting a three-pointer, which is designed with an agreement token to agree with Fumi's negative assessment that she is behind (line 71), followed by contrast marker "but" and a compliment with the explicit positive assessment adjective "good" that has prosodic emphasis (lines 71-72). Fumi makes a second assessment to agree with Kelly, which starts in the middle of Kelly's assessment remark (line 73). Here, the speaker's heightened participation in the activity of assessment begins before the assessment term itself (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992: 163). Fumi attends to Kelly's assessment and aligns herself with the emerging talk as an assessment even before the assessment term itself, in this case before the adjective "good" is actually produced. Fumi's partially overlapped agreement is designed with an emphatic "yeah" and "I know," which shows her epistemic stance (line 73). Then Kelly gives a third upgraded assessment, "that was very good," with the stressed and prolonged intensifier "very" (line 74).

Although the sequence we have just observed is a complex assessment activity that involves both positive and negative aspects of Fumi's basketball ability, Fumi is actively and appropriately participating in it by co-constructing accounts (lines 55-70) and showing agreement using an emphatic agreement token (line 73) in a synchronized way.

What has happened in the compliment sequence from lines 71 to 74 is one type of praise sequences that Pomerantz (1978) points out. A speaker's strong-positive term (↑) may be responded to with the recipient's moderate-positive term (↓), and then the speaker reaffirms the praise with a strong-positive term (↑). Pomerantz shows the following example for this type of

praise sequence.

[AP:fn]
 B: I've been offered a full scholarship at Berkeley and at
 UCLA
 ↑ G: That's fantastic
 ↓ B: Isn't that good
 ↑ G: That's marvelous

(Pomerantz 1978: 96)

In the praise sequence by Kelly and Fumi, Fumi first makes a self-deprecating statement that she is behind in her basketball ability compared to her teammates, although B's statement in Pomerantz's example is a positive statement about the person's being offered scholarships from two universities. Then Kelly praises Fumi for getting a three pointer in a basketball game with a positive term "good" (↑) (lines 71-72). Fumi shows her agreement with an emphatic yes token and "I know," which can be considered a moderate response (↓). Orienting to the moderate response by Fumi, Kelly restates her positive assessment with the intensifier "very" to strengthen and reaffirm her praise (↑). This shows that Fumi is exposed to the social action of strengthening a compliment with an upgraded positive term in response to a moderate self-praise.

Excerpt 4 provides another example of how an L2 speaker responds to a compliment paid by an L1 speaker. Prior to the excerpt, Hide and Sarah were talking about the content of an essay Hide wrote after receiving an award in a jazz contest. Hide has explained that his essay contained the story of how he improved in playing the piano during his stay in the U.S. Excerpt 4 starts right after the ending of Hide's story-telling about his essay.

Excerpt 4: [Playing the Piano] Time Two

1 → Sarah: but- and you did <ssUCH a good jo:b.>
 2 that was SO: much fu:n to hear you pla:y.
 3 → Hide: (°'nd that°) it was really fun to pla:y
 4 → also because-, (.) I always played solo
 5 → so: I'm- I have never played a (2) umm
 6 → piano with: other member:s or in a ba:nd,
 7 Sarah: um hu:m,
 8 → Hide: I (.) °yeah° except °um° uh:mm (2)

9 → °what's that uh:m° accompany?
10 Sarah: °um hum°,
11 → Hide: accompaniment.
12 Sarah: °um hum°,
13 → Hide: °yeah°. I did like accompaniment
14 → like every year in um junior high,
15 Sarah: oh did you?
16 Hide: °yeah°.
17 Sarah: in Japan.
18 Hide: °yeah°.
19 Sarah: A:ND umm,
20 (1)
21 Hide: I did third- third grade? (.) was
22 the first accompaniment.
23 Sarah: REALLY.
24 Hide: yeah.
25 Sarah: oh my go:sh (1) SO: (1) NO:W
26 when you go back to Japan,
27 Hide: °um hum°,
28 Sarah: do you think that you will do more,
29 (.) umm jazz?

In lines 1 and 2, Sarah gives a compliment about Hide's playing the piano with the positive expression "you did such a great job," and she expresses her affective stance by making an assessment that it was fun for her to listen to him play (line 2). The compliment emerges as a concluding assessment to Hide's story-telling about his essay. Rather than agreeing or disagreeing with Sarah's compliment, Hide shows his alignment with Sarah by orienting to the affective expression "fun" and shows that it was fun for him to play the piano (line 3). Hide manages to "avoid self-praise" (Pomerantz, 1978) and shifts the focus away from his self-praise to his affective stance about playing the piano. In so doing, he displays his alignment with Sarah by orienting to the affective expression "fun" first used by her, and by using the expression "also" to emphasize that he shares the same feelings as Sarah. An interesting point is that after Hide makes the assessment that it was fun for him to play the piano, he explicates his assessment in detail, initiated by the explicit account marker "because" (line 4). He explains that he had only played solo and had never played with other people or in a band before he began playing in a jazz band in the States (lines 4-6). Then, he initiates an additional explanation that there is an exception to his not playing with other people, and he further explains that he has experience accompanying (lines 8-24). Hide's identity as a language non-expert locally emerges when he initiates a repair for word search (Goodwin, M. H., 1983; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986) in line 9 asking "what's that" followed by hesitation.

However, he self-repairs by supplying the expression “accompany.” This sequence indicates that a compliment activity develops into another extended telling prefaced by Hide’s assessment to avoid self-praise, even though Hide locally displays his identity as an L2 speaker.

Overall Discussion

How compliments emerge in sequential contexts

Observations of Excerpts 1 to 4 show that compliments emerge in various assessment contexts.

- Excerpt 1: A compliment by Max emerged in response to Kazu’s self-deprecating assessment about his swimming season.
- Excerpt 2: A compliment by Linda emerged in response to Kazu’s telling about how he has improved his reading skills.
- Excerpt 3: A compliment by Kelly emerged within an assessment activity of Fumi’s basketball skills.
- Excerpt 4: A compliment by Sarah emerged as a concluding remark orienting to Hide’s story-telling about his improvement in piano skills.

The compliments we have found in the present study are likely to occur in natural conversations, where participants generally construct all aspects of their turns and talks in orientation to their co-conversants. Heritage (1989) explains the notion of “context-sensitiveness” that any participant’s communicative action is “doubly contextual, in that the action is both context-shaped and context-renewing” (p. 2). These compliments sharply contrast with the kinds of compliments that are elicited in many of the studies in interlanguage pragmatics by using written or oral DCTs or role-plays in controlled settings⁵. Bu (2010) lists six compliment response strategies she found in her role-play data. See the following three examples that illustrate the compliments and compliment responses elicited in her data.

- (1) Compliment Upgrade: The complimentee agrees with and increases the complimentary force.

A: Nice T.V set!

B: Thanks. Brand new.

- (5) Compliment Downgrade: The complimentee qualifies or downplays the

compliment force

A: It's a really nice car.

B: Oh no. It looks like that but actually it has a lot of problems.

(6) Disagreement: The complimentee thinks the compliment is overdone, and therefore directly disagrees with it.

A: You're looking brilliant .

B: Oh. No, I don't think so.

Bu (2010: 12; numbers are as in the original)

These examples in Bu (2010) show a compliment in one turn and its response in the next turn. Although the data from DCTs and role-plays in controlled settings are useful in quantitative studies, the present study indicates that compliment activities emerge from certain contexts and are *shaped* and *renewed* (Heritage 1989) in and through contexts. In other words, while traditional speech act studies treat context as external variables, such as power, distance, and rank of imposition (Brown & Levinson 1987), in CA context is “interaction-internal” (Kasper 2006:304). Most importantly compliment activities are sequentially co-accomplished by both speakers in multiple turns.

How L2 and L1 speakers co-construct compliment activities

The present study reveals that the conversation participants constantly orient to what and how their co-participants contribute to the interaction. For example, a story-telling is reacted to with a compliment, which displays the recipient's understanding of the story (Excerpt 4). Self-deprecating assessments are oriented to with compliments (Excerpts 1 and 3). Compliments are oriented to by the action of avoiding self-praise (Excerpts 1, 3, and 4) and by the action of shifting the object of praise (Excerpt 2). The conversants co-construct accounts for both positive and negative assessments (Excerpt 3). A complimenter upgrades her compliment by restating the positive assessment orienting to a moderate agreement by a complimentee. The sequential analysis enables us to observe how “interactants are constantly monitoring, determining, and responding to as interaction unfolds” (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995: 176). Compliments and compliment responses are part of such co-accomplished assessment activities as social actions.

How L2 speakers sequentially respond to compliments

The findings in the present study indicate that L2 speakers are not

“interactional dopes” (Garfinkel 1967: 68). This contrasts sharply with the way of thinking in traditional cognitive SLA, which conceives an L2 speaker as a deficient communicator “struggling to overcome an underdeveloped L2 competence, striving to reach the target competence of an idealized native speaker” (Firth & Wagner, 1997: 285). The L2 speakers in the present study have *interactional competence* to display their awareness of social norms of agreement, disagreement, and avoiding self-praise. They constantly orient to their interlocutors’ particular conduct and co-accomplish whatever activities they are involved in at the moment the conduct is produced. Sequential analysis enables us to observe how L2 speakers tactfully achieve “in between-ness” in compliment responses.

From the CA perspective, membership identities such as L1 vs. L2 speakers and non-native vs. native speakers are only relevant when participants display their concerns to such identities in interaction (Kasper, 2004, 2009; Hosoda, 2006; Kondo 2011). Although Kondo (2011) in her larger developmental study including the same L1 participants as the present study demonstrates that identities of language-expert and non-expert become locally relevant in their conversations with their L1 co-participants especially in Time One, in the excerpts analyzed here, we do not see much orientation by the participants to their language expertise, except one case of word search in Excerpt 4. The noticeable phenomena, however, was that only the L1 speakers acted as complimenters and the L2 speakers as compliment-receivers. I would argue that this is not related to language expertise per se, but to their social roles in particular topics in their conversations. In the present study, the L2 speakers were high school students who were studying abroad and were under the care of their host family members and AFS liaison, who happened to be L1 speakers. The care-takers were more likely to play the social role of complimenters who praised their younger co-participants’ development of certain skills such as swimming and playing the piano, not necessarily their linguistic skills.

6. Conclusion

The present study analyzed how L1 and L2 speakers sequentially co-construct compliment activities. Using CA as a theoretical and methodological foundation, the study has demonstrated (1) how compliment activities emerge in sequential

contexts, (2) how L2 and L1 speakers co-construct compliment activities, and (3) how L2 speakers sequentially respond to the compliments paid by their interlocutors.

Compared to traditional interlanguage pragmatic speech act studies in which L2 speakers meta-pragmatic awareness is investigated by analyzing their choice of conventional speech act strategies, CA analysis enables us to observe how actions are co-constructed by the participants in conversations, and how actions are part of L2 speakers *interactional competence* (Kasper, 2006).

Pedagogically speaking, it is important that the dialogues in textbooks reflect authentic language use (Golato, 2002). In order to develop authentic materials for teaching about speech acts such as compliments and responses to compliments, apologies, refusals, and requests, it would certainly benefit us to turn more to discursive pragmatics, including the sequential analysis of how such speech acts emerge and develop contingently and how conversants co-accomplish them.

Notes

¹ The identities of native /non-native speakers, L1 /L2 speakers, or language experts/non-experts are not predominant identities themselves in conversations (Gardner & Wagner, 2004). These are identities that speakers can adopt locally in conversations, or they may not adopt them at all. From CA perspective, these identities become relevant only when speakers orient to them, for instance, by initiating repair of linguistic forms or correcting pronunciation. Based on this notion of identities, I adopt the term “L1 /L2 speakers,” which is more neutral than “native /non-native speakers” (Gardner & Wagner, 2004:16).

² Brown and Levinson (1987) identify two categories of politeness strategies in Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) on record with redressive action: positive politeness (roughly, the expression of solidarity) and negative politeness (roughly, the expression of restraint).

³ AFS is one of the world’s largest not-for-profit volunteer-based organizations; it has a 90-year history. It offers international exchange programs in more than 50 countries through local AFS organizations. AFS provides intercultural learning and volunteer opportunities for students, young adults, teachers and families through international exchanges.

⁴ Hide’s interlocutor, Sarah, is an AFS Student Family Liaison, whose primary role is to maintain regular contact with her assigned AFS student and host family

and provide support when needed.

⁵ See Golato (2003) for a comparison of DCTs and CA analysis using recordings of naturally occurring conversation to study compliment responses in German.

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Appendix: Transcription Conventions

Based on the Jefferson Transcription System

<http://www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssjap/transcription/transcription.htm>

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
[]	Square brackets mark the start and end of overlapping speech. They are aligned to mark the precise position of overlap.
↓	Vertical arrows precede marked pitch movement, over and above normal rhythms of speech. They are used for notable changes in pitch beyond those represented by stops, commas and question marks.
→	Side arrows are used to draw attention to features of talk that are relevant to the current analysis.
<u>Underlining</u>	indicates emphasis; the extent of underlining within individual words locates emphasis and also indicates how heavy it is.
CAPITALS	mark speech that is hearably louder than surrounding speech. This is beyond the increase in volume that comes as a by product of emphasis.
° I know it ,°	“Degree” signs enclose hearably quieter speech.
that’s r*ight.	Asterisks precede a “squeaky” vocal delivery.
(0.4)	Numbers in round brackets measure pauses in seconds (in this case, four tenths of a second). If they are not part of a particular speaker’s talk they are on a new line.
(.)	A micropause, hearable but too short to measure.
((stoccato))	Additional comments from the transcriber, e.g. about features of context or delivery.

she wa::nted	Colons show degrees of elongation of the prior sound; the more colons, the more elongation.
Hhh	Aspiration (out-breaths); proportionally as for colons.
.hhh	Inspiration (in-breaths); proportionally as for colons.
Yeh,	“Continuation” marker, the speaker has not finished; marked by fall-rise or weak rising intonation, as when delivering a list.
y’know?	Question marks signal stronger, “questioning” intonation, irrespective of grammar.
Yeh.	Full stops mark falling, stopping intonation (“final contour”), irrespective of grammar, and not necessarily followed by a pause.
bu-u-	Hyphens mark a cut-off of the preceding sound.
>he said< < he said>	“Greater than” and “lesser than” signs enclose speeded-up talk. Occasionally they are used the other way round for slower talk.
solid.= =We had	“Equals” signs mark the immediate “latching” of successive talk, whether of one or more speakers, with no interval.
heh heh	Voiced laughter. Can have other symbols added, such as underlining, pitch movement, extra aspiration, etc.
sto(h)p i(h)t	Laughter within speech is signaled by h’s in round brackets.
()	Empty parentheses indicate that the transcriber was unable to understand what was said. The length of the parenthesized space reflects the length of missed speech.
(word)	Parenthesized words and speaker designations are especially dubious.

Additional notations

\$ \$	surrounds “laughing” voice.
£ £	surrounds “smile” voice.

Religious and Secular Monarchy in Medieval Europe and Japan¹

Sono Morishita

Introduction

Not many studies have tried to make comparison between the popes' relation to secular rulers and the Japanese emperors' relation to Bakufu in the medieval age. There are many differences of historical and cultural background between Europe and Japan, and it is not always easy to draw any conclusion from a simple comparison between the two, however, I believe that through the consideration of this theme, new aspects of the relation between the sacred and secular power can be observed. The person who noticed the similarity of the pope and the emperor early on is a missionary of the Jesuit. In 1548, Nicolao Lancilotto from Urbino sent a letter to the Jesuit from Goa, and in this letter he explained that 'one king has ruled over Japan with dukes and counts ... and this king is called the emperor... Japanese people regard him as the pope of their country, and he has the supremacy over the priests as well as over the secular people.'² Duality is one of the most conspicuous characteristic of the medieval European history, and to consider the relationship between two cores, sacred and secular in the medieval age, examination of the area of overlap is indispensable. In Japan, there is also duality (or frustrated tendencies in that direction) and especially through the middle ages, from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries, the complicated relation between the emperor and the shogun has provoked controversy. In this paper, I shall attempt to find the similarities and differences of the duality between the western and Japanese history. Firstly, I shall cast light on the medieval European ordeal by comparing this with medieval Japanese one. Then, I shall examine the relation between sacred and secular power in both areas, especially concerning the relation between the sacral kingship and the royal saints which can not be found in Japanese history.

I. The Ordeal in Europe and in Japan.

In the medieval period, the conception of jurisdiction was quite different from

that of the modern age. The ordeal, trial by fire and water, is one of the customs of the medieval age which must alien to modern ideas. The judgment by the God or gods may reveal the mentality of medieval people about participation of the God/gods in ordinary or secular affairs. Firstly, I shall trace the origin of ordeal, then I shall give a short description that how the ordeal worked in the Western society mainly by following Bartlett.³ And it shall examine the reason of the disappearance of the ordeal. Secondly, I shall examine the ordeal in Japan.

The early history of the ordeal in Europe can be divided to two stages; one is before AD 800, and the other is after this. At the former stage, there are not many records about the ordeal, and they are mainly the law codes of the Germanic tribes. At this stage, the ordeal by hot water (the ordeal of cauldron) was mainly used and no other type was recorded. The procedure of ordeal is to pick up a pebble or ring in the cauldron which is filled with boiling water. The ordeal by cauldron is found on several tribes' law codes, however, the absence of the ordeal from many Germanic tribes' law codes suggests that this custom was not of pan-Germanic origin. The trials by water may have been from pagan Frankish, and may be introduced to other area, except Ireland, in the process of spread of the Frankish power. Trial by ordeal in Frankish custom was applied for the case of theft, crime without witness and contempt of court. In Irish law, ordeal was applied to test a doubtful claim for the rights and property as a legitimate kindred. From the reign of Charlemagne, the ordeal became quite common way to settle various disputes, and not only the ordeal by water but various types of ordeal had been recent innovations, such as the ordeal by hot iron, by cross, by cold water and by hot ploughshares. The ordeal was regulated by both popes and emperors, and it was applied for both sacred and secular matter; for example, in 775, a dispute over the possession of a monastery was settled by the ordeal, and in 806, the decision about the division of imperial territory between the emperor's sons was made by the ordeal. By the mid-ninth century, various types of ordeal entered their heyday.

In the range of cases to which the trial by ordeal applied is important to note. The ordeal employed not only in a trial of criminal case such as theft or homicide, but often to prove sexual misconduct of women. The case of queen Teutberga of Lotharingia, in 858, is a good example of the ordeal in great political important incident, because in this case, not only the honor of the queen but the inheritance of the Lotharingian crown was at the stake. To attempt to prove something by the ordeal left strong impression on people, so it was often used as a political gambit by both strong ruler who intended to crush an enemy, and by the weaker parties, potential victims of political strife, as a trump card. Thus it may be natural that ordeals were used in

connection with political issue continuously from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. The trial by ordeal also played an important role in the history of the Gregorian Reform. The reformers used the ordeal against simoniacs, and in the council of Mainz(1049), 'a certain bishop of Speyer, Sibico, who was accused of the crime of adultery was cleared by sacrificial ordeal.'⁴ As they used ordeal to judge the doubts about sexual purity, in the case of determination of the orthodoxy of religious belief, ordeal was applied. For example, to decide between Arian and Catholic doctrine, or to clear a cleric who had fallen under suspicion of heresy, the ordeal by fire and water was important. In the twelfth century, the ordeal was a regular way of judgment of heresy. In these days, people thought that the heresy was insidious conspiracy and like a bad disease, so that people might be 'contaminated' by heretical doctrine. People detested heresy, and there was no means to find out heresy, the ordeal was the only mean of reaching judgment. The ordeal by hot iron needed three days to get the result, but crowd who required the ordeal could not wait and usually adopted the ordeal by cold water which showed the result immediately by whether accused person sank in water or not. 'The cold water trial of heretics was thus particularly susceptible to crowd influence and mob justice', like a witch-hunt.⁵

Not with only such dramatic cases but also with ordinary crimes like murder, fire-raising and forgery, the legal records show many references to the ordeal. As a part of regular judicial procedure, ordeal was employed at a certain situation; the ordeal was used only the case there was no other evidence. It was the last resort. As valid evidence, witness, oath, testimony and written agreements were employed. Usually, written evidence was not popular in the middle age except some part of Europe (for example, northern Italy), and there was preference for verbal evidence over written one. If these other kinds of evidence were not available, or accused person's oath were not reliable, he would call on God as his witness which meant use of ordeal.

The term from the ninth to twelfth centuries was the heyday of ordeal and in every part of Christianized European countries, the regular employment of ordeal could be seen. Although its origin may from pagan custom, the ordeal was regulated by the church and was introduced to other area such as Islamic territory through the activity of Christianity, notably the crusades. The procedure of ordeal was normally regulated by religious or royal authorities, and often the right to conduct the ordeal was given to particular places. Through the conduct of the ordeal, the church could take part in not only the spiritual cases (such as heresy) but in the secular justice. In addition, participation in ordeal brought special revenue, 'not only in shape of fines and confiscations, ... but also in the fees paid to priest or the church.'⁶ And also there was

another privilege for priests; the exemption from the ordeal. If it was necessary to take ordeal, there was other kinds of ordeal which gave less pain – the eucharistic ordeal; or when priests had to undergo the ordeal by water and fire, they could sent unfree servants in place of themselves. Also the Jews and some townsmen were exempt from the ordeal, however, the reason was different, and in these cases, exemption from the ordeal meant the loss of optional choice.

On the other hand, the sceptical attitude to the legitimacy of ordeal by the church and secular people existed from the early stage. In the ninth century, Agobald, archbishop of Lyons, stated in his work that the ordeal was invention of men, and in view of the inscrutability of God's judgment, the way of ordeal was unreliable.⁷ The absence from the bible and Roman law was also reason to attack the ordeal, and the Roman lawyers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not adopt them as judicial proof. Pope Stephen V condemned the ordeal in his letter on the grounds that the ordeal was a superstitious invention. In the twelfth century, the formation of sacramental theology made the confession to the statutory duty for layman, and the development of this new theology caused the question that what would be happened if the accused person confessed before the ordeal. In 1063, Pope Alexander II banned the use of the ordeal to clear priests accused of murder. In the twelfth century, 'the ordeal became one of the targets in the campaign which high churchmen launched against custom in the name of law.'⁸ Pope Alexander III aimed to bring about the withdrawal of clergy from the participation in the ordeal, and the ordeal was not permitted to use in ecclesiastical jurisdiction, however, this did not imply the prohibition of the clergy from the carrying out the ordeal in secular courts. Thus the clergy were involved in secular affairs, which was against the attempt of Pope Gregory VII to make clear the distinction between the clerical and the lay. The condemnation to the ordeal became stronger, because from the theological point, it was wrong to test God and to expect a miracle and by it's nature, it was irrational. Whether people could make the clear distinction between the category of crime, which was belong to secular world, and sin, which was of spiritual matter was another problem. The complicated relation between the spiritual and the secular matter also can be found in the controversy about the ordeal. Finally, in 1215, the trial by ordeal was abandoned by the decision of Lateran IV. At the countries with which there were close relationships with the papal monarchy, the disappearance of ordeal is remarkable. Custom of ordeal was removed by other way, such as witness, oath and confession by torture.

Before tracing the origin of ordeal in Japan, It may be useful to fill in a little of the background. The first resource in which Japan is described is the record of Han

(China) compiled at mid first century. According to this record, in those days, Japan was divided into more than hundred small groups and each groups was ruled by each leader. One of the leaders sent envoys to the court of China, and was given the seal which showed he was a vassal of Chinese emperor. In the third century, also on the Chinese record, the name of Japan appeared again as united kingdom which consisted of 28 tribe groups. This country is ruled by Queen Himiko who was regarded to have magical power and was respected by people as the religious authority. She was supported by her brother, and he may be an administrator and military leader. There is no clear evidence which shows the development of this kingdom after the record, and until the fifth century when new kingdom appeared at Nara is the dark age of Japan. This new kingdom may consist of many small tribes which covered main part of Japan, and king, not queen, ruled people. The king is called 'O-kimi' which means king of kings, and later it become to be called 'Tenno' (emperor). O-kimi have all authority of religion, administration and military. O-kimi did not rule all the people directly, but ruled through each leader of tribes. Their religion is Shinto (polytheism), but during the sixth century, through the relationship with China, Buddhism was introduced into Japan, and was believed by upper class people of society. In the seventh century, Japan learned Rituryo system (penal and administrative code system) from Chinese court, and established strong authority of emperor. And at the same time, following the model of China, two books of Japanese history, *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, were compiled by order of emperor. In these books. Japanese history was traced back to the age of gods and goddesses, and the emperor was described as descendant of Goddess of sun, 'Amaterasu'. In those days, many gods and goddess are worshipped, and each tribe has it's own 'Ujigami' (guardian gods of clan). 'Amaterasu' was also one of these guardian goddess, but when *Nihon Shoki* was compiled, the compiler rearranged the mythical local stories and made new family tree of 'Amaterasu as the most respectful and powerful goddes of all other gods. In this way, the religious authority of emperor was established.

Before the seventh century, trial by ordeal may already has become common in Japan. If there is any problem, people report it to leader of clan, and under the authority of 'Ujigami', leader decides the case by 'Kugatachi' (ordeal by boiling water). In those days, there was no distinction between sin and crime, and anything which makes gods or goddess angry was thought as sin. If somebody committed such fault, a Shinto priest had to cleanse ones sin and try to calm gods and goddess. The oldest reference of sin is found in *Kojiki*, and crime against the society (such as destruction of rice field fence), incest, and infectious disease were defined as sin. At the ancient age, disease was also regarded as sin, because these disease was caused by evil spirits and patients were

thought that they were contaminated by something evil. In some case, such as sudden emperor's illness or bad weather, priests took the ordeal against many people to find somebody who committed sin which may have been the reason of these disasters.⁹

In Japan, the ordeal was applied to find the sin and to cleanse it. But through the process of growth of emperor's power, the object of the ordeal began to change slightly. Not only sin against gods, but crime against the emperor was also regarded as felony, and a suspected person has to take the ordeal. During the establishment of emperor's authority, small groups of tribes started to be involved into the one society. The opportunity to have contact with other tribes was increased, and trouble between tribes occurred. Usually, this kind of trouble was used to solve by ordeal of each tribes Ujigami. However, in such cases, under which Ujigami the ordeal should be employed was problem if more than one tribe was involved. In these special cases, the emperor gave judgment and settled the case. If all these trouble between clans should be solved by the emperor, arbitration would become his major occupation. When the Ritsuryo was introduced from China, the Japanese judicial system was also changed. To govern people efficiently, Japanese ruler adopted law code, and custom of judge went by the law code became usual way of solution. However, there was crime which there was no witness, no evidence, and in that case, the trial by ordeal was still remained.¹⁰

Unfortunately, the part of the emperor in the ordeal is not clear. Usually, the Emperor has the responsibility for his people and country's prosperity, and sometimes it was thought that certain kind of natural disaster was caused by emperor's fault. so he had to abdicate. However, there is no surviving evidence whether in that case, the ordeal was employed or not. Records about the ordeal are quite limited, and it is not clear that emperor or people of upper class of society had any participation with ordeal. When conflict was occurred between royal family and noble people, often the one trapped the other, for example, false accusation by a friend, and expelled the other from the court. It seems that there was no chance to clear one's suspicion by the ordeal or other means. So from the seventh century, the ordeal is declined at least the noble class society in Japan. However, in other class, ordeal was remained as a last resource to solve the judicial trouble. By the twelfth century the ordeal by hot water was once disappeared, and instead of ordeal, a special oath in the shrine or temple became to be used to these cases which had no evidence during Kamakura period (1192-1333). A person who made one's oath that he had not committed such a crime should shut himself in the room of shrine or temple during certain days. and after he had come from the room, people and priest checked his health or circumstance (including his family and house). If there was no unusual change (one's illness or sudden death of one's own horse), he might be judged

innocent. In Nuromachi period (1336-1573) the ordeal by hot water appeared again, and this was fused with the oath in shrine or temple: Before the ordeal, an accused wrote down his oath, burnt this and drank ash of this. Then he picked a pebble from cauldron.^{1 1} It may notable that at the Muromachi period, the emperor's religious authority was usurped by Shogun. the head of warriors class. The ordeal was used when the authority of the emperor was lost.

In both cases of Europe and Japan, the ordeal was employed when there was no Other evidence and proceeding of ordeal was supported by strong authority~ in Europe. by the church, and in Japan. by the leaders of local clans. In both cases, the ordeal was used to clear the accusation, even when there was no accuser. Also in both areas, the ordeal was disappeared when the society was changed and the necessity of making distinction between spiritual and material world became consciousness: in Europe. the Gregorian Reform may be one of the reason to prohibit the clergy to be involved the ordeal, and in Japan establishment of the imperial authority required the emperor to become the arbitrator instead of each clans' guardian gods. The difference between the west and Japan can be explained by the difference of monotheism and polytheism, and also by the difference point of view of the sacred and secular. Next, I shall examine the relation between these two in the West and in Japan.

2. The popes' relation to secular rulers in Europe

Watt stated that 'Dualism in fact meant different things to different types of ruler. The papacy accepted a principle of dualism but it was so fundamentally conditioned by another axiom, the superiority of the spiritual power, that it was in effect replaced by a unitary view of the two powers. Emperors and kings, in the name of dualism, challenged and rejected this hierocratic logic.'^{1 2}

The relation between the pope and secular rulers is often explained that the church and the emperor (or king) should take care of the spiritual and the secular affairs respectively, but reality is rather complicated. It is said that pope representative of sacred power, takes care of spiritual part, and kings take care of material part. However, it is difficult to find clear line between spiritual and material matters. The pope was not only the spiritual leader, the successor of St. Peter and St. Paul. but the office holder and lawgiver of the papal monarchy. In the same way, medieval kings had a sacral role. Firstly, I shall trace the ideal image of the medieval kings; secondly, the dispute about sacral kingship and royal saintly; finally, I shall deal with inauguration rituals.

The model of ideal king can be found in the bible. Morris stated that 'The king was a hero-figure or a bearer of sanctity, and men looked to him not for a uniform administration but for interventions to promote justice and righteousness'.^{1 3} Alcuin's comparison of Charlemagne to King David may be a good example. The king's main task is to provide justice, to protect the realm and to be the defender of the faith Einhard describes Charlemagne as a great lawgiver and judge for his people'.^{1 4} To be a supporter of the faith may be the most important factor from the view of the church. Pepin was recognized by Pope Zacharias as a legitimate king of Frankish kingdom, because in these days the papal monarchy was threatened by the Lombards and for the pope had no physical means to oppose with his enemy. The pope could regard King Pepin as guardian of faith. Pepin donated land of Ravenna, and donating land or property to the church is also required of ideal kings. The ideal image of kings from the point of view of the church is represented by Charlemagne who ruled 'on the concept of peace and concord between secular and religious authority'.^{1 5} There is no emphasis on possession of any mystique or charisma, however it is thought that in the Germanic tribes, kings or leaders had a certain kind of magical power.

Next, I shall trace the 'holy' part of the kingship. In France and England, kings have been thought to have special healing power. And at the same time, there were kings who were canonized. What kind of relation can be found among these Germanic king's charismatic character, the power of healing a certain disease, and royal saint may be considered. First, I shall discuss about the Germanic king's charisma. The ideal image of kings or leaders is similar to the Christian kings' image; to take care of people and protect one's land against the enemy. However, in the Germanic tribe, these elements may have been divided between two leaders, at least at a very early stage; the king who has an ability to derive fortune and luck from gods for people, and the king as a warrior. The former were regarded as holders of magical power. These two elements of Germanic kingship were gradually emerged into one, and as a title, Warrior king is remained. However, Germanic kings may be regarded as holders of a certain magical power, and later, in the course of medieval period, traces could be observed in kingship. It is important that these Germanic kings were not succeeded by automatically by their Sons, but there was an election and conflict between kin, and though sometimes the throne was occupied by persons who not in the direct line, he still holds this sacral character.^{1 6} Royal touch for disease may be one of them. Next, I shall examine that. The kings of France and England healed by their touch patients who suffered from scrofula.. The definition of this disease was ambiguous and fluid during the medieval age, but it was called 'king's evil', because touch of kings healed the disease. It is kind

of disorders of the neck and face caused by tuberculosis, but in Roman period, the term 'morbus regius' was applied to jaundice. In the source which described the miracle healing by king Edward the confessor, leprosy was confused with scrofula. Bloch examined in his study. The Royal Touch that the origin of the touching can be retroactively to eleventh century. He tried to seek the origin back to the Merovingians or Carolingians, but the clear evidence could not be obtainable from the age. Although written evidence describes the custom of touching scrofula by kings as a regular activity, from king Louis VI and his father Philip I, after them until thirteenth century, there is curious silence about the royal touching. In England, Edward the confessor is reported to have healed the disease. and after the Norman Conquest, Henry I also exercised this custom. Bloch tried to explain the silence of French kings' royal touch from Louis VI to St.Louis by the hypothesis that the Gregorian reform gave influence to clerical writers. He quoted from William of Malmesbury's opinion of people who believed in the sacral nature of kingship. The sacral power of cure of king's evil was thought to be belong to king's blood, royal lineage, not to personal holiness, and this thought offended the church. William added his opinion that this healing power of king was not sacred. Barlow reappraised the study of Bloch, and about the origin, he stated that 'the evidence for the existence of the custom in either kingdom before the end of the thirteenth century is, however, so sparse and Bloch's use of it so bold...' ¹⁷ Barlow indicated the origin of English king's touch in the end of the thirteenth century. Because of king's merciful alms which is one of Christian king's duty to poor and sick, these people crowded around king who was thought to have magical power, and from this situation, the idea of the royal touch developed. To care these poor and sick may be easily turned to cure. As Bloch had already mentioned, popes did not much like royal touch. When Pope Gregory VII excommunicated the emperor Henry IV, he 'stripped emperors and kings of any magic'. ¹⁸ Pope Gregory VII intended to make distinguish between saint's miracle and king's miracle, and to attribute this power to the church exclusively. It may be suggestive that in France, Father of Louis VI, Phillip I lost his healing power because of his sin. Phillip was excommunicated, and it is natural to think his sin related with this. In twelfth century, Peter of Blois wrote two letters. One showed his opinion that he could not respect king. The other letter written when he was dying show opposite, and he mentioned that 'the sacrament of unction at his coronation was not an empty gift. Its virtue will be most amply proved by the disappearance of disease which attacks the groin and the cure of scrofula'. ¹⁹ In France, after the mid thirteenth century, royal touch became regular custom. and through the decline of papal monarchy, the custom of touching became more substantial. Anyway, touching for king's evil has continued until

eighteenth century, and it was thought of a royal prerogative. The reason of existence of royal touch for king's evil only in France and England may be answered simply: it was introduced to England from France. William of Malmesbury wrote about king Edward the Confessor, and he stated that royal touch was a novelty to English. Bloch pointed out that rite of both countries is almost same, and it may first originated in France, and then may have been imitated by the English kings.

Next, I shall turn to the royal saint. This should be distinguished from sacral kingship. 'In brief, sainthood was defined by reference to monastic-ascetic values and it was virtually monopolised by representatives of the monastic and clerical orders of society'.²⁰ Thus, at an early stage, royal saints are grouped into these two types: kings who abdicated from the rank and became monks, and kings who were martyrs. In early medieval age, kings could not be saint unless he withdrew from the secular order. The word 'royal saint' itself connote contradiction, because of duality: popes care to spiritual, sacred matter and kings care to material, secular matter. Even in the eleventh century, the saint king regarded as 'crowned monk'. From the same point, clergy disliked the existence of special power which depended on the royal blood. By ritual, the church gave king a certain spiritual authority; however, it does not mean king was given sacred power nor was consecrated, or that the king became saintly. Nelson stated that 'for what distinguishes a saint from a sacral or holy person is the very obvious, but crucial, fact that a saint is dead'.²¹ And the behaviour of saint kings not only follow a good Christian model of king but also take a hand to restrict the king's secular action, for example, taxation on church's property. Kauffmann's study about the image of St. Louis is a good example of a royal saint.²² Initially, there is a merged similarity between the images of St. Louis in pictorial and written evidence. These images showed the king's activities such as service to poor, sick people, being given punishment by his confessor, collecting the bones of crusaders, and a miracle which returned prayer book to him by angel. These all show St. Louis's pious character.

Next, I shall give a brief description about the relation of these three elements: sacral kingship originating in Germanic custom, royal touch for king's evil, and royal saint. There is an opinion that some part of character of royal saint may be derived from sacral Germanic king, and that under the influence of church, the image of royal saint was formed. Royal touch may be one of trace of sacral kingship. However, according to Klaniczay, there is no direct relation between sacral kingship and royal saint. Before conversion, the character of sacral leader had been absorbed by military leader, so it seems unlikely that there was simple continuity between the sacral character which was contained in military leader and the royal saint whose image was far from military king,

at least at early stage. The character of royal saint may be made by church, because at the first stage of conversion, to give a new cult to christianized kings helped church to convert heathen people. It may be necessary to strengthen king's authority to establish Christian king's rule. There was no saint king in Poland. and this may be attribute to the existence of strong authority of kingship, which did not need any help from church. But, on the other hand, there was conflict between church and secular ruler about the promotion of royal saint. It may be natural that church wished to limit the sacred character of kings, because it should be belong to territory of church. As a result, as I mentioned, royal saint was given an image exclusively of martyr or defender of faith, such as Saint Louis. the Church denied any sacred character which is attribute to lineage of kings. However, the custom of royal touch had been retained, and this was often attacked by the popes. The power of healing a certain disease was attribute to royal blood, and without church's approval, kings exercised this power. Even royal saints, such as St. Louis or Edward the confessor, had been thought to have this magical power. Peter of Blois's letter may have been typical of the attitude of the church to royal touch: first, denial of king's having sacral power, then trying to explain this power as a gift from the god to defender of faith. Anyway, the origin of royal touch may be in Germanic sacral kingship, and not in church activity. On the other hand, the image of royal saint was under church influence. However, even the image of royal saint was changed gradually from spiritual model to real king's model between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. For example, St. Wenceslaus was firstly appeared as martyr king, but later, he was described as a knight, and at last, it was 'refashioned so that he become the hero of chivalric romances'.^{2 3}. The image of saint king with sword was appeared, and it may mean that the image of secular king was added and emerged into of holy saint. And another character appeared from the thirteenth century in central Europe: saint princesses. As image of saint kings become to wear swords, the image of peaceful princesses saints came out. And though the sacred character had been given by church to individuals, not by lineage, a princess, such as Edith, the first wife of Otto I, could be praised by priest because she was a descendant of martyr king. And at the same time, these princesses canonization to saints would strengthen their lineage, or king's authority. It seems important to have royal blood to these canonizations of saint princesses, and this fact may show the change of balance of power between the popes and kings. The importance of royal blood means establishment of king's strong authority.

Finally, inauguration rituals may give a explanation about how the church took part in making king as secular ruler. Inauguration rituals differ a good deal from country to country. and it seems to be difficult to make any general explanation. However,

according to the dictionary of middle age, it consists of several rituals, such as election, acclamation, anointing and crowning. The former two factors seem to reflect Germanic procedure, and the first of latter may derived from the bible. The last custom may have survived from Roman time. Anyway, anointing and crowning seems to be unified, and even after election, nor just succession of throne by king's son without election, kings needed to be anointed by clergy, because anointing ritual gave kings authority. However, in early middle age, there were kings who were not anointed, especially among Frank's co-king. In fact, kings may hold their own authority independent from the church, but when the rival came out, it helped one to assert one's right. And Nelson stated that 'if relatively many reigning Melovingians and no Carolingians were assassinated, this can hardly be explained simply in terms of the protective effect of anointing.... More relevant here are such factors as the maintenance of a fairly restrictive form of royal succession.'²⁴ Through the anointing, clergy gave exclusive influence over king-making procedure.

The fact that, on the one hand, kings had sacred powers, while, on the other hand, the church had a certain grip on that sacred power (through the claim to define sanctity, control of inauguration rituals) might itself indicate an important dualism. However, as we have seen, there were tendencies to dualism in Japan too, even if the Buddhism and Shinto tendencies on the whole cancelled each other out. What brought the implicit dualism in the Western system into the open, in a form which can be sharply contrasted with Japan was the Reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Reform movement of the church caused the investiture contest between the pope and secular rulers, and the meaning of duality had become hot dispute. To examine dual system in the West, firstly I shall summarize the arguments during the investiture contest, and then examine the meaning of duality.

In the eleventh century, a reform movement was started partly under the influence of Cluny, and the attack on simony, control of clerics and on influence of the lay over the ecclesiastical matters were made to restore the clerical order. The reform was backed by medieval kings at the early stage, because firstly, the object of the reform movement belonged to the spiritual world, and secondly, the movement might give them some political advantages; for example, prohibition of clerical marriage might keep the church property from becoming hereditary and prevent the clerics from exercise of the power like secular local rulers.²⁵ In 1046, Emperor Henry III deposed three popes because of their disqualification as popes, and appointed Leo IX. The right of appointment of the new pope had been exercised by the emperor as the traditional right from the Roman Empire, for example, from 955 to 1057, there were 25 popes and five

of them were deposed by the emperors, and twelve of them were appointed under influence of the emperors.²⁶ Even the power to appoint and dismiss was held by the secular ruler, and it seemed quite natural that the emperor or king appointed the bishops by giving a pastoral staff and a ring, the symbols of the clerics. In addition, bishops paid homage to the emperor or king as the holders of feudal estates. Especially in Germany, the relation between these bishops and the emperor became close, because the emperor organized the clerics as his state officers, and held the rulership over the church property in his territory (Reichskirchenpolitik). The bishops became vassals of the emperor, and simultaneously, they were prelates of the Roman church. Then the prelacy was occupied by the member of noble families.²⁷ The bishopric was regarded as one of the private properties, and the complaint of Berengar, viscount of Narbonne in 1056, shows that buying and selling of bishopric was not rare.²⁸ A buyer of bishopric could insist by way of excuse that he paid only for royal grant of land and he did not commit simony. According to Arnold, the secular rights to control German churches derived from several sources; 'from imperial protection and patronage of bishoprics... from an ancient conception of churches as items of real property; from juridical immunity for ecclesiastical lands and the consequent need for effective... and aristocratic officers to execute the law...; from the canonical restrictions... upon the exercise of criminal jurisdictions, more especially the infliction of the death penalty, by clerics.'²⁹ The last one caused controversy relating to the involvement of clerics in the ordeal. The ordeal was usual juridical procedure from the ninth to twelfth centuries as I stated above, and one of the reason to order clerics not to be involved in ordeal was that from canonical tradition, it was taboo for clerics to have relation with the matter which resulting the shedding of blood. There was dilemma that a priest faced on one hand with pressure from his prince, bishop. ... and on the other, with the knowledge of their immoral nature.'³⁰ In the medieval period, secular rulers and popes depended on each other politically and economically: lacking his own army, the pope had to rely on secular rulers to keep peace, and financial Sources of the Roman church were tithes and donations from secular lords. Under both secular and sacred influence, bishops and clerics were often in dilemma between the pope and the emperor. The strong movement against the intervention of the secular rulers over these bishops and clerics was not explicit until the pontificate of Leo IX.

In 1049, Leo IX held the council at Rheims. The French king Henry I refused to attend the council, and consequently, the number of prelate who attended was small. At the beginning of the council, Leo IX ordered the attendance to declare whether one had paid money for one's post or not and to swear his words by the relic of the Saint. Only a

few of them could swear their words, and some of them were excommunicated, and some of them were reappointed after the penance. Leo IX declared that without election by canons and people, no one could get one's post in the church, and prohibited the simony. The pope did not come into conflict with the emperor, Henry III in his reign, but after his death, next pope. Nicholas II was elected without consulting Henry IV, boy king. In 1059, Nicholas II introduced a new system for election of the pope doctor me that the pope should be elected by the cardinal bishops, and the first prohibition of lay appointment of bishops was also made; 'That no cleric or priest shall receive a church from laymen in any fashion, whether freely or at a price.'^{3 1} The church started to challenge the authority of the emperor, and tried to be free from royal control. A cardinal of Leo IX, Peter Damian accepted the authority of kings, but he also insisted that if king opposed to the divine commands, he would lose his dignity.^{3 2} Another cardinal Humbert had more radical opinions; he denied the emperor's right of appointment of bishops, and argued that anyone who committed the simony could not become a true bishop and that any priests who were appointed by that invalid' bishop were also not true priests. He compared the priesthood to soul and the kingship to the body. Following through his logic, he concluded that the soul excelled the body, therefore, the priests dignity excelled the royal dignity. This analogy was quoted by other theologians again and again later, and this became a strong theoretical base.^{3 3} In addition, the political background in Germany was changing. In the eleventh century, the development of frontier was made in rapid progress, and huge amount of land were newly cultivated. This development was mainly carried by monasteries. At the end of the reign of Otto I. the number of monasteries in German was around one hundred, and at the reign of Henry IV, around 700 monasteries existed in German. The noble people obtained the rulership over the newly developed lands, because through donation of their lands, they became the patrons of these monasteries. The emperor tried to control these monasteries and gave protection for them. The noble people coped with the emperor, and sought relation with the pope, and the pope made contact with these princes. Consequently, this caused the conflict between the emperor and the nobility, and similar situation was also seen in Japan. The prerequisite for severe conflict between the emperor and the pope had been already filled.^{3 4}

In 1073, Gregory VII became the pope, and drove forward the Reform. In 1075, in his 'Dictatus Papae', Gregory VII declared that the pope alone could depose bishops, and the pope could depose the emperor. He insisted on the absoluteness of papal dignity and no one could judge the pope. At the same year, he also decreed that any lay person who appointed the clerics should be excommunicated. The next year in the letter to the

pope, Henry IV attacked Gregory as an usurper, and responded that he was anointed to kingship and except on the case of deviation from the Christianity, no one could judge him. Gregory excommunicated Henry IV, and deprived of his authority, and prohibited that anyone to serve him as king.^{3 5} The conflict between the pope and the emperor involved the noble people in Germany, and the rebellion at the Saxony weakened the power of the emperor. He sought the pope's pardon, and in 1077 at Canossa, Gregory gave him absolution and released him from excommunication. Gregory could not deny his desire of reconciliation because it was duty of spiritual pastor. The princes of Germany elected Rudolf as a new king, and Germany was fought over between two emperors. Henry defeated Rudolf in 1080, while Gregory deposed the former again at the same year, and banned the lay investiture not only of bishops but lower clerics. Henry did not seek reconciliation with Gregory again, but he elected antipope Clement III at the diet, and attacked Rome with his army. Pope Gregory VII rescued by the Normans of south Italy, and died at Salerno in 1185. However, the pope did not lose. On the contrary, the emperor, Henry IV lost his ground to insist that the king was a head of church and could fully control the appointment of clergy, because he had to insist that the priesthood and the kingship were separate matters; he quoted the story of two swords from the bible, as a proof of significance of duality.^{3 6} The conflict between the pope and the emperor caused 'the war of polemical pamphlets'. Many clerics were involved this war to discuss the theological issue. The Anonymous of York held a theory of sacral kingship, and supported the king's supremacy over the pope that 'No one should take precedence by right over [the king]... who is consecrated and made like unto God with so many and such great sacraments... Therefore he is not called layman, for he is anointed of the Lord,...chief and highest prelate'.^{3 7} The authority of sacral kingship had remained for centuries after 1100, and was still supported by people as the ground for supremacy of kings and the emperor over the church. On the other hand, there was an effort to deal the sacred and secular matter as two different parts, The opinion of Hugh of Fleury was that the king could be involved investiture of the new bishop with giving temporal lands, and king's recognition became one of the procedure of canonical election. Giving the staff and ring should be done by the archbishop because these things were symbols of pastor of soul.^{3 8} This opinion had been gradually accepted as the goal of contest; the concordat of Worms, in which finally both sides recognized the existence of duality.

Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's (Luke 20:25). In 1122, at the synod of Worms, the dispute was finally settled. Both the pope and the emperor came to realize that there were two separate orders, and

there was although some overlap, each power should recognize the right of the other. And both of them also recognized that matter could not always clearly divide into secular and sacred. Pope Paschal II had tried to settle the contest by renouncing of the regalia of the church, because he realized that ‘the management of material estates does not become a spiritual activity simply because bishops are set in charge of them’.³⁹ His proposal was accepted by emperor Henry V. but, bishops repudiated this agreement. At last, pope Paschal II had to give up his idea. Without their rights as secular landholder, bishops could not maintain their activities, and as long as bishops enjoyed secular privilege, the emperor’s right of investiture remained. The concordat of Worms is a compromise with which both sides could, by and large, be satisfied.

The investiture conflict was settled, but once the dualism had been made explicit, new controversies arose. Between the pope Innocent III and the French king Philip II, or between the pope innocent IV and the emperor Frederick, or the pope Boniface VIII and the French king Philip IV, there were conflict over the supremacy. In each case, the pope insisted on the supremacy of church, however, even Innocent III, who titled himself ‘the vicar of Christ’, did not deny the authority of secular ruler. It can be argued that he did not intervene in the secular affairs because of his supreme temporal authority, but always justified his activity by other reason. In the decretal *Novit* in 1204, he wrote that.... Let no one suppose that we wish to diminish or disturb the jurisdiction and power of the king when he ought not to impede or restrict our jurisdiction and power.⁴⁰ The pope Innocent IV deposed the emperor Frederick II, but the former limited the cases in which spiritual authority could intervene in the secular affairs. For example, a case of legitimating, Innocent IV interpreted that the church could only give a legitimate child the right of joining the clerics, and the right of inheritance of secular property should be given at the secular court. In principle, he denied the intervention of the church court to the secular court.⁴¹ The dispute between Boniface VIII and Philip IV was initially caused by taxation on the church lands. In *Unam Sanctam*, Boniface VIII confirmed the supremacy of the spiritual authority; however, in his letter in 1302, he stated that he did not wish to usurp the jurisdiction of the king.⁴² Thus, through the medieval period, the idea of a dualism of secular and sacred remained a powerful force.

3. The Japanese emperors relation to the Shogun Bakufu

To consider the relation between sacred and secular authorities in Japan, it is

indispensable to examine the intricate connection of the emperor, Shintoism and Buddhism. Firstly, I shall try to summarize the change of religious authority of the emperor at the Heian period (790-1192). Then I shall consider the influence of Religious authority on secular rulers, i.e. Shogun, from the Kamakura period (1192-1333) to the mid Muromachi period (1336-1573).

As I mentioned above, at the beginning of 1-Heian period, the emperor had already established his religious authority as the direct descendant of Amaterasu, the goddess of sun. The idea that the emperor is the member of sacred goddess's family gave him the religious supremacy and the respect of his blood was so strong that it seemed impossible for another noble family to usurp the throne. The title of the emperor was taken from China, but there was difference between Chinese emperor s and Japanese one s authority over the secular world; in China, the emperor was considered as the 'vicarius dei' and he held the both seats of sacred and secular power. On the contrary, in Japan, people regarded the emperor himself as the family of sacred goddess, and ironically, this idea kept him away from the direct government of the secular world, because there were many taboos and regulations which had to be kept and these required him to shut out himself in the palace for long period to pray for gods and goddesses. Naturally, the secular affairs came to be left for other high clans to settle. Though still the emperor held the legislative power (in fact, often his words was regarded as the law), gradually the frequency of his participation in the secular affairs was reduced.^{4 3} Ritsuryo(the penal and administrative code system) prescribed the council of state and the department of religious as the supreme organs of government, and the head officer of both departments managed secular and sacred affairs.

The emperor held the authority over the sacred affairs, and his control over the Shinto and the Buddhism was exercised through the officer of the religious department. In the ninth century, the 'classification' of the Shinto shrines was enforced. At the court of the emperor, noble people were usually given the court rank (perhaps comparable to the status of count or baron in the Western world), and without this rank people could not join the organization of government nor could attend any political meetings. The classification means that each Shinto shrines as well as the individual nobles were given the court rank as well as the human beings, and the group of the high ranked shrine was regarded as the specially designated by the emperor. At special ceremonies, such as the coronation of the emperor, the state officers were sent to these designated shrines and dedicated the letters from the emperor. These authorized shrines were given financial support from the government. The purpose of the classification of shrines was the same as the compilation of *Nihon-shoki* (the history of Japan). There were many shrines over

the country and each shrine enshrined the guardian gods of local clans. To give the court rank for these gods meant the establishment of the hierarchy and on the top of this, the Ise shrine of Amaterasu was placed. The Ise shrine was not given any rank, because in Japan, the court rank was only for the subject: the emperor did not need the rank. This classification of the shrines (or. de facto, the classification of the gods themselves) showed the religious authority of the emperor as 'the living god' who ruled even the gods.^{4 4} At the beginning of the ninth century, the emperor Kanmu regulated the rule about the Shinto ritual and priests, and in this rule, he prohibited unauthorized ritual. such as an oracle, and banned the priest's marriage. The Shinto priests had to manage the ritual properly, and the post of he priest should not be held concurrently by the officer of the secular affairs. However the system of designated shrine gradually decayed in the tenth century. A decline the Shinto had already become evident in the eighth century. At a certain shrine, there was an oracle and in this oracle the god confessed is sin as the Shinto god and wished to be Buddhist for salvation f his soul.^{4 5} To understand this curious oracle, it is necessary to examine the movement of the Buddhism at the same period.

At the sixth century, the Buddhism was introduced into Japan from China, and was spread in the noble families. At the first stage, there was a controversy over whether the Buddhism was a heretical religion, but at last people accepted Buddhism as well as Shinto. The main reason of this acceptance may be due to the immaturity of doctrine of the Shinto. because the origin of the Shinto gods are natural spirits (such as sun, moon, wind, sea, and Eire), and even the emperor could not control the weather and prevent natural disaster. The only thing he could was to pray for the prosperity of his country, but the salvation was not always guaranteed. On the contrary, the Buddhism was a new idea which could give consolation about individual souls salvation. In the eighth century, the Buddhism was mainly for the emperor and noble families. When famous Buddhism priest. Gyoki started a religious movement for the common people and preached the salvation of their soul on the roads of villages and towns, his reputation gathered many people around him and this was seen as the challenge to the authority of the emperor. The emperor Gensho banned Gyoki's local activity and abused him as a law-breaker in his declaration in 717.^{4 6} The Rituryo had the task of regulation of the Buddhism activities, and through this law code the emperor tried to control the Buddhist priests as well as Shinto priests. However, this new religious activity often threatened the status of the sacred emperor, because the noble families involved the famous Buddhism priests and temples into their political conflict to strengthen their opinion. When the emperor Kanmu decided to move the capital city to Heian-kyo in 794, he banned to build temples

in the capital except two state temples.

The Buddhist priests were also classified by the rank, and the emperor appointed the highest ranked priest. When people wished to become the Buddhist priest or priestess, they had to get permission from the department of the religion. Many Buddhism priests studied at China, and when they came back to Japan, they were treated as highly ranked priests by the emperor and noble people. These famous priests founded the temple at the outskirt of the capital city, and many priests joined these temples to study doctrine and were organized under each temple's rule. The noble family also founded the temples, and they financially supported these temples. If the Rituryo fulfilled its function properly, the emperor could control these Buddhist Temples as well as the Shinto shrines. However, the decline of the Rituryo began from the eighth century and the collapse of the Rituryo became obviously in the tenth century. Under the Rituryo, all land was held by the emperor, and common people were obliged to cultivate land and pay tax to the officers appointed by the state council. There were still many lands which were not cultivated. so the government regulated that anybody who cultivated the land could held the land as his private property. From this rule, many private manors were appeared and usually these manors were possessed by the noble families. Even the state officers who were appointed by the government to manage the state lands tried to become landowners and employed local clan's people to cultivate the new land. The problem is the manor had gradually eroded the state land, and to keep the right as a landowner and to exempt from the state tax, these landowners donated their lands to the noble families and got the protection in return.^{4 7} This movement caused the collapse of taxation. Consequently, Buddhism temples and Shinto shrines lost their financial support from the state government, and the necessity of new patron caused the new relation between these temples/shrines and the noble families. Simultaneously, common people were involved these religious activities. For example, the Kofukuji temple, one of the most authoritative temples, was given the state land as temple's private manor by the government, and at the same time, the right of fiscal immunity was also given. In addition, local clans people donated their own manor to the temple to keep their rulership over the land. Thus, the Kofukuli temple established their religious authority supported by this land ownership. The other example is the Ise shrine. Even Ise shrine needed new financial support, and the local powerful families donated their land in return of being appointed themselves as the lower priest officer of Ise.^{4 8} These two examples were the successive ones of finding new financial support. But not all of shrines and temples could easily found such patrons. The movement of the Shinto gods who wished to be the Buddhist was caused by these social background. From the tenth

century. the syncretism of the Shinto and the Buddhism became conspicuous, and the Shinto gods and the Buddha were worshiped in the same buildings which called Jinguji(shrine-temple). Shrines and temples supported each other to maintain their activities, and only the most successful shrines and/or temples could keep the name of designated shrines/temples. They can be divided into several groups; for example, traditional shrines which enshrined the guardian gods and goddess of the emperor's and the noble families, and the newly raised shrines/temples which could show obvious miracles and strongly appealed their religious power to the common people. The organization of the religious world was almost completely changed, and naturally, the relation between these shrines/temples and the emperor had been changed. Under Ritsuryo system, shrines were managed by the emperor through the local state officers, but the collapse of Rituryo also destroyed a kinship of local village system, and sometimes whole village was vanished because people moved under the private manorial system from the Rituryo system. Under such condition, the local shrines lost people who worshipped them, and instead of these shrines, other shrines/temples were founded by local people. The court tried to control these newly founded shrines/temples, and chose twenty-two shrines/temples to give special worship at ceremonies. ^{4 9}

To manage the secular affairs, the member of council of state was appointed from noble clans, who had got their high status by assistance for the establishment of the emperor's supremacy during the ancient age. However, just being born in the noble family did not automatically give them the right to rule over the secular affairs. The most powerful noble family, the Fujiwara won their high status as the regency of the emperor by the blood relationship with the emperor. They arranged the marriage between their daughters and the emperor (in these days, noble men had many concubines), and if their daughter had the prince, they had tried to make her the empress and the prince crown prince. Whether the noble family, such as the Fujiwara. could keep their post of the regency depended on the birth of prince, so there was no stability of their supremacy and frequent conflict between noble families and their princes sometimes brought the opportunity for the emperor to recover their authority over the secular world. In the eleventh century, the emperor Shirakawa re-established his supremacy over both religious and secular world. He adopted new form of administration; the direct control by himself as the retired emperor, called 'In-sei', and the retired emperor was called 'Joko'(upper ranked emperor). The merit of this system is that the retired emperor was not under the taboos and complicated regulation of Shinto rituals, so he could continue to administer state effectively without losing his status as the emperor. Jo-ko held both roles of the emperor and the regency, and held his own

government for ruling the secular world. Thus the monopoly of the state council by the Fujiwara family came to an end and they lost their political power. To control the religious world, a new system was also appeared in the eleventh century; the Monzeki system. Princes and princesses, sons and daughters of the noble family occupied the head post of designated Buddhism temples. Through the appointment of head priests, Jo-ko tried to control the religious world.⁵⁰ It worked, but at the same time, this appointment caused secularization of the temples. The Buddhist priests from the nobility maintained their private properties and moral shortcomings of the priest became clear. The head post of the designated temple became to be regarded as the one of political status at the secular world. Each temple had their own doctrine and there were frequent conflict between the temples, and even within one temple, priests might be divided into several sects and fought against each other. The land donation from the local people brought common people into the organization of the temple, and some of them were appointed as the guard of the temple; the priest soldiers. Sometimes priests denied the inauguration of the prince as the head priest, and to demand additional financial privilege, often these priest soldiers rose against Jo-ko. Also from the Shinto shrine, the lower officers of shrines sometimes rose against the government and with the authority of their gods, they demanded dismissal of the local state officers who often arose trouble between them from the tax collection.⁵¹ The hierarchy of the religious world had collapsed, and this made difficult for the emperor or Jo-ko to control them effectively. To re-establish the emperor's authority over the religious and secular world, the rise of Samurai (warriors) class was indispensable.

From the eleventh to twelfth centuries, new power of Samurai class arose and finally held the rulership over the half of the Japanese territory. This power had military backing, and was completely extraneous to the authority of the emperor. If we could say that the authority of the emperor was derived from his sacred image, we could call the Shogun as the secular ruler. In fact, almost all the power to rule Japan was held by Shogun, however, the authority of the emperor was still strong. In Kamakura period, relation between the emperor and temples/shrines and Shogun was quite complicated. In eleventh century there was an idea that called 'Buppo-Ouho Soui-ron' which means that both Buddhism and the emperor was essential to keep the world peace, and both of them depended on each other. In 1053 from the manor of Todaiji temple, a written petition was submitted to the emperor. People of the manor asked the emperor fiscal immunity from the state tax, and as a reason, they used this idea for; if a state officer could impose heavy tax on the manor, the temple might lose its financial income and would be decayed. The Buddhism and the emperor had close relation, comparable to two wheels

of a cart (the state), and if one of the wheel came out, the cart could not move. Also if the temple decays, it might cause the decline of the state, so they thought that the emperor had enough reason to save them from the heavy taxation.^{5 2} This idea showed a certain kind of dualism. In 1007, from the Shitennoji temple, a document which justified the rule of the manor by the temple was found. This is forgery document like the Pseudo-Isidorus in the western world. With the collapse of Ritsuryo system. Buddhist temples developed uncultivated lands and became land owners, but still the local state officers' pressure for taxation was strong, and to protect temple's properties, they had to make new doctrine which gave them sacred authority. Different from the relation between the Shinto shrine and the emperor, the Buddhist temples had no direct connection with the emperor, so they had to create new religious authority. By the end of Heian period, six sects of Buddhist temples established their authorities. In Kamakura period, new sects of Buddhism rose and were opposed with old traditional six sects. In the letter from the Kofukuji temple, one of the most influential temples, they asked the emperor to prohibit the religious activity of Honen. a famous priest of new Buddhism, and as a reason, they insisted that the Buddhism which supported the state with the emperor was limited in the six sects, and if Honen wished to found a new temple, he had to ask the permission for the emperor first. These traditional temples tried to protest against the rise of new sects which were supported by common people, by involving the authority of the emperor.^{5 3} However, still these traditional Buddhist temples were frightened to lose their private manors, especially after the foundation of Kamakura Bakufu. To protect their manor, a custom with legal force that land which once was donated to the temple should not be taken back by the donor or his family was made. This 'law' was only customary, and was not authorized either by the imperial court or Bakufu, however, this custom was employed when the conflict occurred between the temple and lay people. There was general rule that the property which was given to the other people should not be asked to give it back. In some case, there was an exemption, but if the person who was given the property was Buddha (=temples), there was no exemption. An ground of this rule was that the landowner of the temple's manor was not priests but Buddha. so the land belonged to Buddha (in case of shrines, the lands belonged to gods), and common people who lived in these lands also belonged to Buddha. so the local state officers or officers of Bakufu could not touch them. Usually the donation of lands to temples was made to keep the landowner's right from the state officers, so often the right of ownership became the subject of controversy.^{5 4} In 1337, there was an record of trial which involved legal office of Bakufu. Bakufu gave the land for one of Shogun's vassal, but that land had been donated to the temple. Under

feudalism, to assure the landholding for vassal is essential factor, however, in this trial, legal officer of Bakufu judged that the right of the temple had the priority, and Bakufu gave up that land.^{5 5} From the landowner system, the Buddhist temples established the status as third power against the emperor and Bakufu. Shinto also worshipped by both the noble people and Samurai. but there were difference between these two groups: the former regarded the emperor as the member of gods and with him they should rule the state. But though the latter worshipped the Ise shrine, and asked the emperor to permission to found the shrines at their lands, they did not think the emperor had the authority over the secular affairs.^{5 6}

During the Kamakura period, Bakufu paid minimum respect for the emperor, and after the break of Minamoto's lineage. Bakufu (Hojoshi family) asked the emperor to send his prince as the Shogun. In the Muromachi period, the situation for the emperor became worse. The third Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu tried to usurp the throne of the emperor. At the beginning of the Muromachi period, the emperor still held the right to regulate the religious ceremony. To give the purple cloth for Buddhist priests was one of the important right of the emperor, and the emperor used to receive money in return. The purple cloth can be compared with the pallium for archbishop in the western part: the pope ordered to archbishops to come to Rome to receive Pallium. and in return of this ceremony, the pope imposed charges to archbishops.^{5 7} Ashikaga Yoshimitsu even deprived of this right from the emperor, and tried to make his child next emperor. The sudden death of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1408 prevented him from usurp of the emperors throne. Yoshimitsu used the title of 'king' for the letter to the Chinese emperor, and ruled Japan as de facto king who had both secular and sacred authorities.^{5 8}

During the middle age, the authority of the emperor had been threatened by Shogun, however, once the turbulence occurred. the religious authority of the emperor was restored. At the end of the Kamakura period, when Mongolian invaded into Japan, the idea that Japan was under the sacred gods was appeared and Shinto gods restored their dignity over the Buddha. As the emperor was thought as the member of Gods, this idea helped the emperor to restore the authority. In 1438, there was coup d'etat against Shogun, and Shogun had to ask the emperor to to give him the document which legitimate his attack against the enemy. Also the temples approached the emperor to get the purple cloth. At the Kamakura period, new sects of Buddhism called 'Zen-shuu' was introduced into Japan from China, and Bakufu gave protection for them, because many Zen-shuu priests made local activities for common people, and through the control of Zen-shuu temple. Bakufu tried to rule the common people. The traditional sects sought the support from the emperor, as I mentioned above. Even in the Zenshuu sect, the

hierarchy was organized, and top of them called 'Gozan'(Five mountains). Through the Kamakura period to Muromachi period, Bakufu supported Gozan priests, and other influential Zen-shuu temples tried to get the support from the emperor. In 1491, Shogun. Ashikaga Yosimasa got angry because the emperor gave the purple cloth without Shogun's permission. But at the same time, there was coup d'etat, and Shogun needed the help of the emperor, so it was perhaps natural for the emperor to get back his own religious authority from Shogun.^{5 9}

In Japan even there was difference between religious and secular world, duality between the sacred and secular could not be recognized clearly like in the West. The reason may attribute to the difference between a society with more than one state religion, and a society with only one religion recognized by rulers. In Japan, from the point of view of Shinto, the emperor belonged to the sacred because he was a member of gods. However, from the point of view of Buddhism the emperor was recognized as rather secular authority as well as Shogun was. Thus, the relation between sacred and secular world was complicated, and instead of dualist, there were three different factors which was linked each other like three rings of Borromeo.

Conclusion

Since both societies had the conception of sacred and secular, it may be understandable that there are many similar points; for example, in both societies, there was the ordeal, and the process of landhold of the monastery (temple/shrine) and struggle over the control of the landholding system between the monastery (temple/shrine) and kings (Shogun) was similar to each other. Also giving pallium(purple cloth) to authorize the religious order can be seen in both societies.

It may be rather surprising thing that although in both societies had many similar points, the relation between sacred and secular authorities is quite different. In West, dualist could be seen clearly. There were two factors, sacred and secular, and they fought against each other to decide the border between these two world. Western society could be indicated as two pyramids which overlapped each other.

On the other hand, in Japan the relation between sacred and secular was not so simple. If the Japanese emperor had had to deal with Shinto alone, he might had been 'the pope in Japan: If there had been only Buddhism alone, the emperor might had been 'the king'. But since there were both, each religious authorities neutralized each other, and it became impossible to make clear definition of 'sacred and 'secular' world.

Naturally, the struggle between the secular and sacred powers had formed many cross-cutting lines, not only one border line as in West. Japanese society could be described as three circles, and they formed one pyramid. On each corner, there were the emperor, Shogun and the head of influential Buddhist temples. The difference of the relation between West and Japan attributed to the difference of religious situation. Western Medievalists have occasionally looked to Japanese history for illumination of 'feudalism'. They have not realised how much light a comparison with Western medieval history can cast on Japanese medieval history.

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² 東京史料編纂所編『日本関係海外史料、イエズス会日本書翰集訳文編Ⅰ—上』東京大学出版会、1991年、36-37頁。

³ Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, Oxford, 1986.

⁴ Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300* (London, 1988) p.32.

⁵ Bartlett, op.cit., p.23.

⁶ Ibid., p.93.

⁷ Ibid., pp.72-73.

⁸ Ibid., p.86.

⁹ 利光三津夫『日本古代法制史』1986年、慶應義塾大学出版会、17-21頁。

¹⁰ 利光三津夫『裁判の歴史—律令裁判を中心に—』1964年、至文堂、1-22頁。

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Seeking the Doom of Self-Annihilation: The “Fascism of the Heart” and the Death Drive in William Gass’s *The Tunnel*

Yoshihiro Nagano

William Gass’s *The Tunnel* tells of the excruciatingly difficult life of William Frederick Kohler. In fact, Kohler can no longer bear his own life because he has experienced a myriad of frustrations and disappointments by middle age and has fallen into a deep sense of disillusionment and despair. More important, as a professor at a midwestern university specializing in Nazi history, his thoughts and emotions have always been intricately linked to the horrors of Nazism. As he faces difficulty in writing an introduction to his latest work – *Guilt and Innocence in Hitler’s Germany* – he recollects his experiences and exhibits a fatal attraction to Nazi beliefs. In his research, he learns of numerous instances of evil and, disturbingly, takes sides with such evil. Moreover, he is so deeply affected by Nazism that he transposes its beliefs into a personal realm and develops a sinister attitude toward those who, he believes, are his enemies. His attitude instantiates what the author calls the “fascism of the heart,” and it is this problematic state of mind that this study intends to explore.

The “fascism of the heart” is not only threatening but also bewildering. It is bewildering because when Kohler shows his fascist tendency, his mind seems hopelessly convoluted and deliberately obscure. Calling attention to the novel’s “ethics of ambivalence,” Melanie Eckford-Prossor underscores its “qualities that require something other than a normative ethics—one that accounts for the engagement of the reader in the author’s text and that does not require the reader to be absorbed by the author’s text” (Eckford-Prossor 12). Though the novel is replete with evil thoughts and deeds, expressed through Kohler’s stream of consciousness, it does not explicitly denounce them nor does it offer authoritative, corrective perspectives. Instead, from beginning to end, Gass challenges us to navigate through the baffling instances of evil that he abundantly supplies and to examine them thoroughly on our own. In order to achieve that aim, I argue that in Kohler one can find intricate

relationships between evil and the death drive. Kohler's death drive can be considered a major factor that generates his bewildering evil. With a view to unraveling his psychological mechanism, this study will first investigate how a particular type of death drive propels him toward a glorious, tragic doom, and how he simultaneously approaches and circumvents the fearful void of death. In so doing, I shall also argue that his drive toward a doom is originally a critical challenge against the prescribed social norm that, he believes, masks evil and promotes hypocrisy. His death-driven aspiration enables him to seek the evil truth of the human race, but he is eventually defeated by the very evil he exposes. It is crucial to understand the manners in which he externalizes his own evil through projection and legitimizes his evil through denial. The acts of projection and denial ultimately induce him to generate self-indulgent masochism and to turn it into a fantasy of extermination. Examining his challenge as well as his subsequent failure, this study will try to determine what constitutes the specific type of fascism that corrodes Kohler's heart. Gass's text inspires us to cast new light on the implications of such a deeply disturbing phenomenon, one that continues to haunt us.

Against the Void: Disillusionment and the Drive toward a Doom

In the narrative present set in the 1960s, William Kohler contemplates how life has become unbearable for him and his wife and, in so doing, offers a number of reasons. While he reminds us of the hard facts of life, such as anguish, pain, and mutability, he divulges the devastating sense that "it's been wrongly lived, and hence lost; we are miserable outcasts on the mountains of the might-have-been" (286-7). Since he is disillusioned with almost every aspect of his life—a life that has bitterly betrayed him—Kohler is too powerless to generate any alternative, redemptive vision. Instead, he is quite often absorbed in daydreams, and it is in these daydreams that he fantasizes about what he calls the "Party of the Disappointed People," an imaginary organization for the likes of Kohler who have endured painful disappointments in life. The members turn their sense of disappointment into smoldering resentment against enemies in the hope that they themselves can survive. Taking such a sinister turn in his thoughts, Kohler declares:

[I]t's true, we would survive, for bad luck alone does not embitter us that badly, nor the simple presence of pleasure spoil the soul when pain also arrives, nor

does the feeling that our affairs might have been better managed move us out of range of ordinary disappointment; it is when we recognize that the loss has been caused in great part by others; that it needn't have happened; that there is an enemy out there who has stolen our loaf, soured our wine, infected our book of splendid verses with filthy rhymes; then we are filled with resentment and would hang the villains from that bough Watch out, then, watch out for us, be on your guard, look sharp, both ways, when we learn—we, in any numbers—when we find who is forcing us—wife, children, Commies, fat cats, Jews—to give up life in order to survive. It is this condition in men that makes them ideal candidates for the Party of the Disappointed People. (287)

Kohler bases this Party on the Nazi National Socialist Party—a typical gesture of a man who has earned infamy for his sympathetic views toward the Nazis. The psychological basis for Kohler's Party is the "fascism of the heart," which is, as Gass himself explains in an interview with Heide Ziegler, "a corrupt state of feeling, a realm of impotent resentment" ("Interview" 19), a condition that involves disturbingly negative attitudes toward others, ones exemplified by envy, spite, malice, and bigotry, to name a few.

What is more disturbing is the fact that Kohler's loss is not caused by the people he calls enemies. To be sure, he has a number of enemies—including academics who criticize him for his pro-Nazi views—but it is Kohler himself who has ruined his own life. In fact, in order to avoid this unacceptable truth, he actively creates imaginary enemies and makes them responsible for his own failure. Deeply worried about this convoluted psychology, Walter Herschel, a colleague of his, implores: "[F]inish your book, but do not hate us because you aren't perfect or the world is unimprovable" (641). Despite Herschel's wish, Kohler cannot control his hatred. To be more exact, he thrives on self-generated hatred because he quite often feels that only hatred and vengeful thoughts can give him enough momentum to continue with his life. This irrational hatred, however, only destroys his life, as instantiated by his paradoxical act of "giv[ing] up life in order to survive" (287).

At the heart of Kohler's fascism of the heart, there lie dynamics between the death drive and evil. Terry Eagleton, trying to unravel such dynamics, underscores the underlying question of a void—a "terrible non-being at the core of oneself" grounded in a "foretaste of death" (*On Evil* 100). "It is," he argues, "this aching absence which you seek to stuff with fetishes, moral ideals, fantasies of purity, the manic will, the

absolute state, the phallic figure of the Führer” (100). Likewise, William Kohler grapples with his fear of the “abyss” or “true not-being-there” (*Tunnel* 185). This abyss of non-being haunts him, and the impossibility of overcoming it excruciates him: “It is difficult to stop talking about the abyss because one is so fearful of it and because nothing can be said” (185).

He is at pains to fill this fearful void and, in so doing, aims to rely on the power of Nazi ideology. Yet the problem is that he cannot fully believe in such ideology because, as a postwar historian, he is certainly aware of its illegitimacy and heinousness. To find a way out of this predicament, he develops a paradoxical approach to the destructiveness of Nazi ideology. He takes advantage of its destructiveness in an attempt to cope with the fearful void of death. For instance, seeking solace in self-annihilation, Kohler imagines himself as part of the tragic “doom” of the Nazis: “I want a doom to go to. I aspire to the abyss” (185). “Adolph Hitler,” Kohler remarks, “could go to his doom because he had one. Only those who have made a pact with the devil have a doom. . . . Upon the tens of tens of anonymous millions, no judgment is pronounced. For them, there is death, of course, but no doom” (185). This allegiance to the self-destructive doom alleviates his fear of a meaningless death and even enables him to survive. In him, the grandeur of self-annihilation endows his death with tragic significance and his life with self-respect. To make matters worse, this twisted belief in the Nazi doom, pitted against the void of death, fuels his negative attitude toward others. As we have seen, he deliberately creates imaginary, evil others and wishes to inflict pain upon them. This act is, in psychological terms, a manifestation of evil as a “form of projection” (*On Evil* 107). It takes place “when those in what one might call ontological pain deflect it onto others as a way of taking flight from themselves” (*On Evil* 119). In this act of projection, Kohler generates a perverted view of others who, destined to die without a doom, embrace the ontological pain of facing this meaningless void. When Kohler aligns himself with the grand doom of the Nazis, he haughtily rises above such pain and such people.

Kohler further strengthens his self-destructive desire for the doom of the Nazis and his negative attitudes toward undesirable others. Remarking on his own pro-Nazi views of history, Kohler demonstrates a haughty contempt for people who write for the victims of Nazism, for the ones who do not have a doom:

Identifying with the victims, and hence engorged by pity, writers on the Third

Reich—before my example—have never troubled to put themselves in the villains’ place, to imagine the unimaginable—it is easy to be a victim, you don’t have to do a thing, you simply weep and bleed—but, ah, the beater, to be the beater is not a role whose easy mastery is readily admissible; sympathies in such a cause are not idly, not routinely, not frequently enlisted . . . (463)

His extremism is clear, and, more importantly, his identification with the Nazis involves another aspect of evil, one that Eagleton observes among certain romantics as well as modernists—who, disdaining petty-bourgeois morality, choose the path of evil. For these individuals, “[e]xperience at an extreme, even the knowledge of evil, is preferable to moral mediocrity” (*Trouble* 282). At the heart of their thoughts, lie “its suspicion of liberalism, materialism and mass civilisation, its elevation of a few rare human spirits over popular democracy and the triumph of mediocrity” (*Trouble* 284). Embracing their self-destructive impulses and tragic doom, they seek “authentic” life deliberately in crises and destitution, in marginal yet privileged realms outside the prescribed norm of bourgeois morality. These characteristics are shared by Kohler, who is ready to submit himself to the tragic doom of evil if he can rise above mediocrity. He forms an imaginary alliance with evil figures because he believes that figures such as “Hitler, Faust, Don Juan, Leverkühn, have dooms” (185). Inside Kohler, the grand dooms of the anti-social figures outweigh quotidian, small attempts at goodness.

When Kohler confounds the dooms of these romantic, rebellious figures with that of Hitler, he is making the crucial error made by so many, mistaking fascist ideology as a revolutionary force. As Roger Griffin puts it, within German fascism, one can observe a “perverse paradox that, however barbaric the connotations of the Swastika for the untold millions of victims of Nazi violence, for those mesmerized by its mythic power it symbolized not death but rebirth, not herd-like somnambulism but national reawakening” (105). Yet genocide disguised as a revolution can never bring rebirth or reawakening in the true sense of the term. Furthermore, it seeks only the survival of the elite few, together with their state apparatuses, for continued domination over its followers as well as victims.

Nevertheless, Kohler finds positive values in such a death drive, and it is the relationship between the death drive and ethics that poses a further challenge. Within the framework of Jacques Lacan’s concept of the death drive, Eagleton argues that one that is grounded in the “Real”—the realm of death located outside the symbolic

structure of language and law—the drive can assume radical ethical qualities: “True ethics takes us beyond the superego, as the loyal subjects of the Real prove themselves ready to risk death for the sake of a symbolic rebirth” (*Trouble* 185). It is in their bold struggle for rebirth that those subjects embrace their death as well as their doom. They are willing to face the “Real” through their self-destructive attempts at dismantling the false systems of politics, law, and morality. In Lacan’s own words, within such a system, “[t]he true nature of the good, its profound duplicity, has to do with the fact that it isn’t purely and simply a natural good, the response to a need, but possible power, the power to satisfy” (234). Against this idea of the good, he pits the death drive, which he conceptualizes as “the unspeakable field of radical desire that is the field of absolute destruction, of destruction beyond putrefaction” (216-7).¹ When William Kohler, through his radical desire for destruction, challenges the contradictions of morality—arbitrarily determined by aspirations for power—he aims toward an ethical act. As he mocks, for instance, the public who turns a blind eye to the increasing militarization of the United States, he asserts boastfully, “The PdP will eliminate from national life our habits of hypocrisy” (300). By intentionally immersing himself in the evil of the PdP, he aims to explore the human capacity for evil and to expose the evil, duplicitous nature of the nation, hidden behind its false optimism. To return to Kohler’s fundamental identification with evil victimizers and contempt for victims, H. L. Hix insightfully comments: “Too absolute an identification with the victims of crimes rather than the perpetrators may express a noble sentiment, but it also self-deceptively denies one’s humanity, and falsely assesses one’s motives as incorruptible” (*Understanding* 99). His death-driven identification with evil, therefore, enables him to view humanity from a critical perspective. For this purpose, he immerses himself in evil.

This leads us to another aspect of the death drive that pertains to the acknowledgement of internal evil. Jacques Lacan, in his analysis of Freud’s *Civilization and Its Discontents*, exposes how Freud is disturbed by the Christian commandment: “Love thy neighbor as thyself.” According to Lacan, what is lurking behind Freud’s response is his pessimistic view of the voracious human drive toward aggression: “Man tries to satisfy his need for aggression at the expense of his neighbor, to exploit his work without compensation, to use him sexually without his consent, to appropriate his goods, to humiliate him, to inflict suffering on him, to torture and kill him” (qtd. in Lacan 185). Lacan argues that Freud hesitates to embrace the above commandment not only because he recognizes the terrible evil within others, but

ultimately because he recoils from the same evil within himself. To surmount that limitation, Lacan claims that he “bear[s] witness to the idea that there is no law of the good except in evil and through evil” (190). This task, however, is excruciatingly difficult because it involves grappling with horrifying internal evil.

Kohler, nevertheless, investigates the condition of humanity “in evil and through evil.” Throughout the novel, Kohler digs a tunnel under his basement because, he claims, “I can tell myself the truth . . . because ordinary life is supported by lies, made endurable through self-deception; because in my illusion no illusions are allowed” (503). As he descends into the netherworld, he deliberately creates nightmarish visions of the human race so that he can thoroughly uncover its truth, heretofore masked by the illusions of conventional goodness. Hence, he proudly declares: “I write to indict mankind” (457). For instance, Kohler indicts his colleague Herschel, when the latter condones people who commit evil acts owing to their powerlessness. Regardless of Kohler’s criticism, “Still, he [Herschel] persists, for he believes the little people to be powerless . . . that’s what makes them little . . . so when evil’s done it’s never their doing . . . as if being powerless were without sin . . .” (483 ellipses in orig.). Kohler’s comment, shown above, significantly implies that when Herschel sympathizes with the powerless in that way, he ineluctably condones what Hannah Arendt would call the “banality of evil.” It is a type of evil exemplified by Nazi criminals, such as Adolph Eichmann, who committed heinous crimes because they were powerless to resist evil authorities.² Kohler thus disdainfully rejects Herschel’s stance and deliberately sees evil in everyone and everything. Yet he eventually fails in performing this task, and when he fails, he exhibits crucial problems in his approach to the question of evil.

Fundamentally, Kohler’s penchant for evil is problematic because it is grounded in his failed idealism. This problem becomes clear when seen from his wife’s perspective. “Let me explain you to you,” says Martha, “what you honestly are is a dealist, a toplan [sic]. You want a world that perfectly meets your nutty specifications, and when it doesn’t, you say fuck it. . . . If you can’t have King Reason and all his rational kin ruling absolutely in your realm, you’ll have the random and its rascals” (453). His idealism is crushed primarily because, in his history research, Kohler keeps encountering endless human brutalities. However, instead of grappling with the painstaking task of fortifying his idealism, he almost succumbs to the overwhelming presence of evil. He thus asks in reckless desperation: “[H]ow long will man’s savagery deface our so-called human look and make a mockery of us? To what limit,

to what an ending, will you go? Who of us is any longer in doubt of our depravity . . . ?” (153). He deliberately magnifies the helplessness of human savagery and depravity because it is easier for him to lament than to overcome such evil. Eventually, he perverts this failed idealism into his obsession with the glorious doom of annihilation. The doom, situated at the top of the hierarchy of evil, provides him with a quasi-transcendental quality, an illusion that compensates for the loss of idealism.

Furthermore, in his view of evil, Kohler is heavily influenced by Magus Tabor—a professor of history specializing in ancient Greece and Rome—with whom Kohler worked as a student in 1930s Germany. Behind Tabor’s belief, we can observe his deep doubts about the human race, especially about the masses: “Everything’s in them already Every desire has its own fat seed and every seed its dirty place. I don’t exclude their embrace of misery, their need for lovelessness, their liking for their fallen lot. They revel in the ruins of themselves. Despair they embrace like a whore . . .” (127). Because of his intense hatred of the depraved masses that he imagined himself, Tabor magnifies the self-destructiveness inherent in the human race. Crushed, in turn, by his own bleak vision, he comes to believe the predominance of such a destructive drive throughout history and to despair of the future for the entire human race: “There is no end to human foolishness, Kohler, no end, no end, no end; our black hearts have no bottom, and literally there is no end; there will be no end until we all end, and mankind murders itself in a fit of just deserts” (257). His despair triggers a sinister death drive that wishes for the end of humans. Since, in his logic, “there will be no end until we all end,” only a total extermination of the human race can solve the problems of human evil. As we shall see, the master’s view of evil powerfully molds Kohler’s mind. Keeping Tabor’s ideas in mind, this analysis will investigate why Kohler fails as he grapples with his own internal evil and eventually develops a destructive fantasy of total extermination.

Denial, Masochism, Reckless Extermination

Kohler’s deeply flawed attitude toward his internal evil is evident, especially in an episode about *Kristallnacht*, a night of violence orchestrated against the Jews in 1938, a brutal incident that involved the destruction of Jewish properties, looting, false arrests, and massacres. *Kristallnacht* is a crucial incident for Kohler both as a historian and as an individual because, historically, it played a critical role in accelerating

massive violence against the Jews and, personally, because he was directly involved with the incident. That night, roaming about the city with his friends, Kohler throws a brick into a greengrocer's store and, confusingly enough, takes the trouble to retrieve it.

I admit I retrieved my "brick." It sailed well into the store, landing upon a counter where I suppose vegetables were normally binned but which was now bare of roots, fruits, and leaves. It wasn't easy to find, and I stumbled about a bit before I caught sight of one of its harsh corners, lit by a fire just begun on the block. My intention, I vaguely recall, was to keep it as a souvenir, even though I couldn't then know this was *Kristallnacht*. And would remain *Kristallnacht* for all time. Two o'clock on *Kristallnacht*. When the Jewish watches stopped. (332)

Analyzing Kohler's involvement in the incident, Watson Holloway writes: "Although neither the brick nor the beebees caused serious physical damage, the mentality that produced Kohler's acts was responsible for millions of deaths" (106). The problem with Kohler is that he is oblivious of this mentality and its grave implications. For instance, when, as the first-person narrator, he relates the episode, his tone is that of nonchalance—devoid of guilt or remorse. Regardless of the significance of the incident, he offers us only an impoverished account composed of minimum situational and psychological details. It is primarily because when young Kohler blindly participated in and accelerated the heinous crime, he lacked any serious concern about the motives or consequences of his act. Even in the narrative present, he shamelessly insists: "It was a youthful prank, our smashing the windows of the Jews. We mimicked, for a moment, the manner of the mob . . ." (332). Yet, in reality, Kohler and his friends are nothing other than the mob. In this case, there is no demarcation between pranks and mob violence, especially for the victims of the vandalism.

Over and above the episode about the greengrocer's store, he tells of how he threw a block into a confectionary. As Kohler recalls, "I remember my relief when my paving block broke the pane of that second shop, the shop of a goy. You see, I said to my cold soul. For my part, it wasn't just Jews" (334). Surprisingly, through his convoluted thinking, he mitigates the wrongfulness of his act. Note how he employs the term "goy" to identify himself partly with the Jews and how he, on the grounds that he destroyed the property of a Christian, distinguishes himself from the Jew-hating mob. His twisted logic ultimately serves to justify his involvement with the

violence, and what is worse is that he exhibits a tendency to seek a solution to violence by means of excessive, irrational violence.

Kohler further twists his interpretation of Kristallnacht and thus of his role in the incident, when he ponders on Herschel Grynszpan, a Polish Jew exiled in Paris—who assassinated the German diplomat Ernst Vom Rath after the Nazis had deported his family—and who allegedly triggered Kristallnacht. Reflecting on the connection between the two incidents, Kohler shrewdly recalls Tabor's view of history: "As my mentor, Magus Tabor, said, half of history is revenge, the other half is its provocation" (332). According to this claim, Grynszpan is the one who provoked the violence of Kristallnacht. This certainly is an example of "denial," a case that Stanley Cohen would call a "denial of the victim" in which "the victim was the original wrongdoer" and "what I did—vandalizing the property of an unfair teacher or a crooked shop owner—was only rightful retaliation or punishment" (61). Taking advantage of such a view that turns the victim into the wrongdoer, Kohler finds another way to justify his violence in Kristallnacht. Although Kohler deliberately sees evil in others in order to delve into the evil nature of human beings, he denies evil within himself. Recoiling from his own evil, he projects it upon the victims—Grynszpan as well as the shop owners whose establishments he damaged—and turns them into original wrongdoers who deserve punishment.

While he denies responsibility for his involvement with the Nazi violence, he paradoxically desires the doom of Nazism. Yet, as his failure in grappling with evil seriously undermines his self-esteem, he starts doubting the possibility of having such a doom. His doubt manifests itself strongly in his fantasmatic obsession with Susu, a female French singer, as well as a Nazi commandant's woman, whom he met as a student in Nazi Germany. After the Second World War, going through Nazi documents in his research, he discovers the fact that she "roasted the thumbs of a dozen Jews and ate them while they watched" (115), and that she was later beheaded by Nazi officers who found out that she had Gypsy blood. Throughout the novel, he repeatedly speaks to the spectral memory of Susu, saying: "I approach you in my dreams" (126). His obsessive thoughts about her gradually reveal that in Susu's death lies the disturbing truth about his own doom. In fact, Susu belies the reliability of the fascist doom because even though she was an ideal subject of Nazi rule, she was turned into a victim and brutally executed by the Nazis. When Kohler says, "Sing Susu, through your severed head, through your severed arteries" (126), he wants the dark Muse to tell him about the truth of her death. The Muse lets him know that her brutal,

meaningless death foreshadows his own death. For instance, as Kohler sings what he calls Susu's crow song, "I'm carrion, crow— / how well you know me" (257), he imagines his own death in a most primitive, uncivilized way—his body discarded without proper burial and devoured by wild birds.

Since part of him fully anticipates such a meaningless death, he increasingly falls into a state of desperation, one that triggers in him a fantasy of apocalyptic violence. In this violent, deranged fantasy, he pleads with God: "[L]et him[God] smite us all, march everyone to the ovens or turn us under to fertilize the onions, yes, Susu's where I burn, a naked worm I go to her hole to be consumed . . ." (491). Here, he seeks punishment from God, not out of guilt but out of his self-indulgent masochism. Fundamentally, he is fantasizing about solving his own psychological problems by means of an apocalypse, one that is divinely justified. Most disturbingly, by using the sinister image of the "ovens," he imagines everyone, including himself, sharing the fate of the Holocaust victims. In this conceptual confusion that eliminates the boundary between victimizers and victims, he totally undermines the question of the Holocaust. Such is Kohler's vision of the final solution, developed out of his twisted desire for self-annihilation.

This fantasy also suggests that, in death, he wishes to be reunited with Susu, who now represents a womb as well as an oven that will burn him to ashes, yet he, in a last-ditch effort, finds another way to circumvent death and survive a little longer. This time, he seeks to ensure his survival through a scatological/eschatological fantasy. Note how Kohler, evoking the memory of Susu, stigmatizes her as "a slime of green down a lavatory wall" (475). Intensifying and extending this slime image, he remarks that "I see slime as our world's most triumphant substance; slowly slime is covering the earth, more of it made every day—more whiny people, more filthy thoughts, crummy plans, cruddy things, contemptible actions—multiplying like evil pores . . ." (435). By imposing these debased images upon others, he turns them into insignificant creatures like himself. What is remarkable is that, although he is defeated by the meaninglessness he discovers in himself and in the entire human race, he profits selfishly by the very meaninglessness. To draw on Eagleton again, "Evil brings false comfort to those in anguish by murmuring in their ear that life has no value anyway. Its enemy, as always, is not so much virtue as life itself" (*On Evil* 106). Kohler makes life, in general, totally meaningless so that he can justify his own meaningless life and take comfort from this illusion.

This mind-set induces him to violently trivialize the lives of others as well as

their serious endeavors. As for his relationship with his wife, Kohler, digging a tunnel beneath the house, admits that “I’ve done nothing except fill her drawers with dirt” (*Tunnel* 468). Fully aware of her passion for antique furniture, he wants to defile it and, with it, her life. The wicked “enjoys being a constant irritant” (*On Evil* 117) to those who are around him. Likewise, at work, he constantly generates virulent diatribes against all his colleagues. Although the faculty seems to represent a variety of historical approaches, Kohler mocks and trivializes all of its members and their research. As Jim Barloon puts it, “Since Kohler can’t stand to think there might be individuals bigger and better than himself, he cuts everyone down to his own size” (9). According to Kohler, all his colleagues are nothing more than clowns: Oscar Planmantee quantifies all historical phenomena; Tommaso Governali dramatizes them like operas; Walter Herschel, despite his sincere belief in the value of facts and truth, is academically weak; Charles Culp uncritically idealizes minorities, especially Native Americans, and relies on limerick versions of history. In this way, Kohler stigmatizes their academic work so hyperbolically that he can make their life as meaningless as his own.

Near the end of the novel, as Kohler becomes fatally attracted to the memory of Susu, represented as the womb-oven, he must also grapple with the memory of his mother, whom he, as a fifteen-year-old boy, had committed to a state mental institution for good. He literally got rid of her mainly because she was seriously addicted to alcohol and adultery, a symptom resulting from her unbearable life with an abusive husband. As Kohler recalls, “she grabbed my hand so desperately while we taxied to the—well, what shall I call it?—to the hospital, asylum, snake pit, nut house, loony bin,” and also “I knew, in that hospital, my mother would shake and scream. All right. Perhaps she would only moan” (626). In addition to her, he hospitalized his arthritic father for good: “It was accomplished; they were gone for their good and I was glad” (626). Sending the undesirable to institutions is his way of dealing with the difficulties of living with others. Since Kohler eliminated the mother this way, he cannot, in his death-driven fantasies, imagine himself returning to the site of prenatal plenitude, one figured by the mother’s womb; instead, he has only Susu’s womb-oven in which he can burn himself with memories of his wrongdoings. Regarding his traumatic past, Jonathan Barron writes: “This I believe is the emotional center for Kohler: it is a place of almost pure existential pain, a place where the most distance is necessary” (8). Barron, however, notes how the novel superimposes the image of a crossword puzzle upon the traumatic passage about the institutionalization of his parents, and thus he

criticizes its lack of authenticity. The episode certainly involves Kohler's emotional pain, but the pain seems insignificant, for, when living with his parents, "I waited for them to die" (137). He cannot think of ways to fix the horrible past, nor does he intend to do so seriously. Here, the reader should recall another passage about his parents in which he blames them for laying a curse upon him: The father "taught me bigotry and bitterness" and "I caught a case of cowardice from my mother" (136). In reality, it is Kohler himself who fully developed those qualities, violently practicing bigotry and cowardly denying his own evil, as the Kristallnacht episode, among others, has shown. Yet, he projects his own evil upon his parents, blaming them for his own faults and making them, now burdened excessively with his guilt, disappear for good.

He thus spends the rest of his life haunted by the evil that corrodes his heart, corrodes everything that he sees and remembers. Because of his hopelessness, despair, and desperation, he joins what he calls "miserable outcasts on the mountains of the might-have-been" (286-7). It is a line he borrows and perverts from the poem "Exposed on the Mountains of the Heart" by Rainer Maria Rilke, a poet whom he admires and whose artistic heights he fails to achieve. In his book on Rilke, Gass himself stresses that, inside the poet, the hardships of life are essential to artistic creation: "[L]ife wasn't something the poet was simply to flee from, as if it were a grave dug out of trivial routines; it was to be closely approached—approached and accepted and praised" (*Reading Rilke* 25). Underscoring how the difficulties in the poet's life—anxiety, sadness, poverty, alienation, and the misery of war—prepare him to be a mature poet, Gass succinctly yet powerfully writes: "Desperation is another preparation for inspiration" (*Reading Rilke* 103). Unlike Rilke, Kohler lacks the strength to endure painstaking preparations in his life. Unable to sublimate the deep sense of desperation, Kohler reaches a point where he thinks he has nothing to lose. In such a state of mind, he asks himself, "so what would I be risking, really? what would I lose that I had not already lost? and for a while I would ride high, for a while I would be a winner" (462). He wishes to be a "winner," following Hitler's doom, but he finally recognizes that it is only an illusion. When the novel reaches its very end, he holds a "[r]evolver like the Führer near an ear" (652). At this point, it seems that he simply wants to kill himself to escape his terrible emotional pain, unable to accept the "Real" of terrible evil within himself. At the final stage of his "fascism of the heart," totally reckless, he is ready to victimize anyone around him. He cannot tolerate others because they are the projections of his own unbearable, internal evil. Kohler himself observes the negative effects of this act of projection, when he criticizes his father's

bigotry against minority neighbors. Kohler refers to them as “these alien people, shaped as strangely as his own insides would appear to him were he, in horror, to see them, like organs of his own laid out for scornful evaluation” (532). In its sheer nakedness, the unbearable otherness of the neighbors represents an internal, evil kernel of his father and himself, a kernel that Kohler must accept as an essential part of himself. Though this evil generates a deep sense of desperation, he must find a way to live with it, if he truly wants to survive. He must, like Rilke, strive to embrace and surmount this desperation. The denial of his own evil and its projection upon others might temporarily sustain his personal survival. Yet this denial, as the novel has shown, can lead to a violent fantasy about exterminating others with a view to eliminating evil from oneself as well as from one’s community. Kohler’s vision of the final solution in the oven, which exterminates everyone including himself, suggests that when he fantasizes about murdering evil others, he is desperately trying to jettison his own evil. No matter how many others he murders, the horrible otherness of evil returns “like organs of his own laid out,” as his innermost being. Without seeking such false relief from his desperation, Kohler must create a vision of otherness, one that is not stigmatized by his own evil and that powerfully resists the reckless drive toward annihilation.

Notes

1. Lacan’s concept of ethics, grounded in the death drive, requires elaboration. In his exploration of ethics, he urges us to find a “crossing point, which enables us to locate precisely an element of the field of the beyond-the-good principle. That element, as I have said, is the beautiful” (237). The act of crossing the limit of the good and discovering a beyond is essential to Lacanian ethical acts, acts that he connects with the beautiful. Basing his claim on the Kantian concept of the beautiful or the good, Lacan argues, “the forms that are at work in knowledge, Kant tells us, are interested in the phenomenon of beauty, though the object itself is not involved” (261). Lacan stresses the quality of “fantasm” that inspires us to imagine a realm beyond the objects that are culturally and socially determined, and it is in such a bold act that one can reach the realm of Lacanian ethics. The drive that leads one to the “Real” outside the symbolic or the imaginary opens up a possibility of ethics that is beyond the good.
2. The “banality of evil” is a term Arendt employs in her attempt to describe evil, a horrifying type

of evil exemplified by Adolph Otto Eichmann—a former Nazi S.S. official who, in 1961, appeared before the District Court in Jerusalem. Analyzing his testimonies—especially his motives for joining the Nazis and for the deportation of Jews to concentration camps—she fails to discover radical, demonic evil; instead, she sees only what she identifies as the “banality of evil.” She refers to the evil that he exhibits as “banal” mainly because it lacks emotional, intellectual, and moral depths. Also, as she reports, Eichmann does not suffer from serious psychological problems: “Half a dozen psychiatrists had certified him as ‘normal’” (*Report* 25). The concept of the “banality of evil” is still very controversial. Though it is beyond the scope of my essay to discuss a variety of stances researchers take on the issue, here I would like to introduce several views that pertain to my investigation. Marcus Klein, in his critique of the banality of evil that *The Tunnel* exhibits, writes: “While to say that deep in his heart this tawdry Kohler is a Fascist, maybe even just potentially—like all of us—and is a vessel for the kind of guilt that made the Holocaust, is to put another construction on ‘banality of evil’ (and there are numerous indications in the novel that Gass has taken license from Hannah Arendt). It is to reduce the horror to a banality, and thereby to dismiss it” (127). It is fair to say that the particular “banality of evil” William Kohler demonstrates leads to the dismissal of the “horror” of the Holocaust. But it is also true that since such dismissal is what is truly disturbing about the banality of evil, it requires careful analysis. The critic Heide Ziegler claims that Gass’s message is that “there is always the danger that the fascism that lurks in our hearts might erupt, that we will become fascists” (“Is There Light” 80). Therefore, “*The Tunnel* is not about Germany or about Hitler. It is—potentially—about all of us” (“Is There Light” 81). Her position can be supported by Eric A. Zillmer and his co-authors, who have examined a number of Rorschach tests conducted on Nazi criminals from the vantage point of the late twentieth century. After examining the Danish Nazi Rorschachs, originally administered at the war crimes trials in Copenhagen in 1946, Zillmer and others comment: “Shallow, overly simplistic, and socially limited personality style [like that of Eichmann] also seems to play a part, suggesting that there may be some validity to Arendt’s characterization of the ‘banality of evil.’ Even so, enough highly complex Rorschachs exist in the Danish sample to indicate that banality also is not a sufficient explanation for the Nazi phenomenon” (119). Regardless of the insufficiency and specificity of Arendt’s banality, Zillmer and his co-authors also remind us that “Arendt’s theory . . . differs from those endorsing the ‘mad Nazi’ hypothesis in a very important way, for she suggests that the potential for behaving like a Nazi exists in each of us” (11).

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An Episodic Transcription of a NNS-NNS English Conversation

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One of the projects that students are required to complete in my Second Language Acquisition class is the transcription and analysis of a video based on an English conversation in which they are participants. Each video session consists of three participants sitting around a small desk with a microphone and a digital timer placed in front of them. The topics are chosen by the participants and are meant to be casual and unscripted, and the participants are asked to speak English as much as possible, but otherwise there are no strict rules governing how they conduct the conversation. The video is taken in a classroom with only the three students. The participants do not bring dictionaries or any other items into the room. The students in each group are self-selected, so many of them know each other before the project begins and are friends with the other students in their group.

Before the video sessions are conducted, the students in each group have had three or four opportunities during class to talk together freely. Most of the students, even the ones that know each other, do not regularly interact with each other in English, so this gives them a chance to get used to interacting in English. In those cases where participants are first meeting, or do not know each other well, they are asked to exchange introductory type information so that when the actual video session begins, this type of interactional work will already be completed. The class-time sessions are explicitly not meant to be “practice” sessions for the participants to rehearse the topics they plan to talk about. The purpose of these pre-video conversations is to familiarize the students with the format of the video session, to create a situation where they are relaxed and have developed a rapport with each other in English, and, again, to reduce the likelihood that the video session is dominated by self-introductions, which reduce the interactional elements of the conversation. While the fact that their conversations will be recorded tends to create some anxiety for the participants, this is reduced by giving the students a thorough explanation of the project and reiterating that the conversation itself will not be evaluated for content, grammar, pronunciation or any other metric.

This paper contains the full transcription, presented in simplified transcription notation to improve readability, of one of these video sessions. Rather than presenting excerpts to illustrate specific interactional behavior, the purpose of this full representation is to provide students with a complete overview of some of the pragmatic, discourse, and communication resources that non-native speakers of

English deploy as they create a social space essentially from scratch. This particular video session was chosen at random, with the express intent of providing students with real data on which to practice the analytic skills they will be asked to bring to bear on the transcripts they make of their own video sessions. The students who use this transcript, then, will have participated in their own video conversation and will be preparing to make a transcript and analyze the results of their own efforts. The project that the students are asked to complete is based on videos in which the students participate, and consists of transcribing excerpts of the conversation totaling about five minutes and analyzing the parts of the conversation they have transcribed. The transcript below, along with the provisional analyses and attendant questions and comments are meant both to provide some basic examples for the students' own work and to provoke a level of critical thinking about their conversations that can be used as input to their analyses.

While Conversation Analysis (CA), developed by Harvey Sacks (1992), is not the focus of the class, nor is it explicitly taught in-depth, one of its main tenets, that through "close looking at the world you can find things that [you] couldn't, by imagination, assert were there," (Sacks 1992, p.420) is a fundamental component of this transcription project. Rather than generating hypothetical examples of second language, students are able to use "transcriptions of actual occurrences in their actual sequence" to provide a sound "basis for theorizing" (Sacks 1984, p.25). Additionally, the premise, held in CA, that "ordinary conversation between peers represents a fundamental domain for analysis" (Heritage & Clayman 2010, p.12), provides a rationale for giving even novice students data that is immediately relevant (because of their personal involvement) and which helps them link information from their Second Language Acquisition readings and lectures to their own language use, while at the same time, I hope, helping them develop critical thinking skills.

The transcription notations I have used in the version of the transcript that appears below are a small subset of those developed by Gail Jefferson (2004) for conversation analysis combined with some used in discourse analysis (Eggs & Slade 2001). A fully detailed transcript is in many ways difficult to read without significant practice, and for our purposes would also be much too long. In the early sections of the transcript, I written comments and placed them after the relevant section, in the same way I expect the students to make their own comments and analyses. In later sections, I leave the commentary embedded in the transcript, close to the activity being commented upon, and students will practice on their own using these sections before they embark on transcribing the video conversation in which they are participants. Following are the transcription symbols that appear:

Transcription Notation (adapted from Jefferson 2004 and Eggs & Slade 2001)

[beginning of overlapping speech. Where possible, the brackets are aligned to indicate speech that begins at the same time. Appears in pairs with right brackets.

-] end of overlapping speech. Appears in pairs with left brackets.
- :
- lengthening of the preceding sound. More colons equals longer lengthening. In this transcript, one colon equals one 'beat' in the speakers normal speaking rate.
- #
- indicates a pause of one 'beat.' A 'normal' pause for breath would not receive this. Think of a breath and extend it. More number signs mean a longer pause.
- ?
- rising intonation or question.
- .
- falling intonation, as in completion of clause or utterance.
- £
- "breathy" laughter in speech.
- hhh
- laughter. Each set of "h's" is one burst of laughter.
- =
- latching. One utterance follows another with no discernible pause or break. Appears in pairs.
- (())
- transcriber's comments and notes/gaze direction/description of gestures. These double parentheses are used here, as stated above, to mark intonation, speed, laughter, and other conversational features for which notation conventions exist, but are excluded for readability.
- ()
- incomplete word or transcriber's best guess (if x's, unable to transcribe).
- //
- reformulation, repetition, or false start.

Spaces in many cases a response token such as a discourse marker will appear spatially in the subsequent line roughly equivalent to where the token was uttered in relation to the original.

The transcript has been divided into titled sections, each marked by a number within parentheses along with a representative title. These section breaks generally coincide with topic shifts or natural breaks in the conversation, but are also meant to assist with readability and to provide reference points when the transcript is used during class. The breaks are emphatically not theoretical barriers creating analytical "islands." It is perfectly acceptable and expected for analyses to refer to multiple sections, regardless of their adjacency. As stated above, after the early sections, I have included comments focusing on some aspect of the participants' interaction. The comments often include a description of physical

gestures, gaze (the direction and focus of a person's eyes), and are meant to provoke noticing and preliminary analyses by students.

The participants' real names are not used in the transcript for privacy reasons. In the transcript the participants are anonymized as A, B, and C, from right to left as they appear in the video.

(1) Setting the stage

- 1 T: did you press it? ((referring to the timer, which the students
2 press to start the session))
3 C: un [yes] ((gives okay sign))
4 T: [okay]
5 T: see you.
6 C: see you.
7 B: [see you]
8 A: [see you]

In line 1 above, T (teacher) asks C a question to confirm that the timer has been started. In line 3, C responds with a Japanese affirmative discourse token (example of something), which she then augments with "yes" and the "okay" hand gesture. Any one of these three affirmative tokens would have sufficed to convey her meaning. In subsequent sections, we will see many more examples of redundant confirmations of understanding. In lines 3 and 4, we see an illustrative example of the use of square brackets indicating that C's "yes" and T's "okay" are overlapping speech. In this case, T responds to the affirmative token "un" at the same time C, in line 3, provides the supplemental English affirmative "yes." Since C's original meaning was successfully conveyed by the original Japanese token, no meaning was lost in the overlap.

(2) Topic 1: Weekend (past)

- 9 C: o:h. ((sighs quietly with high to low intonation))
10 A: kay. ((gaze directed at 3))
11 A: What did you do on your weekend?
12 B: hhh hhh hhh
13 C: e::? a: # [my]
14 A: [we::]were same and uh ano speech contest. ((waves her
15 hand back and forth between herself and C. When she says "ano" she
16 points out and to the right))
17 A: [yeah] yeah a:
18 C: [a::] ((makes okay sign at A))

19 B: [a::]= ((looks from A to C, waving her hand back and forth between
20 them.))

After T leaves the room, none of the participants have immediate eye contact with each other. As they make the utterances in lines 9 and 10, A brings her gaze up to C and begins with her question in line 11. The pound sterling symbol indicates that she has a measure of laughter in her voice as she speaks, which B continues as a full laugh. As B laughs, she lowers her head and puts her hand over her mouth quickly dropping her head in an exaggerated ‘collapse from laughter’ attitude. She maintains this position during the time when the floor is open and a response to A’s question would be expected. Her gaze remains down until she raises her gaze to C and then to A at the beginning of line 14.

In lines 13 and 14, A and C begin to answer A’s question from line 11 at the same time. C, responding to A’s question, instantly defers and allows A to take the floor, but notice that A does not take the turn in order to answer her own question. In line 14, A shows that she already knows how C spent at least part of her weekend, because she and A were together. In lines 17, 18, and 19, all participants are reacting to this new information. A responds with confirmation tokens “yeah,” and B and C respond with “a:::.” Line 19 and 21 show an example of “latching.” Immediately after the “a:::” of line 19, B starts with the response transcribed in line 21.

(3) Part-time job

21 B: =past time job-u.
22 A: [a:::]
23 C: [a:::]
24 B u::n
25 C: two // to go two days-u?
26 B: yes. Two days. Sunday and Saturday.
27 C: o:hn.
28 A: ((nods repeatedly))

In line 21, B suddenly takes the floor in an utterance latched to her previous comprehension discourse marker from line 19. She says, “past time job, but she clearly means “part-time job.” Notice that both A and C accept and seem to understand “past time job” and neither one corrects her. B’s gaze lowers as she utters line 21, and at the same time she raises her hand, which is pulled inside of her sleeve, up to her mouth. By the end of line 21 her gaze is directed towards the table, away from the other participants. As soon as A and C provide responses, her gaze snaps up, first to A, then to C as C begins her question in line 25. Some points to notice here: First, B’s utterance in line 21 is to A’s original

question from line 11. She chooses not to orient to the intervening interaction that has taken place between A and C and this choice seems to disrupt the flow of the conversation. Next, both A and C give non-lexical discourse responses to B's utterance in line 21, which is then confirmed and closed by B's "u:n" in line 24.

Notice that there is no question in line 21, simply the noun "past time job." A and C, however, respond in a way that displays understanding. In the same way, C's question in line 25 does not have the shape of a grammatical English question, yet B clearly understands and responds. Nevertheless, the conversation collapses at this point. By "collapse," I mean an extended pause in the conversation in which there is no open turn waiting for someone to take the floor. In this case, after C's response in line 27, A begins to nod her head repeatedly affirmatively. At the beginning of the first nod she's looking at B, and with each nod her head moves a bit to the right, past C and then away from the table and the other participants. Suddenly, all the participants 'crack up' laughing at exactly the same time.

(4) Mother's birthday

- 29 C: a:. ((claps hands together under chin)) Sunday my mother's birthday.
30 A: a:: [happy birthday]
31 B: [happy birthday] ((claps vigorously eight times)).
32 C: a: chigau. no. yesterday was // I // nandarou // congrate # her on
33 sunday.
34 A: ah. yesterday.
35 B: ah.
36 A: a::h.
37 C: un.
38 B: ((claps seven times under chin with base of palms touching, gaze
39 directed at C))
40 A: e::.
41 A: ((looks up and to right)) November se // six.
42 B: six.
43 C: November six. ((confirms with affirmative head nod))
44 A: six. ah.
45 B: six six
46 B: e::

In line 33, C creates the verb "congrate," based, it seems, on "congratulate." The other participants accept and proceed as if they understand this new word and do not remark on it. Notice that just before she utters "congrate," C uses Japanese to possibly indicate that she senses some trouble with the

following word.

After the initial “Happy Birthday” by A and B in lines 31 and 32, significant time is spent by C clarifying the exact date of her mother’s birthday. As each bit of information is delivered, A and B respond with discourse markers and gestures confirming the information. In line 42, A offers the calendar date, which C repeats and confirms with a positive nod of her head.

(5) Mother’s birthday present

47 C: so I took her # out # ((flings hand loosely from center to left))
48 A: un._un._un. ((nods head vigorously))
49 C: for dinner
50 A: [a:]
51 B: [o:]
52 C: and I gave present.
53 A B: [o:h]

In (5), I have transcribed the delivery of this utterance by C to try and give a graphic sense of how the discourse markers from A and B dovetail and support C, filling pauses as she makes a relatively long (about 7 seconds) statement. Notice the gesture in line 48.

(6) Preserved flowers

54 B: [a:] what's what's present?
55 C: do you know preserved flower?
56 A: un._un._un. yes yes I
57 B: u:u:n. ((said with rising and falling intonation. slight negative
58 head shake))
59 C: u::n.
60 B: gomen. ((gaze directed at A and raises right hand towards A))
61 A: a.
62 B: a hhh hhh.
63 C: nandarou. ((raises hand to mouth))
64 A: ano ro // rose? ((both A and B are looking at C, A confirms
65 'preserved flowers' with C))
66 C: ya un ((right hand goes back to in front of her mouth))
67 B: just flower? ((makes a back and forth gesture with her hand which I
68 interpret as symbolizing the stem of flowers))

69 C: no u:n.
70 A: un ((puzzled look to right, away from group))
71 C: nantte ieba iin darou?
72 A: [dat] ((that))
73 C: [pre] // prevent =
74 A: un_un_un ((gaze directed at C, indicating that 'prevent' is
75 correct))
76 C: = a // the # flower # can prevent-u? ((notice that she does not
77 use "prevent" even though the verb she needs is in the katakana:
78 "preserve"))
79 A: u:n.
80 C: hozon? (("preserve"))
81 B: [un]((nods head affirmative))
82 A: [un]((makes 'blooming' gesture with both hands))
83 C: about // about? // for? // for two or three years. ((she tries out
84 the prepositions 'about' and 'for' before choosing 'for.' Note that
85 the negotiation of meaning that they do has the effect of
86 disconnecting the syntactic elements of the sentence one from the
87 other, they seem to arrive at meaning by the cumulative semantic
88 effect of individual words rather than a function of understanding a
89 full sentence syntactically or grammatically.as she finishes this
90 utterance, she's looking directly at B and B is returning her gaze.))
91 B: (xxx xxx)
92 B: u::n. ((although eye contact is happening between B and C, A is
93 very involved in agreeing with the outcome here.))
94 B: [wa: very] long (('wa:' is like 'wow.' After this utterance she
95 turns to look at A, who is starting to speak. she continues to make
96 gestures of what she must intend to be a flower with a stem))
97 A: yes so # still ((I think she wants to say that it's still alive.
98 She gives up when C produces the Japanese in line 101.))
99 C: sou.
100 C: karenai karenai [nantte iu no]. ((then she, too, makes the same
101 'blooming' gesture))
102 B: [ah really?]
103 A: die // don't die.
104 C: don't die.
105 B: [a::h]

106 A: [u:n]
107 C: [u:n]
108 B: ah. not ## nandake ## dry flower? ((as she says 'not' her gaze is
109 at C, then during the pause she looks down, and returns her gaze to C
110 as she says 'dry flower.'))
111 B: [ja nakute?] ((she seems to use Japanese when there is real
112 meaningful information she wants to confirm))
113 C: [u:n]
114 C: chigau. ((much of the conversation in this part is Japanese. Notice
115 how A tries to bring it back to English in line 121.))
116 A: a: cho((tto - maybe this is what she was going to say. and it's
117 actually at the same time as B's previous 'chigau.'))
118 B: he:: ((very low pitched, moving to high. sign of suprise or new
119 information))
120 A: it looks like the real # flower
121 C: yeah yeah
122 B: u:n ((strongly rising intonation))
123 A: e:: ((strongly rising intonation. her next turn latches onto
124 this sound. Note the matching intonation patterns B and A display
125 here.))

(7) Happy mother

126 A: a: so your mother may # be happy.
127 C: yes.
128 A: yfeah.
129 B: ya:.
130 C: I'm happy too. ((gestures at herself))
131 B: un.

(8) Topic trouble

132 B: hhh ah. yeah.((she's looking down and to her right, a gaze that is
133 away from the group, and the other two seem to be looking at the table
134 around where the mic is.))
135 ((B begins to laugh and immediately the other participants start
136 laughing as well. The conversation topic about flowers ended with no

137 turn projected. A reaches out for the timer))

(9) Time check

138 A: u:n ((looking at timer in her hand and C is also looking at it))

139 C: seven minutes.

140 A: seven minutes.

141 B: seven minutes.

(10) New topic search

142 A: e:: nante ieba ii ka? ((spoken quietly. Leans back.))

143 B: gomen. sorry. ((She does not look at the other participants as she
144 says this, her gaze is directed at the middle of the table.))

145 A: e::: (('What should we do now?' or 'what can we talk about?'))

(11) Weekend (future)

146 C: what's ## your # plan for this weekend?

147 B: [this weekend?]

148 A: [this weekend?]

149 C: un.

150 A: a:: ((rising and lowering intonation. looking up and right))

151 B: a:. ((with quick and sharp clap of hands. She clearly takes the
152 floor as A and C orient gazes towards her.))

153 B: Saturday guidance? ## guidance? ((she looks from one to the other.
154 She does not add any content to this utterance, she points back and
155 forth between A and C.))

156 A: ah. # do you // # are you going to go to guidance? ((she recieves
157 the floor from B, but then directs her question, by gaze, to C.))

158 A: of # ano ((continuing previous utterance))

159 B: ((gaze directed at A, while pointing index finger at C.))

160 C: a:: ((with rising intonation of comprehension))

161 A: transfer.

162 B: (xxx).

163 C: yeah.((nods affirmative.))

164 A: a:: yes ((she is not answering an open turn question here, she is

165 the one who asked the question. She seems very interested in
166 expressing and confirming understanding. Note that throughout, much of
167 this conversation involves the participants showing each other that
168 they understand each other, although when, for example, B did not
169 understand about the preserved flowers, she did not hesitate to say
170 so.))
171 C: a:: ((Both A and B have their gazes directed at C.))
172 A: so
173 B: so

(12) Karaoke

174 A: after that we are going to go to karaoke
175 B: aft(er) we: to the karaoke ((spoken very quickly. she
176 ends this 'utterance' with rising volume and then takes the floor))
177 C: o:: o:h ((this 'oh' is very long, and it is not unusual in this
178 conversation. Participants often sustain long non-lexical single or
179 intonating vowel sounds.))
180 B: and-o # ((shifts gaze from C to A in what looks like a move to
181 confirm that she is about to divulge information and wants
182 confirmation that she may continue))
183 A: u:n. ((A returns B's gaze and nods assent))
184 B: maybe # dinner? ((this utterance, which started out as a statement
185 about what they were going to do 'after' has now become something of a
186 confirmation of plans between A and B. As B finishes, the intonation
187 goes up to give the shape of a question, and B's gaze rests directly
188 on A, giving her a chance at a turn and offering her the floor.))
189 C: u:n ((although other participants are not looking at her, and it is
190 not her turn, C provides comprehension feedback.))
191 A: and have dinner. ((this is the completion of the utterance she
192 started on line 175, but now it seems to also serve as a response to
193 B's uncertainty, her request for confirmation about their dinner
194 plans.))
195 B: [yes]hhh hhh.
196 C: [nice]. ((making small clapping motions with her hands under her
197 chin, close to her chest.))
198 A B C: ((light laughing))

Lines 175 and 176 are difficult to transcribe accurately. B copies A's utterance in a process I have elsewhere termed "affiliative mimesis" (Gould 2010). B's utterance "piggybacks" directly on A's. In other words, B says almost exactly the same thing as A, just milliseconds later.

(13) Karaoke: how often?

- 199 A: ((nodding her head and looking away as she did earlier when having
200 topic trouble. This time, however, at the end of this gesture, she
201 moves her head and gaze towards C, establishing eye contact.))
202 A: e do you go to karaoke often? or.
203 C: a::.. ## yesterday.
204 A: ah. [yesterday?] a:h. ((loud, excited voice. a:h with falling
205 intonation))
206 B: ah.[yesterday]. ((B says this much faster than surrounding speech,
207 as if trying to catch up with A's utterance to make them seem
208 simultaneous. This strategy may enhance her sense of participation. As
209 if, if she makes an utterance fast enough, and close enough to the
210 originators utterance, that it will be considered by the others as
211 'her' contribution. The other speakers do not orient to this.))
212 B: a: that's good. ((at the end of her comment her gaze is straight
213 down into her lap, taking herself out of possible next turn position.
214 She looks up, makes this evaluatory comment, and looks down again,
215 removing herself from a possible next turn.))
216 C: a: yesterday? ((gaze up and to left, away from others. This
217 utterance is questioning the accuracy of her own statement - "was it
218 actually yesterday?" Now the topic becomes about if she actually went
219 to karaoke yesterday or if she got the day wrong. Compare this to her
220 turn in (4), Mother's birthday. As C speaks, B's gaze comes up from
221 the table and goes directly to C.))
222 C: a: yesterday. ((selects herself for the next turn and keeps the
223 floor to confirm her earlier question.
224 A: a: a: a: ((these three 'a:' are connected with rising and lowering
225 intonation))
226 A: e:
227 A: eto. we // [we]
228 B: ((looks down and starts laughing. Compare to previous laughter,

229 where all join in. This time, B's laughing draws A and C's gaze
230 momentarily, but they do not join in the laughter and C continues her
231 turn.))
232 C: [but] not often
233 A: u:n.
234 C: about u:n ## nandarou # once a two months gurai.
235 B: u: u: u:
236 A: u:n # same as me.
237 C: un. yeah # yeah ((both of these said in a quieter voice, trailing
238 off with gaze down and to the right, away from participants. Possibly
239 searching for next topic.)

(14) Karaoke: how long?

240 A: how long did you sing?
241 C: three hours? ((completed with rising intonation, not a question,
242 but uncertainty seems to be expressed.))
243 A: a:h.
244 B: a:h. ((A responds first and B mimics her response.))
245 C: because # it's start at eleven.
246 A: a: [at night?]
247 B: [eleven?] ((Compare the different communication strategies
248 between A and B in their questions to C in lines 247 and 248
249 respectively. A asks a question to elicit additional information,
250 while B asks a confirmation question, which is constructed by
251 repeating the final word of C's utterance.))
252 C: u:n at night. ((She responds to both A and B's questions.))
253 A: a: at night?
254 B: at night a:. ((she says this very quickly, looking like she wants
255 to get it into the same response time frame as A.))
256 C: so I'm sleepy.
257 A: [a:h]
258 B: [a:h]
259 C: ((laughs))

(15) Maneki Neko karaoke

260 A: n::n ((she is looking away and to the right, nodding her head, but
261 not making eye contact. At this moment there is no eye contact between
262 any of the participants and the floor is open. A's gaze is down and to
263 the right, which may be her way of giving the others a chance to take
264 the floor, and if the opportunity is not seized by another participant,
265 she will provide a new topic.))
266 A: so we gonna go to Maneki Neko.((completed with rising intonation
267 only on "Maneki Neko."))
268 C: Maneki Neko?
269 A: a: do you know the name of the karaoke? ((during this utterance B
270 makes some kind of comment - not sure exactly what it is now.
271 significant?))
272 C: e:::!! ((with strongly rising intonation. Note the level of surprise
273 in her voice.))
274 A: un.
275 B: do you? ((incomplete question. Copies first part of line
276 270))
277 C: I [don't] know. ((her gaze moves to B during this utterance.))
278 B: d'y'know? ((uttered very quickly to provide a completed turn-taking,
279 although the incomplete question from A's previous utterance has
280 already elicited an appropriate response from C.))
281 A: a: really?
282 B: really? ((she starts her utterance just after A and she says
283 it at a very high rate.))
284 C: u:n.
285 A: it's on hada(no)// near # here. ((her right finger is extended and
286 she is pointing off to the right in a waving manner.))
287 C: e:: ((this discourse marker of surprise/new
288 information fits exactly into the pause in A's line 286 utterance.))
289 B: here.
290 C: Maneki Neko? ((confirmation of the name. As she does this, she
291 raises her right hand in the sign of a cat's paw. As soon as she does
292 this, the other two participants do the same thing. Highly
293 confirmational action. Everyone repeats the same action.))
294 A: un Maneki Neko.
295 B: [neko]. ((repeating A's utterance. C provides a lot of return eye
296 contact to B, even when A is the main interlocutor. This is an

297 inclusion strategy to make sure participation is equal and everyone is
298 included in the conversation.))
299 C: [e:]!
300 C: sou na no? ((this is a response to 'neko' from B's previous
301 utterance. Notice the use of Japanese. Try to formulate an explanation
302 for why Japanese appears when it does.))
303 B: un.

(16) Cheap karaoke

304 A: e:to I recommend that karaoke because it's very cheap.
305 C: un
306 B: and # very # nandake # ice cream. ((while she is saying this she's
307 looking back and forth between A and C.))
308 C: ice cream?
309 B: ice cream. yes. ((nodding her head with her gaze at C. What about
310 ice cream? A, who has been very active in the negotiation of meaning,
311 goes surprisingly still. She's looking at B, who has taken the floor,
312 but maybe is not sure how to proceed with this open turn situation.))
313 C: e:: ((this is said in the tone of 'really?', but at this moment C
314 turns her gaze from B to A, and A looks back at her. Possibly sensing
315 a turn in trouble, B continues to hold the floor. Note the high
316 tolerance for grammatically uncertain content.))
317 A: un. ((nods affirmative.))
318 B: ice cream and drinking // drinks.
319 C: a:h.
320 A: un.
321 B: so da yo ne. ((her gaze goes to A as if looking for confirmation,
322 then it goes down to the table and snaps up to C as C begins her next
323 utterance.))
324 C: cheap. ((she says this with a statement intonation, but leans her
325 head to her right in a way that indicates confusion, or seeking
326 clarification. The question is not in the auditory signal; it is
327 encoded, or attached, as part of her physical actions. The other
328 participants orient to this as a request for clarification in their
329 next utterances.))
330 A: very cheap.

(17) Maneki Neko: time price details

331 A: so, on the week // weekday // weekday the e:(to) eleven o'clock to
332 six o'clock is uh daytime.
333 A: daytime is only 50 yen. ((B's gaze alternates between the right of
334 center, off into the distance, and back again to A with short quick
335 glances.))
336 C: he::!
337 A: un. ((nods head)) per one hour.
338 C: a:h.
339 A: but we have to e: # drink one // one // have to order one drink.
340 C: [un]
341 B: [un] one drink ((quietly))
342 A: yeah but, it's very cheap.
343 C: e::
344 A: un. ((this is acknowledgment of C's previous 'e:'. So it proceeds
345 like this: utterance -- surprise discourse marker -- acknowledgement
346 discourse marker.))

(18) Maneki Neko night price

347 A: but at night it's not so cheap but e: un. ((she gets lost during
348 this utterance. the final 'un' has the intonation of 'that's' how it
349 is, a turn completion marker. B takes it as such because her next
350 utterance is asking in Japanese about the price.))
351 C: un un
352 B: ikura da kke? ((she is speaking Japanese and very quietly. A does
353 not orient herself to the Japanese, and asks a clarifying question to
354 bring the conversation back into English.))
355 A: at night? ((A orients her gaze at B, and after a long pause, where
356 A is looking at B, she asks this clarifying question.))
357 B: un.
358 A: a: maybe five hundred yen ## per hour.
359 B: a: [so ka]. ((B makes her confirmation of understanding in
360 Japanese.))
361 C: [per hour]? ((Notice that 'per hour' was enunciated very clearly

362 by A, so this clarification request by C, using the final two words of
363 A's previous utterance, may have another purpose in this context.
364 Extending turns in this way may be part of the turn-taking economy
365 that emerges in this type of environment. Turns may be seen as
366 valuable when they are going smoothly and content is easy, but may
367 become "toxic" (to be avoided) when troubles arise.))
368 A: un. so it's very different.
369 C: a[:]
370 A: [diff]erent bet(ween) un. ((she uses 'un,' with lowering
371 intonation, as a turn closing, signaling that she is giving up her
372 intent to further clarify or improve on her previous utterance. She
373 made her point and starts to embellish, but stops and lets it stand.
374 This also has the effect of creating a vacuum in terms of projecting a
375 next turn. She relinquishes the floor, but does not indicate a
376 recipient for the next turn.))
377 C: yeah.
378 A: un yeah.
379 A: but u:n it // I recommend ## because if we sing e: more than three
380 hours. ((ends with rising intonation. This is not a question, but
381 seems to be a very effective way of eliciting a comprehension marker
382 of understanding for this relatively long stretch of speech. B is
383 looking down at the table now, makes the slightest head nod.))
384 C: un
385 C: u::n.
386 A: we only ## e: // we only pay five ((A provides many discourse
387 markers encouraging A to continue.))
388 C: m::m ((continues nodding her head affirmative.))
389 A: un. ((confirms the confirmation of 'we only pay five.' Lines 387-
390 390 form a three part confirmation 'set' consisting of a comment in
391 the first turn, a discourse marker of surprise or understanding in the
392 next, and a discourse marker of agreement by the original commenter in
393 the third turn.))
394 A: less than five hundred [yen].
395 C: [a::]
396 A: u:n. sou.
397 B: me too. ((this utterance does not fit with any of the ongoing turns
398 or previous turns that may have been left open. Compare with earlier

399 turns. Just before this utterance, she was looking down and maybe
400 preparing for this comment.))
401 A: u:n.
402 C: cheap.

(19) Topic trouble

403 A: u:n.
404 C: un. ((here is an example of a turn that participants do not orient
405 to, and do not move to clarify the problem. none of the participants
406 orient to B's "me too" utterance. B glances up at C to see if she will
407 take up the turn, but C is looking down at the table, A is looking off
408 to the right, and B, while she is trying to engage the other
409 participants, has her head partly down with her eyes looking up.))
410 A: yeah. ((said in a low whispered voice))
411 C: yeah. ((also said in a low voice, just above a whisper, head
412 nodding. None of their sight lines are converging and the conversation
413 has obviously stalled.))
414 ((B laughs first, in an uncomfortable way, then they all join in the
415 laughter.))

(20) Time check and next topic search with Japanese help

416 C: four minutes. ((while laughing, she has leaned forward until the
417 clock is visible to her.))
418 A: four minutes ## e:.. ((she says four minutes in a close to whisper
419 voice. The tone of 'e:' is rising intonation, my guess at the meaning
420 is 'we still have a long way to go.'))
421 B: ato? ((uses Japanese again. We can see from her question that she
422 understood 'four minutes,' but she wants to clarify whether it means
423 four minutes have elapsed or four minutes have passed. Her gaze as she
424 performs this utterance slowly lifts to her left until she makes eye
425 contact with C.))
426 C: ((nods her head slightly in the affirmative, as if confirming bad
427 news.))
428 B: very long. ((as she speaks, she drops her head. Her gaze is now
429 directly towards the table, no eye contact with others.))

430 ((this is a relatively long section where they do not say anything,
431 and A is visibly struggling to find a new topic.))
432 B: nani ga ii ka na?
433 C: nani ga ii ka na?
434 ((they take about fifteen seconds before B says line 437))

(21) Christmas and Disneyland

435 B: Christmas? ((she is holding her head between her hands and looking
436 up and to the right at A as she offers this topic suggestion.))
437 A: [Christmas]
438 C: [Christmas]
439 B: ((laughing with her head completely down and her hands up against
440 the side of her head.))
441 A: I don't have any plans. ((she is laughing too, as if this is a
442 strange topic.))
443 C: (xxx) me too.
444 B: a: Dis // Disneyland // Disneyland is Christmas be half ## nanka
445 terebi mita? ((As she starts this utterance, she is clapping her hands
446 together as if she has just remembered something important. She has
447 taken the initiative and tried to start a new turn, but by the end of
448 it, after struggling to put together the words she needed, she reverts
449 to Japanese.))
450 A: a: I d(on't) ((this utterance trails off, she gives up. Meanwhile B
451 is still trying.))
452 B: did you # watch # TV? ((B asks this question, which neither of the
453 other participants seem sure of how to proceed with. B looks at both
454 of them, but at the end of this turn she is looking directly at C.))
455 C: no. ((she answers the question, but she may not know why B has
456 brought up TV or what the question refers to. Her answer is
457 straightforward, but C gives the minimum information. She does not
458 pursue the reasoning that must be behind the question. She does not
459 initiate any negotiation of meaning. If C asks B a clarifying question
460 that B is unable to understand or answer, that may be worse for her at
461 this point than letting this strange question go at face value. A will
462 take up the process of negotiating the full meaning of this question
463 in line 468.))

464 B: no? ((she moves her head back while maintaining eye contact with C
465 as she says 'no'. She looks surprised at this 'no' response and it has
466 the intonation of 'really?' A immediately takes the floor.))
467 A: about Disneyland? ((at the beginning of this turn, although C had
468 just completed a negative response, she is nodding her head in what
469 seems to be an affirmative way towards B. now B is oriented towards
470 A.))
471 B: yes. yes. [yes].
472 A: [a::].
473 A: I don't know. (The original question was 'did you watch tv?' which
474 was then clarified to 'did you watch tv about disneyland?' but the
475 answer that A gives here, 'I don't know' is not an answer to either
476 question, but to the question that is perhaps implied: 'do you know
477 anything recent about Disneyland that may be semi common knowledge, or
478 something you might be expected to know?'))
479 B: Disneyland and Disney Sea ## eto ne ## ((she starts off this
480 utterance energetically, but then switches away from English and
481 begins to look down as she switches to Japanese and appears to
482 struggle to continue.))
483 B: maybe kaiken goju shuunen? ((Her gaze is directed down, her chin is
484 in her right hand, the elbow of which is supported by her left hand,
485 and she maintains this position during her entire utterance, looking
486 up only at the end of the utterance, as she says 'shuunen' and raises
487 her gaze to C.))
488 B: [anniversary]?
489 A: [go // goju] sh(uunen). (B's gaze goes from C to A back to C as
490 they respond to her utterance. A basically repeats the Japanese, and C
491 translates the Japanese to English.))
492 B: yes. anniversary. ((nodding her head and looking at C, who
493 previously said anniversary. At this point they do not seem to be
494 negotiating meaning as much as confirming that the word 'shuunen' is
495 'anniversary' and that that is what B said. They are not moving
496 towards any particular meaning, but the process looks the same as if
497 they had been.))
498 C: m::: (with rising intonation, this long discourse marker has the
499 sound of indicating surprising new information. this cannot be,
500 however, as there has been no information provided, except to confirm

501 that there is something about an anniversary at Disneyland or Disney
502 Sea.))
503 A: ((nodding affirmative as well.))
504 B: (xxx).

(22) Disneyland at Christmas time

505 A: have you been to the Disneyland on the # Christmas time?
506 B: Disney Sea?
507 C: Christmas # time? ((gestures with both hands palm up indicating
508 some uncertainty about this utterance.))
509 A: Christmas ((she gestures with her hands, spreading apart her left
510 and her right hands, as if to show the meaning 'range,' which is
511 correctly interpreted by C in the following utterance. Here A has used
512 a word that is correct, but the other two do not seem to understand
513 her, and A ends up apologizing as if she has made a mistake.))
514 B: [season]
515 C: [season]
516 A: a: sorry, season.
517 C: a:h
518 C: yes, I have.
519 A: I haven't been.
520 C: a:
521 A: and how about you? ((she makes a gesture towards B and catches B's
522 gaze. This may be a consolation turn to make up for the fact that B
523 raised the topic but could not 'initialize' it, or make it her topic,
524 A had to step in and take over. B looks surprised to be the recipient
525 of this turn.))
526 B: a: no. ((with falling intonation and vigorous negative head
527 shake.))
528 A: a: ((with long comprehensive affirmative head movement.))
529 B: un.

(23) Disneyland at Halloween

530 C: but I want to go Halloween season.
531 A: a: yeah

532 B: a: yeah me too // me too.
 533 C: I have ne // I have never been to Halloween season.
 534 B: e: uso. (('no way, that can't be
 535 true.' B uses Japanese, and her "uso" is uttered immediately after "I
 536 have never been," so she is using information from line 531.))
 537 A: a: yeah ((she too makes some
 538 affirmative sounds responding to C's previous comment.))
 539 C: un.
 540 A: un.
 541 B: un. ((very quietly))
 542 C: sou. ((Japanese confirmation))
 543 A: have you?
 544 B: yes. yes. Halloween // Halloween season in high school.
 545 A: un
 546 B: I was high school student.
 547 A: [u:n] ((both with rising intonation, distinctively Japanese
 548 discourse markers.))
 549 C: [u:n]
 550 A: e: so I // I have only been to Disneyland only e:to two times. she
 551 laughs self-consciously at the end, as if this is strange, and in line
 552 555, B orients as if it is.))
 553 C: a::h.
 554 B: really! ((shocking!))
 555 A: un. because it's really far from my hometown. yeah.
 556 C: un
 557 B: a::: a:::
 558 A: this year I want to go.
 559 C: un.
 560 B: a:.

(24) From Fukuoka

561 C: Fukuoka no? ((this "no" is the Japanese nominalizer, not the
 562 English negative. are you from Fukuoka? Notice the use of Japanese to
 563 learn "real" information.))
 564 A: un. Fukuoka. sou.
 565 C: so far.

566 A: un.
567 ((pause with some "un" confirmation discourse markers and then B
568 starts again.))

(25) Return to Disney

569 B: I have many times go Disneyland and Disney Sea.
570 C: e:
571 A: un.
572 C: how often do you go ## there?
573 B: a: hhh hhh
574 B: how often?
575 C: un.
576 B: e::? ### he:: how often? ((covering her mouth and acting very
577 surprised by this question.))
578 C: daitai? ((C provides a Japanese word, which is then confirmed by B.
579 Note that the Japanese word that C gives is not a translation of "how
580 often." Both participants certainly know the word 'about' that
581 students would generally use under these circumstances.))
582 B: daitai? ((she says this in a very slight voice.))
583 C: ((nods her head in assent to B's question 'daitai.'))
584 B: nen # jikkai gurai. ("about ten times per year. C later
585 characterizes the frequency of B's visits as once a year, and B does
586 not argue that point. she may feel under pressure here and the change
587 from her initially energetic start at the beginning of this segment is
588 striking. She started out with a confirmation and laugh in a big voice
589 and now that the turn is fully hers and she has been asked to give
590 information, she is quiet and reticent. This may be because she
591 expressed disbelief that A had only been to Disneyland twice, and now
592 she may not feel comfortable disclosing her frequency of visits.))
593 C: a:..
594 A: un.
595 A: ((nods her head while looking away, her classic 'conversational
596 collapse' response. C tries to continue with her next utterance.)
597 C: once # a [year]? ((in this line and the following two utterances,
598 they are all saying 'once a year' at about the same time.))
599 B: once a year.

600 C: [once] a year.
601 C: (xxx)
602 A: and how about you?
603 C: me too.
604 C: un.
605 B: [really] ((will she let this slide? thinking that she really goes
606 ten times a year, and having herself compared with someone who goes
607 once a year? she has allowed herself to be placed in the wrong
608 category of Disneyland fandom and I wonder if the inclination to
609 assert her 'identity', or Disney loving character is enough to
610 override her willingness to accept wrong information or not wanting to
611 correct the situation (until later perhaps) because it's in English.))
612 A: [u:n]
613 B: xxx
614 A: u:n.

(26) Topic trouble and time check

615 ((another long pause and they look at the clock. The clock itself
616 becomes a topic when they are unable to sustain the conversation.
617 usually the clock is placed face down to prevent it from becoming a
618 topic of conversation.))
619 A: a: one minute. ((they are all leaning forward in order to see the
620 timer.))
621 A: one minute.
622 B: one minute.
623 A: ((short laugh))

(27) Fujikyuu Highland

624 C: have you ever been to Fujikyuu Highland?
625 B: a: yes.
626 A: I // I really want to go=
627 C: e::.
628 A: =someday but I haven't. ((this is a continuation of her earlier
629 utterance that was marked at its halfway point by the long 'e:' of
630 C.))

631 B: [really]?
632 A: [have you]? ((A extends her hand towards and locks her gaze onto C,
633 making it clear that she is giving her the turn. At the same time,
634 however, B's comment - 'really?' is directed towards A's comment that
635 she has never been to the amusement park. A is projecting the turn to
636 C, and B is attempting to initiate a turn transition to A. So A self-
637 selects herself, or maybe maintains the same turn in which she
638 completes her first part, 'I really want to go,' with the final
639 'someday' comment, and since she has the floor, she poses a question
640 which moves the turn to C, but B misses all this, and maybe thinks she
641 has the floor from her affirmative answer 'yes' to the question about
642 if she's been to Highlands.))
643 C: yeah. ((B now shifts her gaze quickly to C and points to her by
644 extending her index finger from the fist that she has been using to
645 rest her chin in.))
646 A: a: how is it?
647 C: very # interesting. ((Fujikyuu is a theme park of rollercoasters,
648 so this seems a bit of an understatement. Between very and interesting
649 there is a pause where C switches her gaze from A to B, as if she does
650 not want to say anything that B would not want to confirm. She is also
651 making a gesture with her right hand that appears to be a thumbs up,
652 but never quite makes it to the full expression of the gesture.))
653 B: un. very interesting.
654 A: ((vigorously nodding her head.))

(28) Roller coasters

655 B: an(d) I want to go // jan(ai) // I want to ride # Takabisha. ((she
656 is making a gesture straight up and down with her right hand with her
657 index finger extended. My interpretation is that this means Takabisha
658 is a roller coaster that has extreme up and down ride elements.))
659 C: he:::.
660 A: un.
661 B: (xxx) right down. ((continues making the roller coaster hill
662 gesture.))
663 C: a:::.
664 B: I like the # roll // rolling coaster // rolling coaster? ((A asks

665 for confirmation of this lexical item.))
666 C: un
667 C: roller coas[ter]? ((she shifts her gaze from A to B to confirm
668 this.))
669 A: [roll]er coaster. ((she is also making up and down gestures to
670 indicate roller coaster. Much physical confirmation here.))
671 A: yeah. so ((this utterance is incomplete here, she wants to
672 continue.))
673 C: me too, me too.
674 A: u::n.
675 A: I want to. ((her complete utterance is 'yeah, so I want to (ride
676 it.)
677 A: Fujikyuu has ## many coasters?
678 C: u:n
679 B: yes. yes.
680 A: a: I want to # go. ((utterance becomes quieter as she proceeds and
681 ends with her looking down, so the floor is open and she has not
682 designated the next turn. Notice how turns are delegated throughout
683 this conversation.))
684 B: e: I want to ride xxx
685 C: a:
686 C: me too.
687 A: [(xxx) like] (xxx) coaster?
688 B: yes.
689 A: ((nods her head as if she understands, but maybe not.))
690 C: I like Fujiyama.
691 B: ((bursts out laughing and covers her mouth with her hand.))
692 A: Fujiyama.
693 B: a: me too, me too. ((B and C have direct eye contact with each
694 other at this point.))
695 A: I have heard only the name, but what is it? a coaster?
696 C: a:
697 B: coaster. coaster.
698 A: also coaster.
699 B: it's very # fast.
700 C: fast and long. ((she makes weaving motion with her hand as she says
701 'long'.))

702 B: long long long long. ((said very quickly, with the final 'g' of the
703 final instance of 'long' articulated as a hard 'g'.))
704 A: u:n.
705 B: (shuun) ((she is describing the swooping speed of the roller
706 coaster.))
707 C: u:n.

(29) Haunted house

708 A: I heard the obake yashiki was renewal. ((obake yashiki is 'haunted
709 house'))
710 B: u::n.
711 B: I // I was go. ((points at herself. Although she is having trouble
712 communicating, she seems to be the expert in terms of content
713 knowledge about this particular topic.))
714 C: E::::! ((C says this louder than the surrounding speech while
715 covering her mouth and leaning away and to the left, showing what I
716 interpret as B is so brave for going into the obake yashiki that C can
717 not believe it.))
718 A: after renewal? ((B's gaze shifts from C, who was giving a very
719 physical and vocal response, to A, who has asked a quite detailed
720 question. C's response shows that she knows what it means to go into
721 this obake yashiki - and that it takes a 'brave' person, and A asks a
722 very mundane question, but gets the attention.))
723 B: a: ((B quickly looks down, and her hand goes up to cover her mouth
724 while C, since her outburst was not oriented to, becomes silent.))
725 A: a: before? ((A, perhaps realizing she has put B in a jam, is trying,
726 as quickly as possible, to supply enough information to help B answer
727 a question, the understanding of which may be beyond her reach.))
728 B: a: ((her mouth is completely covered by her hand and she is looking
729 down at the center of the table. This may be because she really does
730 not know if she was in the haunted house before or after the
731 renovation, or because she does not understand the question. Even if
732 she did not have the vocabulary to construct a good answer, she could
733 use 'before' or 'after' to escape.))
734 A: I heard in July the ((the timer beeps that the conversation is over
735 while she is trying to explain. they say 'yay' and they can't wait to

736 get up and go.))

737 B: yeah.

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多文化の子どもの 家庭における言語使用と言語意識

宮崎 幸江

1. はじめに

1990 年の「出入国管理及び難民認定法」改正から 20 年余りが経過し、外国人登録者数も 2005 年には 200 万人を超え日本における言語文化的多様性は複雑さを増す中、1980 年代以降に渡日したニューカマー（新渡日）と呼ばれる人々の子どもたちが成人し、次世代が社会人になりつつある。移民の言語は三代で消えると言われる（Hoffman, 1998）が、現地生まれの二世の母語の喪失は、すなわち一世である親とのコミュニケーションの質や本人のアイデンティティにも深く影響する（カルタビアーノ 2014）。現在日本で暮らす言語文化的多様性を持つ「多文化の子ども（宮崎 2014）」の日本語力については議論される機会も多くなってきたが、彼らの母語保持の状況や家庭での言語環境の詳細を知ることとは比較的少ない。

本稿は、神奈川県在住の多文化の子どもたちに焦点をあて、家庭における言語選択の実態を子どもの側から見たデータをもとに分析する。家庭での言語使用に加え母語と日本語に対する言語意識、母語の能力についても、来日年齢や滞日年数などの年齢要因との関係から考察していく。

2. 多文化の子どものことばの発達

2.1 母語の形成

一般に子どもが親や育ててくれた人との交流を通して最初に覚えることばを母語という。母語には様々な定義があるが、スクトナブ＝カンガス（2008）は、母語を習得時期、習得順序、熟達度、使用頻度、内的/外的アイデンティティの 4 つの側面から定義した。つまり、最初に覚え、最もよく理解でき、よく使い、自分自身もまた他の人からもその言葉ができることに一体感を持てることばということになる。多文化の子どもの場合、これらの条件があてはまらないことも珍しくない。例えば、国際結婚などで両親が違う言語を話す場合どちらも母語ということになるが、熟達度や使用頻度という意味で 2 つの言語が全く同じというわけにはいなくなり、そのことが内的/外的アイデンティティ

にも影響すると言われる（中島 2001）。多文化環境で育つバイリンガルの子どものことばを習得するには13年程度を要し、こどもの交流相手や社会性の発達によって言語形成期はさらにいくつかの時期に分けられる（中島 2001）。なかでも言語形成期前期（0歳から9歳）と言語形成期（9歳から13歳）は、母語保持の観点から重要だと考えられている。

多文化の子どもの言語生活は、家族間のコミュニケーションに使用される家庭言語、教授言語（学校で使われる言語）や社会の公用語など多言語環境で生活している。日本に住む多文化の子どもたちも、家庭では家庭言語を用いて生活し、学校では日本語で学習する。つまり、国を越えた移動をする子どもたちにとって、教育を受ける言語が変わることは子どもの母語や認知的発達にも大きな影響を与えうる。

2.1.1. 認知的発達と母語

2言語に接して育つ子どもの言語の発達は、発達過程によって、同時に2つのことばに接触する「同時発達バイリンガル」と1言語目を習得してから2言語目加わる「継起発達バイリンガル」と分類される（中島 2001）が、保育園などにゼロ歳児からいつている場合などは家庭での言語習得の時間は昼間に比べると短いためどちらの型ともいい難いという。

日本生まれの多文化の子どもたちは、多くの場合保育園や幼稚園に通い乳幼児期から日本語に接して生活をしている。就学前はのちの認知的発達を支える母語の土台ができる時期であるが、多言語環境で生活する子どもの場合、環境によっては母語が育つ前に第2言語の方が強くなっていくこともある。また、就学前に文字認識や読み書き（リテラシー）の基礎が母語でできていれば、小学校入学後の日本語のリテラシーへの移行がスムーズになると言われている。

学齢期に入ると子どもたちの日本語は急速に発達しやがて強い言語は日本語に置き換えられていく。特にリテラシーの力を持たない言語は保持すること自体が難しくなる。さらに、学習に必要な抽象的な概念は第2言語で学ぶには時間がかかるため、母語での概念形成は学習成果にも関係してくる。では、具体的に学習に必要な言語能力とはどのようなものなのだろうか。Cummins（1984）は、言語能力を認知力必要度と場面依存度の程度に分けて説明している。縦軸を場面依存度、横軸を認知力必要度とし、縦軸と横軸で区切られた4つの面を言語使用の場面とした。場面依存度が高く認知力必要度の低い言語使用は買い物やあいさつなどで主に Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS)と呼ばれる言語能力が必要となる。一方、場面依存度が低く認知力必要度が高い言語使用は Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)と呼ばれ学習に必要な言語能力となる。BICSとCALPは習得にかかる年数も異なると考えられており、BICSで2年程度CALPは5～7年程度を要する。第2言語でCALPを習得するには、

母語の力を最大限に生かすことが有効であるとされている。

学習に必要な言語能力、CALP の発達の遅れは、学業成績や進学に直接影響を及ぼす。日本よりも先に労働力のグローバル化が進み移民を多く受け入れてきた欧米諸国では、現地生まれの第2世代の社会統合に向けて様々な課題に取り組んでおり、移民の子どもの学力と国の教育政策、社会的背景、家庭言語との関係に関する詳細なデータが蓄積されている (OECD 2007)。現在指摘されているのは、カナダなどを除いて、多くの国で現地生まれの2世の読解力が1世よりも低いことだ。その原因のひとつとして、現地生まれの2世の母語力があげられており母語におけるリテラシーと読解力の関係も明らかになってきた。

2.1.2 母語保持伸長の難しさ

多文化の子どもが母語に接するのは主に家庭だ。しかし、家庭での母語使用は、日常会話が中心となり話題や使用される語彙も限られる。バイリンガルは、読む聞く書く話す (4 技能) 能力をバランスよく持つ「読み書き型バイリンガル」の場合と、会話はできるが読み書きはできない「会話型バイリンガル」、会話でも聞くことはできるが答えるのは第2言語という「聴解型バイリンガル」に分けることができる (中島 2001)。実際は、母語で読み書き能力を家庭で身に付けることは難しいため、「会話型バイリンガル」になることが多い。また、語彙や表現も家庭での日常会話だけでは偏っているため、成長するにつれて自分の言いたいことを伝える会話力がなくなり、母語での会話は聞くのみで話すのは日本語という「聴解型バイリンガル」になっていく。バイリンガルの2言語の能力と使用は年齢とともに変化していく。

現在の日本の教育システムでは、「日本語指導が必要な児童生徒」に対して小中学校においてある程度支援体制が確立しつつあるが、子どもの母語への支援体制は一部の自治体を除き、国レベルの施策はない状態である。そのような状況下、母語教育は個々の家庭の考えに依存している。坂本・宮崎 (2014) によれば、日本で子育てをする多文化の保護者は子どもたちに母語を保持してほしいと願ってはいるものの、子どもが成長するとともに家庭内の言語のコントロールが難しくなっていくという。また、子ども自身の母語への態度も年齢や周りの友人などの環境で年齢とともに変化していく。

2.2 多文化の子どものことばとアイデンティティ

多文化の子どもたちは、日々の生活の中で複数言語を使い分けながらアイデンティティの交渉を行っているという (カルタビアーノ 2014)。言語選択は即ち、～語を話す自分という自己のアイデンティフィケーションの表れである。ある言語を使用するという選択もあれば、使用しないという選択もある。川上 (2014) は、複数言語環境で育った記憶と経験を基礎としたアイデンティティ構築が成人してから引き継がれていく過程

を、「移動する子ども」という分析概念を用い分析した。そして、「移動する子ども」にとって複数言語環境で成長した「経験や記憶などを意味付ける力」がアイデンティティを構築する力となると述べている。

移民が現地語を習得し次世代にどのように母語が継承するかは、彼らのアイデンティティと深い関係があると言われている（ロング 1998）ように、母語をどこでどう使用するかという行為は即ち自分のアイデンティティを表わす方法だと言える。カルタビアーノ（2014）は、Pavlenko & Blackledge（2004）の定義を用い、アイデンティティを「ある社会で特定の時間と場所において個人や団体が自己を名づけたり、特徴づけたり、社会的な位置づけをしようとする時に与えられる社会的、対話的、談話的選択肢」と定義し、アイデンティティは個人にとって時に葛藤となりながら変化していくとした。そして、日本で育つ多文化の子どものアイデンティティが日常生活の談話の中でどう交渉されているかを研究した。

アイデンティティは多様で、同じ家庭で育っても兄弟姉妹間でアイデンティティの表現は異なる。ある日系ペルー人の家庭では、既に成人しているアディティブバイリンガルの姉は「自分は日本人だ」と主張し、母語の弱い弟は逆にペルー人と日本人のアイデンティティを日常生活の中で、家族や友達と交渉していた。カンボジアの少年はカンボジアの言語と文化に強い帰属意識を持ちながら、母語を保持することではなく日本語習得に力を入れていた。逆に、ベトナムの少女はよくベトナム語を話したがベトナムに対し文化的な帰属意識は弱かった。

カルタビアーノ（2014）は「言語選択・使用は個人の民族的帰属意識とアイデンティティの大切な表示」としながら、アイデンティティと言語発達を直接関係づけることに疑問を投げかける。「民族的なアイデンティティの保持は必ずしも家庭の言語の保持と使用に直結していない」という Pease-Alvarez（2003）の説とも一致するとした。

日本のような言語文化の多様性に乏しい環境で、マルチリンガルに育つためには、親の強い意志（Okita 2002; Sakamoto 2000）と、当事者である子どもの自発的な意欲も必要である。しかし、多文化のこどもがどのように言語を使い分けるかは、社会、教育、経済、政治的要因等社会文化的な要因が複雑に影響を与える（坂本 2014）ことから、国レベルでの多言語社会構築を目指す政策転換や教育的介入がない限り多文化の子どもが母語を失わずにマルチリンガルへと成長する可能性は極めて低い。

2.3 研究目的

本稿は、多文化家庭における言語使用の実態と多文化の子どもの言語意識について分析し、以下の研究課題を検証することを目的とする。

1. 日本の学校システムの中で育つ多文化の子どもたちの家庭における日本語使用、言

語意識は成長と共にどのように変化するか。

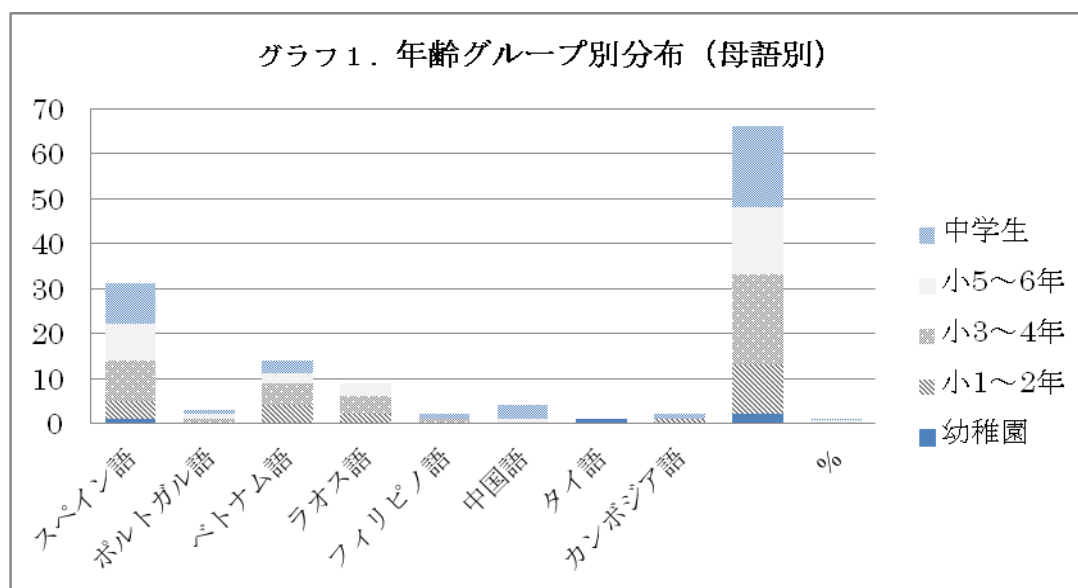
2. 祖国での生活体験の有無は、家庭における言語使用やかれらの言語意識や言語能力にどのような影響を与えているか。
3. 多文化家庭における言語使用や子どもたちの言語意識は、年齢要因のほかにどのような社会的要因の影響を受けるのだろうか。
4. この地域の多文化の子どもたちに対する母語保持伸長の支援は必要か。

3. 調査方法

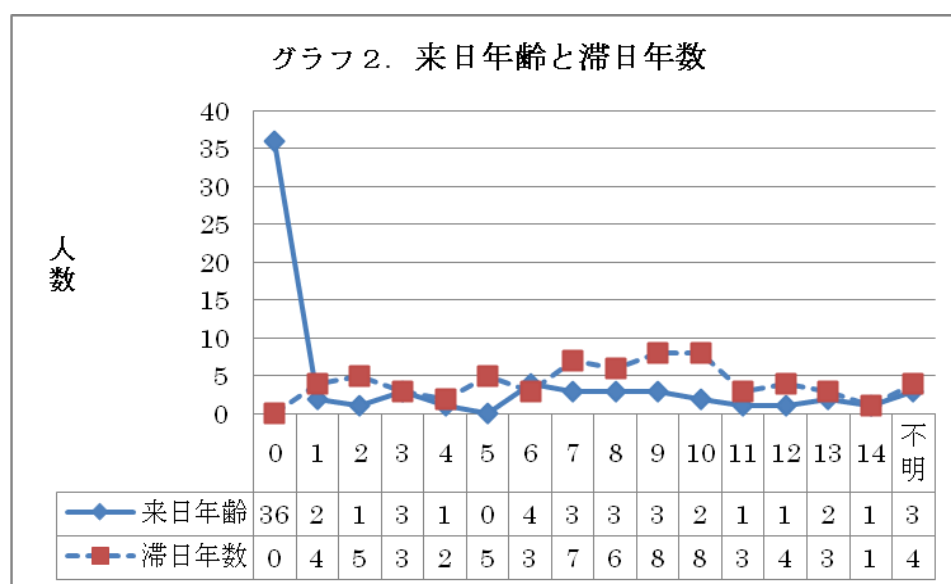
3.1 対象

調査対象は、同じ市内の保育園、公立小学校または中学校に通う5歳から16歳まで(幼稚園児から中学3年生)の66名の子どもたちで、彼らの母語は、人数の多い順にスペイン語(31名)、ベトナム語(14名)、ラオス語(9名)、中国語(4名)、ポルトガル語(3名)、フィリピン語(2名)、カンボジア語(2名)、タイ語(1名)の8か国語であった。グラフ1は、母語別に年齢グループの構成を示したものである。調査時の66名の平均年齢は10.5歳、年齢グループ別の分布は就学前2名(3%)、小学校低学年11名(17%)、小学校中学年20名(30%)、小学校高学年15名(23%)、中学生18名(27%)で、人数の多いスペイン語、ベトナム語、ラオス語に関しては、小学校中学年から高学年となっている。この地域の外国籍児童生徒の人口の上位は、ポルトガル語、スペイン語、ベトナム語の順となっているため、調査対象の母語別比は地域の多文化の子どもの統計データを反映しているわけではない。しかし、この地域の小中学校に在籍する外国籍児童生徒は2009年から2013年にかけて280名前後だったことから、市内の外国籍児童生徒の20%強を調査したことになる。

家庭環境に関して言えば、調査対象は上智大学短期大学部が主催する日本語教室に継続して通っていることから、保護者の子どもの勉強への関心が比較的高いグループと考えられる。日本語教室は3か所(2012年までは4か所)で毎週夜間に開催され子どもから保護者まで参加することができる。この日本語教室は1980年代の終わりから25年にわたり外国籍の人々への支援として引き継がれてきた活動で、これまで支援してきた家庭数も300を超えている。親子で日本語教室に参加する家庭も少なくないことから、保護者が日本語の習得や子どもの教育について似たような考えを持つ家庭の子どもを調査対象としていると言える。



調査対象の来日時年齢は、日本生まれが 36 名と全体の 55%を占め、不明 3 名を除く平均は 3.3 歳であった。来日年齢と年齢から算出した滞日年数は、平均 7.3 年で 7 年以上 11 年未満が最も多く（29 人名）、44%を占める。来日時年齢不明 3 名と滞日年齢不明 4 名の誤差は日本生まれの子どもが一時期祖国へ帰国していたケースである。



3.2 方法

資料1のアンケートを、子どもたちが日本語教室に参加している時間に任意で行った。調査数は、2009 年秋 21 名、2010 年秋 23 名、2013 年秋 22 名の合計 66 名である。調査時期にずれはあるがアンケート対象に重複はない。また、教育政策的にもこの間大きな

変化は見られなかったことや、2011年の東日本大震災後、地域の外国籍市民の数に多少の増減は見られたものの出身国の構成等には大きな変化は見られなかったことから、複数年の調査を統合し分析することにした。

調査は、日本語や学習の支援をしているボランティア学生（以下支援者）が担当の子どもに対して原則として1対1の対面式で行った。従って子どもたちと支援者はよく知っている間柄である。支援者が質問を口頭で尋ね、子どものこたえは支援者がアンケート用紙に記入したが、年長の子どもの場合は本人が記入したものもある。アンケートの質問文は相手の年齢や日本語の力に合わせて、質問を易しく言い換えるなど適当な言語的修正を加えながら、インタビュー形式でデータを採取した。子どもが回答を躊躇した質問項目に関しては任意としその旨記載した。

アンケートは、年齢（または誕生日）、学年、性別、出身、来日年齢、祖国への里帰りの頻度など参加者の①社会的属性と言語背景に関する内容と、②家庭における言語使用「例、お父さんと何語で話しますか」③母語と日本語に対する愛着や能力を問う質問で構成されている。②の家庭における言語使用を調べるために、父、母、兄、姉、弟、妹、祖父母、親戚に対してどの言語を使用するか尋ねた。

この質問はあくまでも本人が家族とどの言語を使用してコミュニケーションをとっているかの認識を調査することを目的とした。「何語で話しますか」は、子どもたちにとって相手の発話と自分の発話の両方を含むコミュニケーション全体を意味する。バイリンガルの家庭のコミュニケーションは、2言語を単語レベルや文レベル、談話レベル等必要に応じて使い分け、コードスイッチングやミキシングがされていると言われている。また、話しかけられた言語とは別の言語で返事をしたとしても無意識の場合もある。調査対象には、家族との会話を何語で行っているかを直感的に判断してもらったため、回答が子ども自身の発話量や発話する言語を正確に表すものではない。例えば、母語と日本語で話すと答えた場合、話し手と聞き手双方の発話に2言語が混じる場合もあれば、極端な場合には親が母語で話して子どもが日本語で答えるという形もありうる。

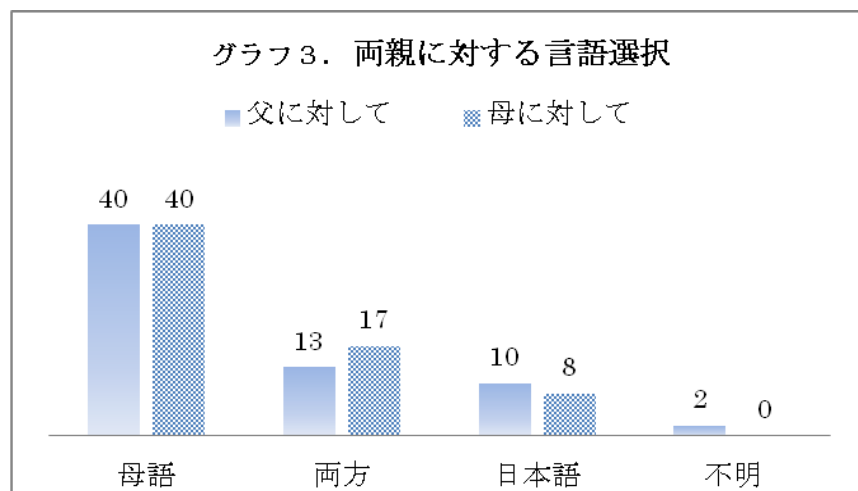
③については、「将来母語を保持したいか」、「自分が好きな言語は何か」、「上手な言語は何か」を聞いた他、母語の読み・書き・聞く・話す能力についてできることとできないことを尋ねた。さらに、自分の名前を母語で書いてもらい、名前と年齢などの自己紹介の文を母語に訳してもらった。これらは母語の文法的な正確さや文字の正しさを客観的に測るというよりも、自分自身がそれぞれの言語能力をどのように捉えているかを確認することが目的である。

4. 結果と分析

4.1 両親との会話

父母との会話において使用する言語に対して、日本語、母語、母語と日本語のいずれかを選んだ。両親とも母語で会話すると答えた子どもは、37 名（56%）、日本語でと答えた子どもは 6 名（9%）でいずれも日本生まれの 9 歳から 14 歳（男 3、女 3）、国籍はラオス 5 名、ブラジル 1 名、母語と日本語でと答えた子どもは 10 名（15%）、残り 20% は父か母かで使用する言語が異なることがわかった。

グラフ 3 は、親に対する言語選択を表す。父母に対して母語を使用する子どもは父はともに 40 名、両方用いるは父に対して 13 名、母に対して 17 名、日本語を使用する子どもは、父に対して 10 名、母に対して 8 名、父に対して回答なし 2 名であった。全体としてみると父に対する言語選択と母に対する言語選択に大きな違いは見られないが、母親に対しては日本語のみが若干少なく日本語と母語の併用が多くなっているように見える。両親に対する言語選択において、父か母かで言語選択が異なる子どもは、12 名と 3 人に 1 人の割合だった。言語選択の具体的な組み合わせは、父に母語、母に日本語が 2 名、父に母語、母には母語と日本語が 3 名、父に日本語、母に母語は 1 名、父に日本語、母に両方が 3 名、父に両方、母に母語が 3 名であった。



次に両親に対する使用言語と社会的要因の関係について、年齢、来日年齢、滞日年数について分析した。下記の表は、両親に対する言語選択と年齢、来日年齢、滞日年数の相関関係を示したものだ。母語での会話を 1 とし、母語と日本語の会話を 2、日本語のみを 3 とし、両親の平均を算出しピアソン関数を用いて相関関係を考察する。

表 1. 父母に対する言語使用と年齢要因との相関 (n=66)

	相関係数	解釈
年齢	$r=-0.028$	年齢と母語使用に相関なし
来日年齢	$r=-0.399$	来日年齢と母語使用に弱い負の相関あり
滞日年数	$r=0.454$	滞日年数と日本語使用にかなり強い正の相関あり

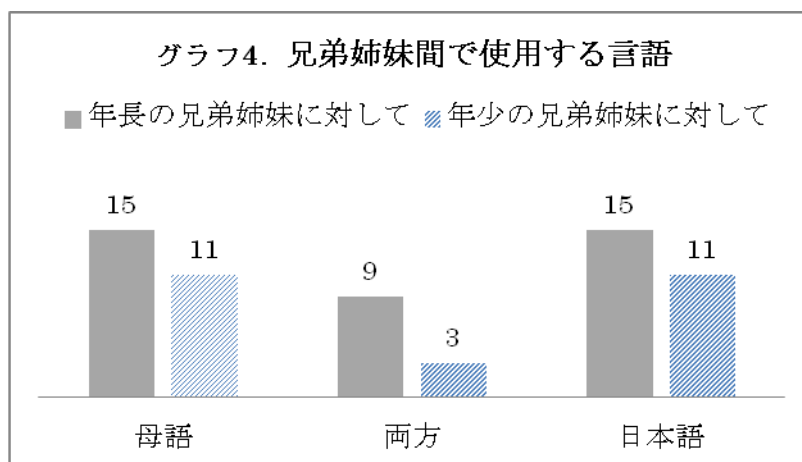
$r=0$ 相関なし、 $r=0.2\sim0.4$ 弱い相関、 $r=0.4\sim0.6$ かなりな相関、 $r=0.6\sim$ 強い相関

結果は、子どもの年齢と父母に対する言語選択には相関関係はないことが分かった ($r=-0.028$)。来日年齢と両親に対する言語選択は、弱い負の相関関係が認められた ($r=-0.399$)。つまり、来日年齢が低いほど両親との会話は母語ではなく日本語が多くなる。また滞日年数と日本語使用は逆にかなり強い正の相関が認められた ($r=0.454$)。言い換えれば、日本での滞在年数が長くなるほど父母との会話に日本語使用が多くなるということが統計的に証明された。来日年齢よりも滞在年数の方が家庭での言語選択における現地語（日本語）使用に影響が大きいということができる。

日本の場合、母語の使用は家庭に限定されるため、日本で暮らすマイノリティの家族にとって、改めて日本語が脅威語で、家庭での言語使用だけでは母語保持伸長に関して限界があることが確認できる。

4.2 兄弟姉妹との会話

年長の兄姉と年少の弟妹との会話の言語選択はどのようになっているのだろうか。グラフ 4 は、それぞれ年長と年少の兄弟姉妹間で使用する言語を、母語、母語と日本語、日本語に分けて集計したものである。グラフ 3 で示したように父母に対しては、母語>母語+日本語>日本語の順であったが、兄弟姉妹間では年上か年下に限らず、同じ人数の子どもが母語のみか、日本語のみを使用するとこたえ、母語と日本語を併用するとこたえたグループが最も少ないことがわかる。言い換えると、父母との会話に比べて兄弟姉妹間の言語は現地語である日本語に置き換わっていることを表している。兄弟姉妹間では自分の最も得意な言葉を使用している可能性が高く、言語選択の分布は子どもたちの調査時点での強い言語を表していると言える。では、兄姉に対して母語と日本語を両方使うケースが多いことはいったい何を示唆するのであろうか。多文化家庭では、家族がある時期別々の国に住むことが少なくない。祖国で暮らした経験を持つ年上の兄姉がいる場合、かれらの母語がしっかりしているので、兄弟間でも母語が使われるが、滞在期間が長くなるにつれて、徐々日本語に切り替えられていくと考えられる。



兄弟姉妹間の言語使用と年齢要因の関係について、年長と年少に分けて、ピアソン相関を用いて分析した結果が表2である。

表2. 兄弟姉妹に対する言語使用と年齢要因との相関

	相関係数 (n=39) 年長兄姉	相関係数 (n=25) 年少弟妹	解 釈
年 齢	$r = -0.139$	$r = 0.08$	年齢と母語使用に相関なし
来日年齢	$r = -0.362$	$r = -0.423$	来日年齢と母語使用に年長兄弟は弱い負の相関、年少兄弟はかなり強い相関あり
滞日年数	$r = 0.465$	$r = 0.664$	滞日年数と日本語使用に年長兄弟はかなり強い正の相関、年少兄弟は強い正の相関あり

$r=0$ 相関なし、 $r=0.2\sim0.4$ 弱い相関、 $r=0.4\sim0.6$ かなりな相関、 $r=0.6\sim$ 強い相関

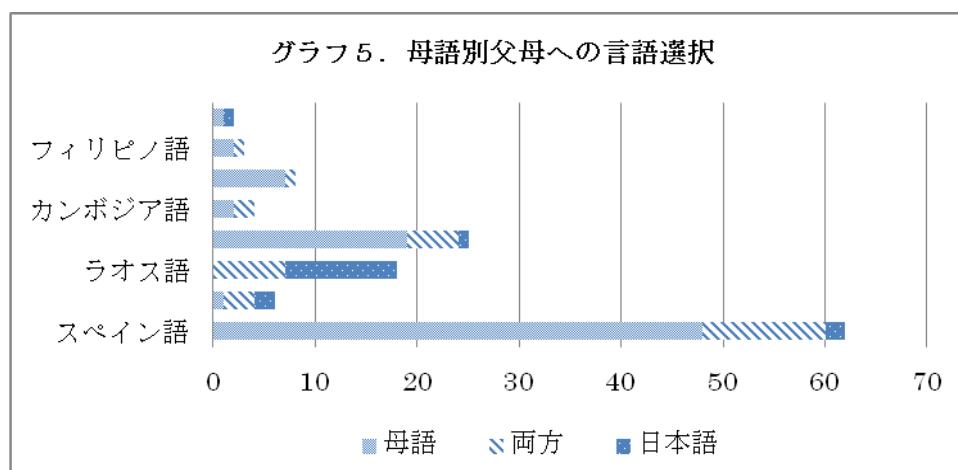
年齢と兄弟姉妹との言語選択には相関関係は認められない。しかし来日時の年齢は兄姉に対しても弟妹に対しても負の相関があることが分かった。つまり、来日年齢が低ければ低いほど、兄弟姉妹間の会話には日本語使用が多くなることを意味する。また、相手が自分より年長の場合に比べて、相手が年少の場合の方がより来日年齢と強い負の相関 ($r = -0.423 > r = -0.362$) があることがわかる。

一方、兄弟姉妹との会話は滞日年数と正の相関がある。弟妹との会話の方が兄姉との会話よりもより強い相関がある ($r = 0.664 > r = 0.465$)。滞日年数が長くなるほど、自分より下の弟妹には日本語使用が多くなる。年齢が上の兄姉の中には来日時期に母語が形成されているものもいるため、そういう兄姉に対しては滞日年数が長くなっても母

語での会話が継続されることが考えられる。

4.3 母語と家庭言語の関係

次に子どもの母語別に家庭における言語選択にどのような違いがあるかを分析する。グラフ 5 は、母語グループ別に父母に対してどの言語を使用するかを、母語、母語と日本語、日本語に分けて示したものである。母語の比率が最も高い言語は中国語とフィリピン語であるが、この 2 言語に関しては被験者がそれぞれ 4 名と 2 名と少なく、さらに滞在年数の平均も中国 3.5 年、フィリピン 3 年と短いことに起因すると考えられる。その他のグループを概観すると、ラオス語とポルトガル語のグループが母語の比率が極端に低い。ラオス語とポルトガル語のグループは全員日本生まれではあるものの、他のグループにも前述のとおり 55%が日本生まれであり、平均滞日年数も約 7 年とかなり長いことを考えると、日本語使用はラオスとブラジルの民族グループ的な要因が影響している可能性もある。



ベトナム及びカンボジアと並んでラオスのコミュニティは、調査を行った地域には珍しくない。来日の経緯も難民とその後の家族呼び寄せのプログラム (ODP) によって来日した人々が大半を占める。最近では 1990 年前後に 10 代で来日した人々が家庭を持ち、新しくできた家族が今回の調査対象の中には多く含まれる。いわゆる難民 2 世か 3 世の家庭の言語選択が民族グループにより異なるとしたら、どのような社会的要因が影響を与えるか迫及する必要があるだろう。

同様に、今回の調査では母数が少ないがポルトガル語を家庭言語とするブラジルの家庭とスペイン語を家庭言語とするラテン系の家庭の言語選択の違いがみられる。スペイン語を使用する 31 家庭では、約 4 分の 3 の保護者に対して母語が使用され、日本語のみという父母は数名に過ぎない。来日年齢と滞在期間の母語使用への関係では、滞在期間

が長くなるほど母語の使用から日本語との併用にシフトしていくことが明らかになった。現地語である日本語に侵害されことなく父母と母語を使用する比率が高いのはスペイン語コミュニティの活力が強いこと、そして子どもたちが母文化と母語を表現できる地域の教育環境が存在することを示唆している。

4.4 言語意識

アンケートでは家庭内での言語使用に加えて、「あなたはなに語が上手ですか」「あなたはなに語が好きですか」という質問で、子どもたちの言語意識を尋ねた。

4.4.1 言語の好みと年齢要因

67人中、上手な言語に「母語」のみを挙げたのは19名、「日本語と母語の両方」13名、「日本語」31名、無回答4名であった。次に、好きな言語を「母語」だと答えた子どもは15名、「日本語と母語の両方」12名、「日本語」31名、その他4名、無回答4名であった。その他は英語と答えた4名である。次にどの言語が上手か好きかといった主観的な言語意識と年齢要因に統計的な関係があるか分析した。これまでと同様、母語を1、母語と日本語両方を2、日本語を3としてデータを入力し、年齢、来日年数、滞日年数を、ピアソン相関関数を用いて計算した結果が表3である。好きな言語と年齢以外は何らかの相関が認められた。顕著なのが来日年数と上手な言語が強い負の相関($r=-0.578$)と滞日年数と好きな言語が強い正の相関関係($r=0.600$)にあることだ。

自分が上手だと考える言語は、来日年数が低いほど母語ではなく日本語と考えていることがわかる。裏返せば、日本生まれで祖国での生活や就学の経験がない子どもは、母語が話せたとしても「自信」があるとは言えないということだろうか。川上(2014)でも「移動する子ども」にはことばに対する不安感を言語意識として抱えていることが指摘されていた。上手な言語として母語と日本語両方を挙げられる率は来日年数が低いほど下がると考えられる。

表3. 言語意識と年齢要因との相関

	相関係数 (n=39) 上手な言語	相関係数 (n=25) 好きな言語	解釈
年齢	$r=-0.261$ 弱い負の相関	$r=-0.076$ 相関なし	年齢が若いほど上手な言語は日本語だと考えている。好きな言語には相関なし。
来日年数	$r=-0.578$ 強い負の相関	$r=-0.248$ 弱い負の相関	来日年数が低いほど、上手だと思う言語も日本語になり、好きな言語も日本語になる。
滞日年数	$r=0.318$ 弱い正の相関	$r=0.600$ 強い正の相関	滞日年数が長くなるほど、好きな言語は日本語に、上手だと思う言語も日本語になる。

$r=0$ 相関なし、 $r=0.2\sim0.4$ 弱い相関、 $r=0.4\sim0.6$ かなりの相関、 $r=0.6\sim$ 強い相関

一方、好きな言語は来日年齢よりも、滞日年数の方が強い相関にある。言語能力ではなく好きか嫌いかという心理的な判断は、日本に滞在する年数が長いほど日本語を選ぶということがわかる。母語の定義に心理的な要因、安心感や一体感を考慮することから考えると、今回の調査の参加者はほとんどの家庭で母語は家庭言語として使用されていることから、彼らの最初に接した言語は母語であったと考えられる。しかし、滞日年数が長くなるについて好きな言語も日本語のみを選ぶ人が増えているということは、これも心理的な意味で母語離れと言えるのではないだろうか。

4.4.2 母語保持の希望

「あなたの親が話すことばを大人になっても話したいですか」という質問に、希望すると答えたのは52名(78.7%)、希望しないと答えたのは5名(7.5%)、わからない(未回答含む)10名(15%)であった。学齢期の子どもで日本の学校で教育を受けている場合、日本社会への同化圧力を知らず知らずの内に体験する(坂本 2014b)。学校で母国の地理や歴史、言語を学ぶ機会もなく、日本のカリキュラムに沿った教育を受ける子どもたちが、母語や母文化に興味をもったとしても現実には接触する機会は限られている。そのような環境に暮らしながら、約79%の子どもが母語を保持することを自ら希望したということはむしろ予期せぬ結果であった。

希望しないと答えた5名は7歳から12歳で、出身国はラオス3名、ベトナム1名、ボリビア1名で、ラオスの3名のうち2名は父母ともに日本語を使用しており、残り1名も母語と日本語の併用している。ベトナムとボリビアの子どもはどちらも両親と兄弟とも母語を使用している。家族のコミュニケーションに日本語が使われているということに、両親の教育方針が影響している可能性もある。また、多数を占めるインドシナ系の人々は自身が難民として渡日したか、呼び寄せ家族として渡日した経緯から将来的に帰国する可能性は少ないことが影響も考えられる。

未回答を含む不明は10名であるが、5歳から12歳までのほとんど日本生まれの子どもたちで、1人を除き9名の家庭では父母と日本語または両方、兄弟とは日本語の方が多く使用されているようだ。日本生まれで心理的にも母語に特別な気持ちをもってはおらず、親とのコミュニケーションにのみ使っているのかもしれない。母語別にみると、ベトナム語5名、ラオス語3名が含まれ全体の8割を占める。希望しないと答えたグループと合わせて、母語に対する態度が揺れている状況を表しているのではないだろうか。

4.4.3 母語の能力

子どもたちは自らの母語に対する言語意識を持っていることが明らかになったが、その母語の力は4技能的にはどうなっているのだろうか。読み書き能力についても子どもに自己評価してもらった結果は次の通りである。

「あなたは、～語（母語）の字が読めますか」という質問に、66 名中 28 名（42%）が読めると答えた。質問は母語の読みに対する認識を問う意図を小さい子どもにも理解できるように「字」が読めるかという質問にしたが、実際に意図したところは読解であったため、単に字（語レベル）が読めると考えた子どもと文章と考えてこたえた子どもとで、若干ずれが生じた可能性がある。

「読める」とこたえた子どもの来日年齢を見ると、日本生まれ 9 名、就学前 4 名、8～9 歳で来日 8 名、10 歳以上 7 名であった。また日本生まれの子どもの中にも、家庭で読み書きの通信教育を行っている家庭や一時期国に帰って学校教育を受けた子どももいるが、その詳細は今回の調査では不明なので、来日年齢のみで子どもの「読み」の力を推定する。個人差を考慮したとしても、10 歳以降に来日した 7 名は母語での読みの力を保持している可能性がかなり高い。

「書き」については、「あなたは、～語で自分の名前が書けますか」という問いに対して 32 名が書けるとこたえ、中には実際に書いて見せてくれたものもいる。読めると答えた子どもが 28 名だったのに対して 4 名多かったが、半数以上がスペイン語圏の子どもであることからそれほど難易度は高くない。従って、名前を書ける程度の力で「書き」の力を測ることはできないが、子どもたちの母語の名前を披露ことへの態度からも母語に対する態度が伺え、肯定的な態度を持っている子どもが多いことがわかる。

次に母語の話す力を尋ねるために、母語で自己紹介をしてくださいと頼んだ。また例として日本語で次の例文を挙げておき、必要に応じて日本語で尋ねた。

例：名前は～です。～歳です。家族は～人です。好きな食べ物は～です。

嫌いな食べ物は～です。

結果は、38 名の子どもが自己紹介を母語でしてくれた。母語で名前を書いた 32 名を超える子どもが実際に発話したことになる。支援者の問いかけに、照れてしまい躊躇する子どもも多くいたが、それ以上促すことはしなかった。ラオスの子どもはだれも自己紹介をしなかった。当然、急に頼まれてことばが出なかった子どももいると考えられるが、少なくとも自己紹介してくれた 38 名は、母語ができる自分に対し自尊感情を持っており人前で披露することにより、アイデンティティ交渉を行っていると言える。これらの子どもは家庭の会話でも可能な限り母語で応答しているのではないだろうか。

「読み」と「書き」能力の自己申告、来日年齢、国での就学経験を総合的に判断すると、本研究の参加者 66 名の内、「読み書き型のバイリンガル」は 7 名（10.6%）程度と言えるのではないだろうか。残り 90%は、技能的に見ると、会話型バイリンガル（話すことと聞くことのできるバイリンガル）か、聴解型バイリンガル（聞くことのできるが話すことはできないバイリンガル）のいずれかに分類できる。自己紹介を母語でできた子どもを会話型バイリンガルと考えると、読み書き型バイリンガルの 7 名を除く 31 名（46.9%）程度と推定でき、残り 43%が聴解型バイリンガルの可能性がある。

父母との会話を日本語のみでと答えた子どもが 37 名 (56%) であったことと、自己紹介が母語でできた 38 名はほぼ一致する。しかし、個々のバイリンガルのタイプを判定するには会話力の評価は自己紹介だけではできないため、母語での発話内容や語彙力なども調査する必要がある。

5. 考察

本稿は日本の学校システムの中で生活する多文化の子どもの言語環境を、以下の 4 つの研究課題について分析した。それぞれの課題について調査結果を考察する。

課題 1. 日本の学校システムの中で育つ多文化の子どもたちの家庭における日本語使用、言語意識は成長と共にどのように変化するか。

今回の調査の対象者たちの家庭では、母語、母語と日本語、日本語のいずれかが、相手が親か兄弟姉妹かにより使い分けられていた。相対的に保護者に対する場合の方が、兄弟姉妹に対する場合よりも母語を使用する率が高いことが明らかになった。しかし保護者に対する母語の使用も滞在年数が長くなるほど、つまり子どもが成長するほど日本語の使用が多くなる。一般に保護者は滞日年数が長くなっても日本語がそれほど流暢になることは稀である。従って日本語使用率の増加は子どもの母語力の低下や母語伸長が停滞に起因する可能性がある。言語意識に関しても、滞日年数が長くなるほど、好きな言語が日本語になっていくことから、日本語のみを教授言語とする日本の学校システムの中で育つ子どもたちは、心理的な意味でも成長するにつれて母語離れは進み、強い言語、好きな言語ともに日本語になっていくと考えられる。

課題 2. 祖国での生活体験の有無は、家庭における言語使用やかれらの言語意識や言語能力にどのような影響を与えているか。

読み書き能力を持たない言語は保持が難しいと言われ、日本生まれや祖国での就学経験がない子どもたちには母語でのリテラシーの基礎がないのが一般的だ。母語の読み書き能力に関する調査が示すように、今回の対象の内、読み書きバイリンガルは推定された 10% の子どもたちは祖国での就学体験があり 10 歳以降に来日した子どもたちだった。一方、祖国での生活体験の有無に関わらず父母との会話で母語を使用する子どもが多いという事実は、日本語が強くなりつつある子どもにとっても母語は心理的な意味でも道具としても重要であることに変わりはないことを示唆する。さらに、大人になっても母語を話したいという希望も家族の絆としての母語の機能やコミュニティにおける母語の

役割を子どもながらに意識している結果ではないだろうか。祖国での体験は、母語保持と母語の読み書き能力には強い影響力があると考えられるが、家庭における母語使用や言語能力との直接の関係を示すものではないといえる。

課題 3. 多文化家庭における言語使用や子どもたちの言語意識は、年齢要因のほかによいような社会的要因の影響を受けるのだろうか。

今回の調査では、母語のグループにより家庭における言語使用と母語保持の希望の有無が異なるという結果が得られた。顕著な例は、ラオス語のグループで両親とも母語のみでの会話は行わず、日本語、もしくは母語と日本語が併用されており、母語保持の希望も見られなかった。逆に、スペイン語のグループとベトナム語のグループでは母語のみの使用、母語保持の希望ともに高かった。家庭で言語使用量がその言語や文化に対する意識に影響することは容易に想像できる。また、家庭の言語方針には両親の母語や母文化に対する考え方が反映され、子どもの言語意識や言語行動にも影響を与える。今回の結果は、ラオス家庭に共通した個別事情によるものか、ラオス語の民族グループに由来する現象なのかを解明するためには更なる調査が必要だろう。同様に、地域におけるスペイン語やベトナム語に関しても、個人的な要因だけではなく民族グループとしての文化的な特徴や地域における民族グループの活力等も考慮した調査分析が必要だといえるのではないかな。

課題 4. この地域の多文化の子どもたちに対する母語支援は必要か。

子どもたちは心理的に母語に愛着を感じ母語を保持したいという希望しながら、子どもたちの母語離れは進行中である。現在、家庭での自助努力に任せられている母語保持であるが、何らかの母語支援の機会があれば子どもたちの母語の喪失を食い止められる可能性は十分にある。

調査結果から、これらの子どもの約 1 割が読み書き型バイリンガル、半数が会話型、残りが聴解型バイリンガルと推定されるが、母語が家庭から完全に消えている家庭はほとんどないことが分かった。さらに、子どもたちは母語や母文化に対して肯定的な感情を持っている。母語の保持伸長にとって当事者の母語や母文化への態度は影響力も大きいいため、心的な態度に近い方が母語支援は成功する可能性も高い。もし、子どもたちが日本語以外の言語文化を持つ「多文化の子ども」としての自尊感情を持って成長しつつあるのなら、母語支援は彼らの多文化アイデンティティを育てるうえでもよい影響があると考えられる。母語支援プログラムは、公教育の一環として行われることが理想であるが、いずれにしろ早急な支援が望ましいだろう。

本研究は横断研究で、同一の子どもの言語使用や言語意識の変化を縦断的に調査したものではない。しかしながら、年齢要因を当事者の年齢、来日年齢、滞日年齢に分けて、言語選択や言語の好みとの関係进行分析していることから、この地域の多文化家庭の言語使用の実態と課題を説明するものであり基礎研究として有用なデータを提示することができたのではないだろうか。

6. おわりに

本稿は、神奈川県在住の多文化の子どもたちの、家庭言語の使用実態と母語と日本語に対する言語意識をアンケート調査から分析した。家庭言語の選択は、父母に対する方が兄弟姉妹に対するよりも母語を使用する比率が高く日本語のみを使用する家庭は全体の2～3割程度であることが分かった。また、年長の兄姉と年少の弟妹に対する言語使用は、母語か日本語かのどちらかの場合が多いこともわかった。これらの言語選択は子どもの年齢要因と影響が深く、子どもの成長とともに家庭言語は変化し母語離れが進行している実態が明らかになった。さらに、母語グループによって、家庭言語の選択にも差があることが明らかになった。今回の調査は家庭言語の使用実態を解明することのみを目的としたが、今後は家庭における言語使用の変化にどのような社会心理的要因が影響しているか調査し、多文化の子どもの言語と文化を保持するための支援や学校文化の在り方について研究することを課題としたい。

資料1.

【アンケート項目】(家庭言語及び言語意識に関する項目を抜粋)

1. どこから来ましたか。
2. いつ日本に来ましたか。
3. 兄弟はいますか。
4. おうちの人と何語で話しますか
5. お父さんと
6. お義母さんと
7. お兄さんと
8. お姉さんと
9. 弟さんと
10. 妹さんと
11. おじいさん、おばあさんと
12. お友達と

13. 兄弟げんかをするとき何語を話しますか。
14. 学校の話をするとき何語で話しますか。
15. 将来の話をするときは何語で話しますか。
16. あなたは親のことばを大人になっても話したいですか。
17. あなたは何語がじょうずですか。
18. あなたは何語が好きですか。
19. ～語の字が読めますか。
20. ～語で自分の名前が書けますか。
21. ～語で自己紹介をしてください。
例「私の名前は～です。～才です。私の好きな食べ物は～です。嫌いな食べ物は～です。」

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William Shakespeare の史劇における government と governance の使い方

平野 幸治

要旨：

Shakespeare の史劇、特に『ヘンリー六世』や『リチャード三世』を例に、government と governance の使い分けを文脈やそれぞれの単語の役割と機能から検証する。govern という単語の持つ二義性を考慮すると、「率いる（漢字「率」は、「一カ所にひきしめる、まとまりをつけてひきいる」の意）」の governance と「慎む」「規制する」が原義の government の展開を文脈と併せて検証する。歴史的な慣習と深い結びつきのある governance が、王の横暴さや目に余る権力の乱用により王権を規制する仕組みの成立に伴って、あるいはこれまでの価値観や行動様式に結びつかない集団の中で新たな「エートス」として外形的な仕組みを基盤とした government を必要としていくことが明らかになる。

キーワード：historical plays、government、governance、mores、ethos

はじめに

シェイクスピアの全ての劇作品を、1623 年に出版された最初の全集（第一の二折本、「ファースト・フォーリオ」と呼ばれる）では、「喜劇」「悲劇」「歴史劇」の3つ分類している。この最初の全集に収録されたのは36作品で現在シェイクスピアの作品と見なされている『ペリクリーズ』等の4作品は含まれていない。歴史劇について言うと、本論で扱う『ヘンリー六世』を三部作と『ヘンリー四世』を二部作とみなすか、あるいはそれぞれを一作品とみなすかによって、シェイクスピアの歴史劇を全部で12作品と数えるか、全部で9作品と数えるかの違いが生じる。

本論では『ヘンリー六世』と『リチャード三世』を扱い、『ヘンリー六世』を三部作とみなす。それぞれ『ヘンリー六世・第一部』、『ヘンリー六世・第二部』、『ヘンリー六世・第三部』と表記する。この三部作は、1589～1592年、1590～1591年、1590～1592年に執筆、また『リチャード三世』は、1592～1593年に執筆されたと推定されている。

I. 『ヘンリー六世』における government

『ヘンリー六世・第一部』(1)は、1422年ヘンリー五世の葬儀後から1444年ヘンリー六世をフランスのマーガレットと婚約までを扱う。英国においては王の叔父である摂政と王の大叔父である枢機卿が対立して貴族間の溝が深まる。フランスでは、ジャンヌ・ダルクがフランス軍を率いてイングランドの将軍と戦いを繰り返していた。英国では折しも後のヨーク公になるリチャード・プランタジネットを支持する者は白薔薇を、現国王の家系のランカスター家を支持するものは赤薔薇をと、貴族間の対立が激化する。フランス軍と戦っていた将軍は、両家の反目のため本国から援軍が来ずボルドーで討ち死にする。フランスの摂政となったヨークはフランス軍を撃退し、ジャンヌ・ダルクを火刑に処して勢力を伸ばす。赤薔薇派のサフォーク伯ウィリアム・ド・ラ・ポールは、王ヘンリー六世をアンジュー公レニエの娘マーガレットと婚約(1444)させ、密かに王国の支配を狙う。

『ヘンリー六世・第二部』(2)は、1445年王妃となったマーガレットのイギリス到着から1455年の聖オールバンズの戦いまでを扱う。サフォーク伯ウィリアム・ド・ラ・ポールは公爵に叙せられ、高慢な王妃や枢機卿らと陰謀を企み、王の叔父である摂政グロスター公ハンフリーの妻エレノアを謀叛人として捕え、善良な摂政も暗殺する。赤薔薇派は解体：サフォークは追放され非業の死、枢機卿は病死。ヨーク公リチャード・プランタジネットは、現国王のヘンリー六世より王位継承における優位を主張し、薔薇戦争(1455～85)が勃発^{ぼっぼつ}。聖オールバンズの戦いでサマセット公は殺され、王と王妃は逃亡。ヨーク公は勝利する。

『ヘンリー六世・第三部』(3)は、ヘンリー六世の密約からヘンリー六世の暗殺までを扱う。王位継承者として己の立場の弱さを認めた王ヘンリー六世は、自分の代まで王位を認めれば、その後、王位をヨーク公へ譲ると言う。息子を廃嫡された王妃マーガレットは怒り、ウェイクフィールドの戦い(1460)に勝利すると、ヨークの息子ラットランド伯エドマンドを殺し、ヨークに紙の王冠をかぶせてさんざん侮辱して殺す。

ヨークの長男エドワードは、父に代わって挙兵し、王ヘンリーを捕え、エドワード四世として即位。弟ジョージをクレランス公に、弟リチャードをグロスター公とする。

皇太子エドワードを連れたマーガレットはフランス王ルイ十一世に助力を求める。そこへウォリック伯がエドワード四世とフランス王の妹の縁談のためにやってくるが、エドワード四世が勝手にグレイ未亡人エリザベスを妃としたため、怒ったウォリック伯は赤薔薇につき、エドワード四世を捕える。ヘンリー六世が王座に返り咲き、ウォリック伯は婿クラレンス公ジョージとともに王の摂政となる。リチャードは、兄エドワードを助け出してチュークスベリーの戦い(1471)で勝利し、皇太子エドワードを惨殺して妃を嘆かせ、ロンドン塔に監禁中のヘンリー六世を暗殺する。

「職務上の責任」としての government

フランス皇太子で後のフランス王シャルル七世となるシャルルに過ちを詰問されるアランソン公爵は、弁明する際に自分の責任がおよぶ場所や範囲、つまり管轄という職務上の責任の意味で government を用いる。引用文中の下線は筆者による。

Charles: Duke of Alanson, this was your default,
That, being captain of the watch to-night,
Did look no better to that weighty charge.
Alanson: Had all your quarters been as safely kept as that whereof I had the government,
We had not been thus shamefully surpris'd.(4)

シャルル：アランソン公爵、あなたの責任だ、
昨夜、見張りの者の頭でありながら、
こういう重いつとめにもっと気をつけなかったのだからな。
アランソン公爵：陣営の隅々まで、
私の受け持ちの場所同様に厳重に固められておりましたら、
これほどの不面目な襲われ方はしなかったはずです。(5)

同様に、書きの引用では職務上の責任の所在を表す意味で government を用いる。引用文中の下線は筆者による。

King Henry:But, Warwick, after God, thou set'st me free,
And chiefly therefore I thank God and thee.
He was the author, thou the instrument.
Therefore that I may conquer fortune's spite
By living low, where fortune cannot hurt me,
And that the people of this blessed land
May not be punish'd with my thwarting stars,
Warwick, although my head still wear the crown,
I here resign my government to thee,
For thou art fortunate in all thy deeds.
Act IV. scene vi, 16-25, *The Third Book of Henry VI* (6)

だが、ウォリック、わたしを自由にしてくれたのは、神に次いであなたの力だ、
だから、神とあなたにはいちばん感謝します。
神は発起人、あなたは代行者です、
だから、ウォリック、王冠こそまだわたしがかぶっているが、
政治の実権はいまここで、あなたに譲り渡そう。
あなたは何ごとにつけても運勢の強い人だから。(7)

更に、管轄という職務上の意味が普遍的な意味合いを帯びて **government** を用いる。引用文中の下線は筆者による。

Warwick: And I choose Clarence only for Protector.

King Henry: Warwick and Clarence, give me both your hands.

Now join your hands, and with your hands your hearts,

That no dissension hinder government.

I make you both Protectors of this land,

While I myself will lead a private life,

And in devotion spend my latter days,

To sin's rebuke and my Creator's praise.

Act IV. scene vi, 37-44, *The Third Book of Henry VI* (8)

ウォリック：わたくしは、摂政にはどうあってもクラレンスどのお選びしたい。

ヘンリー王：ウォリックとクラレンス、二人とも手をかしてください。

さ、こう手を結んで、その手と共に心を一つに合わせ、

不和が政治の妨げをすることなどないようにしてください。

あなたがた二人にこの国の摂政になってもらいます、

わたしは隠退して一私人となり、

おのが罪を悔い改め、造物主を讃えまつるために、

余生を信仰にささげたい。(9)

II. 『リチャード三世』における **government**

先に書いたように、『リチャード三世』(10)は、『ヘンリー六世』の三部作執筆中の後半あるいは執筆後の1592～1593年に執筆されたと推定されている。『リチャード三世』のテーマは、王自身の野心と周囲の状況の変化の掌握、その無力さである。

「責任」から「治めること」としての **government** へ

『リチャード三世』では、個人の「責任」の範囲が、王として後継者問題と言う形で政治に展開されていき、最終的には王の計算通りにはいかず、状況が王の手にはあまるものとなる。引用文中の下線は筆者による。

Third Citizen: Doth the news hold of King Edward's death?

Second Citizen: Ay, sir, it is too true, God help the while!

Third Citizen: Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.

First Citizen: No, no, by God's good grace his son shall reign.

Third Citizen: Woe to that land that's govern'd by a child!

Second Citizen: In him there is a hope of government,

Which in his nonage, council under him,

And in his full and ripened years, himself,

No doubt shall then, and till then, govern well.

Act II. scene iii, 7-15, *Richard III* (11)

第三の市民: エドワード王が亡くなられたというのは、嘘ではないのですか？

第二の市民: ところが生憎とほんとうなんです。おお！神様なにとぞお助けくださいますよう！

第三の市民: では大変な世の中になりますね。

第一の市民: いやいや。神様の御助護で、皇太子様が御即位になられるでしょう。

第三の市民: その王わらべなる国は禍いなるかな！

第二の市民: いや、今度の王様はきっと立派にお治めになるでしょう。御幼少の間は、王の下顧問官たちによって、立派に御成年のうへは御自ら、必ずや立派に御統治あらせられることでしょう。

(12)

つまり『リチャード三世』では、リチャードは自分がおかれている状況を完全に統御していても、周囲の状況と彼の野心がいつまでもその状態を維持できるわけがなく、また彼の計算通りにはいかず、彼の手にはあまるものとなり制御できないものとなっていくのである(13)。

III. 『ヘンリー六世』における government

ここで再び『ヘンリー六世』に戻り、government と governance の関係を文脈から検証していく。

「自制すること」としての government

『ヘンリー六世・第三部』で government の本来的な意味である「自制すること」あるいは「慎むこと」の意味で使われる箇所がある。引用文中の下線は筆者による。

It needs not, nor it boots thee not, proud queen,

Unless the adage must be verified,

That beggars mounted run their horse to death.
'Tis beauty that doth oft make women proud,
But God he knows thy share thereof is small.
'Tis government that makes them seem divine,
The want thereof makes thee abominable.(14)

ヨーク公: 高慢ちきな王妃め！そんなことをしても無駄だ。そんな必要もないぞ。
もっとも、「乞食は馬が死ぬまで乗りまわす」という諺を
証明してやろうというのなら別だがな。
お前の器量がお粗末なことは神も御存じ。
女は貞淑であってこそ人にほめたたえられるが、
おまえはその反対で、人も驚き呆れるばかりだ。(15)

government のこのような意味は、単語の本来の意味と考えられる(16)。また governance と government が用いられている例を『ヘンリー六世・第二部』に見ることが出来る。ここでは governance を「指示」として捉えているし、under one's governance は、現在は定まった表現として考えられている。引用文中の下線は筆者による。

Queen: My Lord of Suffolk, say, is this the guise,
Is this the fashions in the court of England?
Is this the government of Britain's isle,
And this the royalty of Albion's king?
What shall King Henry be a pupil still
Under the surely Gloucester's governance?
And I a queen in title and in style,
And must be made a subject to a duke? (17)

王妃: サフォーク卿、これがイギリスの宮廷の
習慣なのですか、これが風習なのですか？
これが大ブリテン島の政治なのですか？
これがアルビオン国王の王権なのですか？
なんということでしょう、ヘンリーはいつまでも生徒のように、
気むずかしいグロスターからいちいち指示を受けている。
わたしは王妃というりっぱな肩書きをもちながら、
たかが公爵の家来になっていなければならない。(18)

「職務上の意味」としての、また「自制心」としての **government** と **governance** の使用目的(19)から言えることは王族と諸侯の関係性の中で有効であり、王の放縦さを規制する時に **government** が使用されると言える。これらのことを踏まえると、**William Shakespeare** の *Henry IV* の執筆と当時の政治状況について密接な結びつきがあることも分かる(20)。同時に史劇で問題にした「エートス」の変化は後の悲劇のテーマとなっていく (21)。歴史的な慣習と深い結びつきのある **governance**、別な言い方をすれば、信念や価値観あるいは行動様式に結びついた集団の構成員（ある王の下）、より具体的に言えば、集団が血縁に支えられ異動が少なく伝統的に構成された諸侯たちの「モーレス」の中では、**governance** が顕著に使われていた。しかし王の横暴さや目に余る権力の乱用により王権を規制する仕組みの成立に伴い、これまでの信念や価値観あるいは行動様式に結びつかない集団の成員や集団で構成された諸侯たちの中では新たな「エートス」として外形的な仕組みやルールを基盤とした **government** の使用を必要としてくる事態が生じたと考えられる。

むすびに

2012 年春学期にサバティカル（研究休暇）の機会を頂いた。その機会を利用して同年 8 月にダブリンの **Trinity College** で行われた **Samuel Beckett** のワークショップに参加した。第一義的には **Beckett** の劇作について **reading** と **acting techniques** の目的のための集まりであったのだが、ヨーロッパから集まった研究者たちと 10 日あまり過ごすうちに **citizenship**、**governance**、**governability** (22)について話が及んだ。この小論は、研究者たちとの **discussion** で得た問いを契機に、**governance** と **government** の単語の意味の成立とその使用法の顕著な例を **William Shakespeare** の史劇に求めたものである。**Shakespeare** が史劇の創作過程に利用した史資料まで辿り検証することができなかったことが本論の限界であり、同時に **Shakespeare** の時代以降の英国においては政治哲学の議論が盛んになり、特に **governance** と **government** の使い分けが顕著となつて、**governance** が **government** にその座を譲る時代を迎えるようになる。その時代精神と政治哲学に関する文献の語彙の関係についての検証は今後の課題であることを付記しておく。

注

(1) 『ヘンリー六世・第一部』のあらすじについては、次の文献を基に作成した。以下を参照。河合祥一郎『あらすじで読むシェイクスピア全作品』（東京、祥伝社、2013 年）、163 頁。

(2) 『ヘンリー六世・第二部』のあらすじについては、次の文献を基に作成した。以下を参照。河合祥一郎『あらすじで読むシェイクスピア全作品』（東京、祥伝社、2013 年）、166 頁。

(3)『ヘンリー六世・第三部』のあらすじについては、次の文献を基に作成した。以下を参照。河合祥一郎『あらすじで読むシェイクスピア全作品』(東京、祥伝社、2013年)、169～170頁。

(4)Act II. scene i, 60-65, *The First Book of Henry VI*

William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blackmore Evans, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p 605. 引用は前述の文献に拠る。併せて、以下の文献も参考にした。William Shakespeare *The First Book of Henry VI*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990).

(5)W・シェイクスピア『シェイクスピア全集5史劇Ⅱ』小津次郎・武井ナヲエ訳(東京、筑摩書房、1974年)、153-154頁。

(6)Act IV. scene vi, 16-25, *The Third Book of Henry VI*

William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blackmore Evans, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p 696. 引用は前述の文献に拠る。併せて、以下の文献も参考にした。William Shakespeare *The Third Book of Henry VI*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993).

(7)W・シェイクスピア『シェイクスピア全集5史劇Ⅱ』小津次郎・武井ナヲエ訳(東京、筑摩書房、1974年)、189頁。

(8)Act IV. scene vi, 37-44, *The Third Book of Henry VI*

William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blackmore Evans, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p 696.

(9)W・シェイクスピア『シェイクスピア全集5史劇Ⅱ』小津次郎・武井ナヲエ訳(東京、筑摩書房、1974年)、189-190頁。

(10)『リチャード三世』のあらすじについて、以下を参照。

「兄エドワード四世の時代となって平和が続くなか、身も心も歪んだ野望の化身グロスター公リチャードは、悪党となって世の中を恨んでやると宣言する。まずリチャードは、兄クラレンス公ジョージにあらぬ嫌疑をかけてロンドン塔送りにし、赤薔薇の王子エドワードの寡婦アンを口説いて妻にする(これは1472年にあった史実)。

エドワード四世の希望により、王妃エリザベスの一族と諸侯との仲違いが解消されようとするとき、リチャードはクラレンス公ジョージの処刑(1478)を伝え、あたかもそれが王妃一族の仕業であるかのように振る舞う。兄エドワード四世が死ぬと(史実では王の死は1483年4月だが、シェイクスピアはクラレンス公の処刑を知らされたショックで即座に王が死ぬという展開にしている)、リチャードは妃の弟リヴァーズ伯アンソニー・ウッドヴィルと連れ子のグレイ卿をボンフレット城で処刑し、幼いエドワード五世とその弟のヨーク公をロンドン塔に幽閉した(これも史実)。

そして、それまで味方であったヘイスティング卿がエドワード五世がいるのにリチャードを王につけるわけにはいかないと考えているとわかった、ロンドン塔の会議の席で、ヘイスティング卿を自分を暗殺しようとした容疑で逮捕し、即座に処刑(1483年6月)。次にリチャードは、バッキン

ガム公やサー・ウィリアム・ケイツビーと謀って、「エドワード四世は別の女性とこんやくしていたためエリザベスとの結婚は無効であり、エドワード五世は私生児である」と論じて、リチャードだけが王位継承者であることをロンドン市民に訴えた。そして、バッキンガム公がロンドン市長や市民たちとともにリチャードに王位に就くように請願しに来ると、リチャードは二人の司教にはさまれて祈禱書を手にして登場し、敬虔な人物であるかのように振る舞い、あたかもロンドン市民の熱い希望にやむなくしぶしぶ応えるかのようにして、リチャード三世として王位に就く（史実では、議会に推挙されて同六月に即位）。

だが、ロンドン塔にいる邪魔な甥エドワード（エドワード五世）とその弟の暗殺をバッキンガム公に命じると、バッキンガム公が躊躇したため、それまで腹心として働いてきたバッキンガム公さえ見限り、約束していた領地を与えない。そして、暗殺者を使って、若い王子たちを殺させた（史実では、ロンドン塔の王子たちをいつ誰が殺したか不明）。バッキンガム公は、自分がヘイスティング卿の二の舞になるのを恐れて、リチャードのもとを逃げだす。

エドワード三世の四男ランカスター公ジョン・オヴ・ゴントの玄孫リッチモンド伯ヘンリー・チューダー（のちのヘンリー七世）が、リチャード三世から王位を奪うべく挙兵（1483年10月）。エリザベスの連れ子のドーセット侯がその支援に走ると、バッキンガム公もこれを支援するが、のちに捕えられ、処刑される（同11月）。

リチャードは、自分の妻アンが重病だとの噂をまきちらして、これを暗殺し、王座を安定させるために兄の娘エリザベスと結婚しようとする。赤薔薇の妃マーガレットや自分の母であるヨーク公爵夫人の呪いや嘆きのこだまするなか、リチャードは王子や親族を殺されて怨みに満ちた兄の妃エリザベスを口説いて、兄王の若い娘エリザベスを自分の第二の妻に求める。兄の妃は激しく罵り、「娘を口説くには、血の滴る心臓二つにエドワード、ヨークと彫りつけて贈りなさい」と嘲るが、リチャードの脅迫に逆らえず、「娘を口説いてくる」と同意して立ち去る（しかし、史実では娘エリザベスはリッチモンドの妻となることから、妃の同意は方便だったと解釈できる）。最後に、ボズワースの戦い（1485）

の開戦前夜、リチャードは自分が殺した多くの亡霊に苦しめられたのち、リッチモンド伯の軍勢に殺される。」

河合祥一郎『あらすじで読むシェイクスピア全作品』（東京、祥伝社、2013年）、172～175頁。

(11) Act II. scene iii, 7-15, *King Richard III*

William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blackmore Evans, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p. 727.

(12) W・シェイクスピア『シェイクスピア全集5 史劇Ⅱ』大山俊一訳（東京、筑摩書房、1974年）、240頁。

(13) 『リチャード三世』について、「劇の発端においては、リチャードは自分がおかれている状況を完全に統御している。この状態はかなり長く続き、彼は確実に王位に接近して行く。しかし、いつまでもこういう状態は維持できるわけがない。事態は彼の計算通りには推移せず、状況は次第に彼

の手にはあまるものとなっていく。」喜志哲雄『シェイクスピアのたくらみ』（東京、岩波書店、2008年）、40 頁。

(14)Act I. scene iv, 125-133, *The Third Book of Henry VI*

William Shakespeare *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blackmore Evans (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p. 677.

(15)訳の一部について現代では社会的に必ずしも適切とは言えない表現があるが、当時の訳を尊重してそのまま引用する。W・シェイクスピア『シェイクスピア全集5 史劇 II』小津次郎・武井ナヲエ訳（東京、筑摩書房、1974 年）、153-154 頁。

(16)government については、以下の部分を見よ。Charles T. Onions *A Shakespeare Glossary*, rev. ed. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1986), p.120.

またノーベル文学賞を受賞したアイルランドの詩人 Seamus Heaney に *The Government of the Tongue* と題（「言葉を慎むこと」の意）するエッセイがある。government について興味深い指摘がある。引用文中の下線は筆者による。

“All the same, as I warm to this theme, a voice from another part of me speaks in rebuke. ‘Govern your tongue,’ it says compelling me to remember that my title can also imply a denial of the tongue’s autonomy and permission. In this reading, ‘the government of the tongue’ is full of monastic and ascetic strictness.” Seamus Heaney *The Government of the Tongue* (London, Faber & Faber, 1988) p. 96.

(17)Act I. scene iii, 42-49, *The Second Book of Henry VI*

William Shakespeare *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blackmore Evans (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p. 635.引用は前述の文献に拠る。併せて、以下の文献も参考にした。William Shakespeare *The Second Book of Henry VI*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991).

(18)W・シェイクスピア『シェイクスピア全集5 史劇 II』小津次郎・大場建治訳（東京、筑摩書房、1974 年）、79 頁。

(19)governance に関する Shakespeare 作品での使用については、以下の部分を見よ。Alexander Schmidt *Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary*, vol. I, (New York, DoverPublication Inc., 1971), pp.487-488.

(20)William Shakespeare の *Henry IV* の執筆については、Stanley Wells *A Dictionary of Shakespeare* (Oxford, OxfordUniversity Press, 2005), pp. 73-77 を見よ。

(21)William Shakespeare の *historical plays* と彼の他の作品、特に『ハムレット』、『マクベス』、『オセロ』への影響については、Germaine Greer *Shakespeare: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 78-90 を見よ。

(22) governability の派生語である governable を、『オックスフォード英語辞典 (*Oxford English Dictionary*)』は、capable of being governed 「統治（支配）可能な」、「統治しやすい」と定義している。同書によれば、governability は、the state or quality of being governable であり、従って「支配されやすい性質、統治しやすい状態」であり、それゆえ訳語としては「統治能力」ではなく「被統治能力」

とするのが適切である。この *govern* という単語の成立過程や「*govern* する主体」と「*govern* される対象」との関係および *govern* という単語の二義性（先に述べた *governability* に言えるように「治める」方向性を勘案した語義を有している）が *discussion* のテーマとなった。*govern* という単語の持つ二義性を考慮すると、「率いる（漢字「率」は、「一カ所にひきしめる、まとまりをつけてひきいる」の意）」の *governance* と「慎む」「規制する」が原義の *government* の展開を文脈と併せて検証してきた。

＊編集者追記＊

平野幸治氏の論文は、追加で掲載となった事情から目次にタイトルが入らなかったことをお断りしておく。編集後記の4行目で掲載論文が7本となっているのは、平野氏の論文を含めてのことである。

平野氏は上智大学短期大学部教授であり、本学部における主要担当科目は、英語史、英文学概論、英語などである。

以上

編集後記（電子版）

今年度は創立40周年という節目の年でもあり、紀要もこの34号のほかに記念号として35号が特別に発行されている。編集上の都合などもあり、この号は学内編集・学内印刷となったので、フォントや行間、表紙仕様などが通常号と若干変わっていることをお断りしておきたい。

今号は、専任教員の論文7本を収録した。いずれもサバティカル報告論文となっている。

Andrade氏は言語教育とリテラシーを専門としており、日本の高等教育機関でも1990年代より導入されるようになったコンテンツ・ベースの英語学習で用いられる教材を分析し、どのように活用していくべきかの提案を行っている。近藤氏は応用言語学を専門としており、英語を第一言語とする話者の相手をほめる言葉に対して、英語を第二言語とする者が答える対話の発話分析から、話者がどのような戦略に基づきどのように対話を構築していくのかを分析し、英語教育においても実際の対話を教材に教えることの重要性を問いかけている。永野氏は米文学のなかでもポストモダン文学を専門としており、分主人公のナチス研究がそのまま本人の心の闇を発掘する行為へとつながっていくウィリアム・ガスの『トンネル』もまた、重層的な構造を持つ作品である。Gould氏は第二言語習得を専門とされており、ここでは日本人学生の英語での発話分析を通して対話をどのように展開していくのか、ビデオ撮影による相づち、しぐさ、視線の交錯などを含めて詳細なトランスクリプトを示している。なお、紙媒体版では印刷上必要な余白処理のため字間が詰まってしまっていたが、電子版ではオリジナルのバージョンに戻したので、その点をお断りしておく。宮崎氏はバイリンガリズムと日本語教育を専門とされており、本学部で展開されている地域の外国籍児童への日本語・教科支援を指導しており、日本で暮らす子どもたちが家庭で使う言語をどのように使い分けしているのかをアンケート調査に基づき分析し、彼らへの母語支援の重要性を訴えている。平野氏はサバティカル中に参加されたダブリンでのワークショップを契機に、*governance* と *government* がどのようにシェイクスピア史劇のなかで使い分けられているかを分析されている。なお、平野氏の論文は紙媒体での発行では追加掲載となった事情から目次に論文タイトルがなく、編集後記でもふれることができなかった。電子版ではその点を修正してあることをお断りしておく。森下の論文は中世日本とヨーロッパの王権の比較であるが、新たな研究成果も取り入れた検証が本来は必要であった。今後の課題としたい。

第34号執筆者は以下の通り。（ ）内は本学部における主要担当科目である。

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