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〈本期收論文為 5 篇，獲推薦 4 篇。〉

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主編的話

《淡江外語論叢》出版發行迄今，已邁入第二十六個年頭，感謝歷年來學術先進不吝賜稿支持。

本論叢已於 2022 年註冊數位物件識別碼(DOI)，讓每篇論文皆有自己獨一無二的識別碼；2023 年，論叢申請國科會人文及社會科學期刊評比，雖未能獲選，但評審委員給予極為寶貴的意見。論叢將依據委員提出的編輯作業待改進事項，強化刊物的編輯與經營。

為實踐本校永續發展之無紙化政策，我們決定自第 39 期(2023 年 6 月)起，改採數位出版發行，以節省紙張。但為感謝作者賜稿，我們仍贈送每位作者兩本抽印本。

本論叢之全部論文除可於本校外國語文學院網頁查詢(網址：淡江大學 - 外國語文學院 (tku.edu.tw)外，亦可在國家圖書館或華藝數位藝術有限公司等相關網站查詢。

本人將於 7 月 31 日卸下擔任六年之久的主編一職，接任者為英文系林怡弟教授。感謝學術先進的支持，也盼望舊雨新知不吝賜稿，讓本論叢得以持續發展。

安

主編

外國語文學院院長 吳萬寶 2024/07/01

Reading Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia* through a Bridging of Religious Studies (the Sacral) and Postcolonial Studies (the Secular).

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【Abstract】

The *Buddha of Suburbia* (1990) by Hanif Kureishi (born 1954-), a novelist, playwright, screenwriter, and filmmaker of English and South Asian descent, has been situated in postcolonial literature. This article refers to that critical situating. In addition, this article critically approaches the novel according to Buddhist beliefs and teachings. In bringing together Buddhism studies and the powerful secular-based area of critical inquiry of postcolonial studies in a reading of Kureishi's work, this article highlights not only how an understanding of Buddhism might be useful for understanding Kureishi's novel, but also how an understanding of Buddhism potentially and actually contributes to the largely secular-based work of literary and cultural studies inclusive of postcolonial studies. In demonstrating that contribution, I rely on arguments about religion by scholars whose work is situated within postcolonial studies—namely arguments that appear in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin's 2006 edited collection, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. I also refer to ecofeminist scholar Greta Gaard's "Mindful New Materialisms: Buddhist Roots for Material Ecocriticism's Flourishing" and comparative studies and ecocriticism scholar Kate Rigby's "Spirits That Matter: Pathways toward a Rematerialization of Religion and Spirituality." Contrasting the main focus of Buddhism studies on inner or spiritual causes of suffering with the main focus of postcolonial studies on outer material causes of suffering (inclusive of material causes rooted in political ideologies), this article seeks in effect to illustrate relatively recent work in postcolonial studies

that focuses on how faith-based knowledge (the sacral) productively contributes to and complements secular knowledge in literary and cultural studies contexts.

FULL ARTICLE

Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia*: A Meeting between Buddhism
and Postcolonialism

I. Introduction

This article brings together Buddhism studies and postcolonial studies through a reading of *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990), a novel by Hanif Kureishi (born 1954-), a playwright, screenwriter, filmmaker, and novelist of English and South Asian descent whose work has been situated in postcolonial literature. The bringing together of Buddhism studies and postcolonial studies in this article about the novel reflects relatively recent work in postcolonial studies that focuses on the productive role that faith-based movements and faith-based knowledge play in the work of postcolonial studies scholars. I begin with a brief critical overview of the term postcolonialism as it is used by postcolonial studies scholars and then illustrate postcolonial studies approaches to Kureishi's novel by referring to postcolonial studies scholar Özge Demir's "Neither Here nor There: How to Fit in British Society in Kureishi's *The Buddha Of Suburbia* and *The Black Album*?" In the next, third section, I introduce Buddhism and critically tie it to postcolonial studies. This connection is especially inspired by the work of postcolonial studies scholars who remark on how the sacral is emerging "as part of a broader rethinking of post-colonial identity" (Ashcroft et. al., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* 518), and I mostly refer to this work as it appears in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin's 2006 edited collection, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. In addition, I refer to an argument that ecofeminism scholar Greta Gaard makes in "Mindful New Materialisms: Buddhist Roots for Material Ecocriticism's Flourishing" and to an argument that ecocriticism and comparative literature studies scholar Kate Rigby makes in "Spirits That Matter: Pathways toward a Rematerialization of Religion and Spirituality." In the fourth and final section, I offer a Buddhist reading of key characters in Kureishi's novel according to The Four Noble Truths, a central teaching of Buddhism that, together with The Eightfold Path, represents "the most fundamental

teachings of Buddhism” (Anderson 297). Referring to The Four Noble Truths, which cover four main aspects of suffering (*dukkha*)—suffering itself, the origins of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path to cessation of suffering, or The Middle Way) (Deng, et al., 224)—I analyze key characters in *The Buddha of Suburbia* and compare and contrast Buddhism studies’ main focus on internal and metaphysical forms of suffering with postcolonial studies’ scholars main focus on external and material causes of suffering. This analysis seeks in effect to push scholarly approaches to the novel further, for no postcolonial critical readings of it to date have included discussions reflecting the inclusion of arguments based on religious studies perspectives. The Buddhist reading offered here represents such a reading, and it is one inspired precisely by the recent turn in postcolonial studies, the embrace of the sacral.

II. Postcolonialism and *The Buddha of Suburbia*

Postcolonialism covers a wide range of colonial histories. One of those histories is Western Colonialism, the history that is most relevant to Kureishi’s novel. Postcolonial studies scholars Duncan Ivison and Harry Magdoff, et al. provide this brief and useful overview of Western Colonialism: it spans approximately four hundred years, from 1500 to 1900. In this time, European colonial governments colonized all of North and South America and Australia, and most of Africa, sending settlers to populate the land or and taking control of governments. The first colonies were established in the Western Hemisphere by the Spanish and Portuguese between the 15th and 16th centuries. The Dutch colonized Indonesia in the 16th century. Britain colonized North America in the 17th century and India, Australia, and New Zealand in the 18th century. Colonization of Africa began in earnest in the 1880s and by 1900 virtually the entire continent was controlled by Europe. The Western colonial era ended gradually after World War II. The only territories still governed as colonies today by the Western world are small islands.

As Ivison also summarizes Western Colonialism, in examining the “historical period or state of affairs representing” this particular period of colonialism (and its “aftermath”) postcolonial studies scholars are interested

in projects of “reclaim[ing] and rethink[ing] the history and agency of people subordinated under various forms of” colonialism” (Iverson). This reclamation and rethinking includes understanding and using the term decolonization. The term helps scholars to distinguish between postcolonialism as a term and post-colonial realities, for postcolonialism should not be “confused with the claim that the world we live in now is actually devoid of colonialism” (Iverson). In many post-colonial countries today, decolonization can be seen in movements that effectively are seeking “to assert control over not only territorial boundaries—albeit ones carved out by the imperial powers—but also...[the] language and history” that were lost or cast aside under colonialism (Iverson).

The interest of postcolonial studies scholars in reclaiming and rethinking history and identity also includes interest in literature and other art that addresses or in some way engages with colonial and post-colonial histories and identities. This interest as it is practiced by some of the most distinguished postcolonial studies scholars does not work to reduce the postcolonial identity to a rigid or inflexible postcolonial studies theory or set of concepts. As postcolonial studies and cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall explains, postcolonial identity “is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think” (392). That is to say, the postcolonial identity is not something that is static. “[W]e should think...of [it],” rather, “as a ‘production’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (392). We should think of it, therefore, not as being “an already accomplished fact” but rather as being something that “is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (392). The point that postcolonial studies theories and concepts are useful tools more than rigid templates is important for the present article. Just as postcolonial studies scholars need to exercise care when examining literature through postcolonial lenses, which change over time, so Buddhism studies scholars need to exercise caution when analyzing literature through Buddhist concepts, for these also are not writ in stone. Recognizing the limitations of perspectives does not prevent or forbid scholars from venturing and testing

their theories; rather, they push scholars to constantly critique their own positions, and in the case of the critical reception of Kureishi's novel, postcolonial studies readings of it reflect both the importance and complexity of the postcolonial identity.

The Buddha of Suburbia, first published in 1990, is inspired by the real-life colonial and post-colonial experiences of Kureishi's family on his father's side. Kureishi's father, Rafiushan Kureishi, immigrated to England from Pakistan in 1951. Four years earlier, in 1947, the year that marks the Partition of India and the official terminus of British colonialism in South Asia, he and his family immigrated from Chennai, in the southernmost state of India, to Pakistan. As Özge Demir states in "Neither Here nor There: How to Fit in British Society in Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia* and *The Black Album*?" *The Buddha of Suburbia* is about "the struggle of first, and second-generation Pakistani immigrants to fit into British society" in this period (690).¹ Many of these immigrants already had experienced forced or voluntary relocation as a result of colonial and post-colonial agreements. At the time of the Partition of India, "approximately "five million Hindus and Sikhs left Pakistan for India, and about six million Muslims moved into newly established Pakistan from India" (690). As Demir further summarizes the experiences of these communities, those who immigrated to the United Kingdom, the main reason the government opened its doors to them was because it needed labor, some of these immigrants were students striving for an education and included Kureishi's father, and many were unable to pursue a career in the field of their choice due in part to racist policies. A semi-autobiographical work of literature, *The Buddha of Suburbia* takes place in England in the 1970s and focuses on the search for identity by the protagonist, Karim Amir, son of Haroon ("Harry"), an Indian Muslim immigrant, and Margaret, an Englishwoman. In his search for identity, Karim meets and experiences both blatant and indirect forms of discrimination against himself

¹ Demir also writes about Kureishi's second novel, *The Black Album*, published in 1995, five years after *The Buddha of Suburbia* first appeared in print.

and other “colored” people (Demir 690). Karim represents actual “life in 1970s Britain” for many English people of South Asian backgrounds. In this time and place, racial tensions and prejudices as well as class conflicts were rife (690). In addition, immigrants from India, Pakistan, and other South Asian countries confronted “internal conflicts of identity and personality” (690). As the number of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent increased, so many people in England resented them and the “British government was concerned with how best to limit Asian (and black) settlements without tarnishing the country’s liberal image” (Khadri qtd. in Demir, 174).

The British government in the 1970s was, as it is today, one of opposition and rivalry between two main political parties: the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. Margaret Thatcher served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 until 1990, the year of her resignation, and she led the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1990. For Thatcher and her supporters, “to be British was defined by narrow boundaries of geographical origin and kinship” (Demir 690). Thatcher “never wanted to accept... [certain populations of] immigrants as Englishmen, even the second generation who were born into the UK” (690). For her, “the notion of Britishness was static” (690). Enoch Powell is another key political figure associated with xenophobia and racism in the United Kingdom in the decades following the end of World War II. He is most infamous for his anti-immigration speech, popularly known as the “Rivers of Blood” speech. He delivered this speech in 1968, when he was a Member of Parliament (M.P.) for the Conservative Party. Between 1968 and 1979, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party, the more socially progressive of the two political parties, battled for the balance of power with the Labour Party mostly winning, but in 1979, the year that marks the close of events in Kureishi’s novel, Thatcher’s Conservative Party won the general election and ruled the United Kingdom for the next eleven years.

As Demir points out, referring to a study by the historian Roy Porter, racism and xenophobia in the United Kingdom in the 1970s was linked to problems of unemployment, poverty, and housing, and the “importing of low-waged immigrant labor greatly incited racial hatred of the white working class

towards the immigrants” (Porter qtd. in Demir 690). Characters in *The Buddha of Suburbia* represent that reality. They also represent the irony of being in a country that asked all its citizens to be English yet refused to recognize the Englishness of some of those citizens. As Karim says of himself and other immigrants: “The thing was, we were supposed to be English, but to the English we were always wogs and nigs and Pakis and the rest of it” (Kureishi 53). The father of a white upper-class woman whom Karim briefly dates and who Karim nicknames “Hairy Back” tells Karim ““You can’t see my daughter [Eleanor] again...She doesn’t go out with boys. Or with wogs... However many niggers there are, we don’t like it. We’re with Enoch [Powell]” (40). Gene, Eleanor’s former boyfriend, a West Indian British man, committed suicide because of the harsh experience of racial discrimination against him:

He was very talented and sensitive.... he was better than a lot of people. So he was very angry about a lot of things. The police were always picking him up and giving him a going over. Taxis drove straight past him. People said there were no free tables in empty restaurants. He lived in a bad world in nice old England. One day when he didn’t get into one of the bigger theatre companies, he couldn’t take any more. He just freaked out. He took an overdose. Eleanor was working. She came home and found him dead. (201)

Other characters in *The Buddha of Suburbia* similarly illustrate South Asian experiences of racism and xenophobia. These characters include Karim’s father, Haroon, a “badly paid and insignificant” Civil Service clerk in the British Government whose prospects would be better were it not for the fact that he was an Indian Muslim British man (7). These characters also include Karim’s brother Amar. Four years younger than Karim, Amar “call[s] himself Allie to avoid racial trouble” (19). Haroon also is called by an Anglophone name, “Harry,” by his sister-in-law Jean and her husband Ted:

Ted and Jean never called Dad by his Indian name, Haroon Amir. He was always “Harry” to them, and they spoke of him as Harry to other people. It was bad enough his being an Indian in the first place, without having an awkward name

too. (33)

Haroon says to Karim: “The whites will never promote us...Not an Indian while a white man left on the earth. You don’t have to deal with them — they still think they have an Empire when they don’t have two pennies to rub together” (27). Haroon’s embrace of Buddhism and other Eastern philosophies and practices is in part both a kind of armor against the racism that surrounds him and an assertion of his Eastern identity.

Haroon’s English-born son Karim represents second-generation immigrant experiences of being trapped between two cultures and identities in England in the 1970s. Karim is neither completely Pakistani nor entirely British. In the opening pages of *The Buddha of Suburbia*, he says:

I am an Englishman born and bred, almost. I am often considered to be a funny kind of Englishman, a new breed as it were, having emerged from two old histories. But I don’t care — Englishman I am (though not proud of it), from the South London suburbs and going somewhere. Perhaps it is the odd mixture of continents and blood, of here and there, of belonging and not, that makes me restless and easily bored” (Kureishi 3).

As Demir analyzes the character of Karim, no matter how hard Karim tries to ignore, dismiss, or not be thwarted by the racism around him, racism constantly interferes with his personal goals. When he joins a theatre group, he is cast in the role of Mowgli in Rudyard Kipling’s colonialist story *The Jungle Book* merely because he is physically similar to Mowgli, and he is asked to exaggerate his Indian accent. His father Haroon is furious: “The bloody fucker Mr. Kipling pretending to whity [sic] he knew something about India! And an awful performance by my boy looking like a Black and White Minstrel!” (157). “In their struggle to create an identity, trapped between their home and host country,” as Demir states, immigrants from former colonies of the British empire experience not only “dislocation and displacement” but intense hatred because of the color of their skin (696).

Demir’s reading represents a postcolonial studies approach to

Kureishi's novel. Such approach is compared and contrasted here with a Buddhism studies approach in the context of the subject of suffering and how postcolonial studies and Buddhism studies differently address and engage with this subject. Postcolonial studies approaches tend to concentrate on political and social inequities, or on kinds of suffering that are externally imposed on one. These include xenophobia, racism, and ethnocentrism. Buddhist studies approaches critically engage with suffering as it refers to suffering from within the self, or suffering that is spiritual or metaphysical. In recent years, however, postcolonial studies has become more interested in effect in the relationship between religion and postcolonialism and the importance of religion in many people's lives today despite the secularization of much of modern society. This interest has meant that postcolonial studies has become more open to readings that incorporate religion in some way. Here, I offer a reading of Kureishi's novel by contrasting the outer kinds of suffering that characters endure because of the history of colonialism and the inner kinds of suffering that they undergo according to Buddhist approaches to suffering.

III. Bridging Buddhism Studies and Postcolonial Studies

Buddhism emerged in the northeast of India approximately 2,500 years ago. Today it is the fourth largest religion in the world and is particularly dominant in Asia (Schmidt-Leuke 1). By no means a homogenous movement, Buddhism nonetheless has distinct milestones. Emerging between 500 and 0 BCE (Before the Common Era), the so-called formative period, Buddhism arose out of the Śrāmaṇa movement, a revolt against traditional religious practices of India associated with Brahma. What distinguishes the earliest formations of Buddhism from the Śrāmaṇa movement is the way Buddhism combined “the ‘otherworldliness’ of the Śrāmaṇas with a ‘this-worldly’ orientation (2).” This combination was instrumental in Buddhism becoming a major religion in India. Buddhist leaders actively involved common people (the laity) as well as monks and nuns under the principle of the Saḡgha, or “four-fold community” (2). Early Buddhism doctrines also are thought to be based on direct teachings of the Buddha, but it is difficult to ascertain this because these teachings often were “not written down but memorized and

transmitted orally” (2). These doctrines are associated with a written record, the Pāli Canon (“written down in the 1st century BCE in Sri Lanka”) (2). This record in turn is associated with the Theravāda School of Buddhism.

The rise of the ‘Mahāyāna’ School of Buddhism (“Great Vehicle”) dates to the period 0-500 CE (Common Era) (Schmidt-Leuke 2). Many of the new sutras of this school predate 0 CE, but in the “second period of Buddhist history” (0-500 CE) the sutras and other Buddhist content that Mahāyāna followers favored and made public both increased the “doctrinal diversity” of Buddhism as a whole and solidified the popularity of the Mahāyāna School (3). A key figure in this school is Nāgārjuna (ca. 150 and 250 CE). He is especially associated with the Madhyamaka School (“Middle Way”) (3). A second major school of the Mahāyāna is the Vijñānavāda School (“Consciousness-School”). In the period 0-500 CE, Buddhism also witnessed “tremendous geographical expansion” (3). It progressed “from Central Asia into China,” and from China it entered Vietnam in the third century, and it entered Korea between the fourth and fifth centuries (3). Indian Buddhist missionaries also took Buddhism to Cambodia and Burma between the second and fifth centuries, and from these two countries, Buddhism made its way into Thailand.

A third major movement and shift in Buddhism identifies with Tantric Buddhism, which dates to the period between 500 and 1000 CE (Schmidt-Leuke 4). This movement is the “most startling feature” of Buddhism in this period of time in addition to Buddhism’s “continued expansion and...burgeoning religious and intellectual life” (4). The beliefs of Buddhism associated with Tantric Buddhism were not “exclusively Buddhist” (4). In fact, they “developed synchronically in Hinduism and Buddhism” (4). Other distinguishing features of Tantric Buddhism are that it “usually presupposes Mahāyāna teachings, which were expanded into psychological and/or cosmological systems”; it promises “a more rapid path to enlightenment”; some of its texts “make frequent use of erotic symbolism”; and some Tantric techniques are apparently unorthodox forms of Buddhism (4). In addition, Tantric Buddhism holds that the ideal figure is the Siddha (“perfected,” “accomplished”), “perfect in wisdom and compassion” and possessing

“extraordinary supernatural powers” (4).

Between 1000 and 1500 CE, Buddhism declined in India even as it remained a major world religion and even as it especially persisted in some areas of Asia, where it continues to be widely practiced until today (Schmidt-Leuke 5). In India, Hinduism overtook Buddhism, and Buddhism also waned in Central Asia and Indonesia, regions where Islam became dominant faith practices.² Elsewhere, the successful and even astonishing spread of Buddhism is attributed to “general sociological factors” and “specific situations of social transition and change” (Schmidt-Leuke 10). An equally or even more important factor in Buddhism’s outward expansion from India is “political patronage” (10). In addition, scholars attribute Buddhism’s popularity to the “power and beauty of its thought” (Gombrich qtd. in Schmidt-Leuke 10). This thought, which emphasizes above all attention to suffering and attempts to understand it, pervades most if not all schools of Buddhist thought inclusive of the Mahāyāna traditions of Buddhism (prevalent in China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Vietnam), the Theravāda traditions (Sri Lanka, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar), and the Tantric traditions (Tibet, Mongolia, and parts of Butan, Nepal, and Japan) (Schmidt-Leuke 7). These traditions are as broad as they are deep, and for laypeople, or for people unversed in Buddhism, grasping the full breadth and depth of their philosophical and religious tenets can be daunting. In this paper, therefore, I will mostly confine the remainder of discussion of Buddhism to how one can apply its teachings under The Four Noble Truths to a reading of Kureishi’s novel.

Buddhism commonly denotes a highly successful spiritual faith

² Some scholars argue that the Buddhist principles and practices have not died out to the extent that was once believed; they argue that these principles and practices were absorbed by and helped shape Hinduism and Islamic as they emerged and became popular in India, Central Asia, or Indonesia. Also in recent years, Buddhism has experienced a rebirth in India. The rebirth owes in part to the “modern encounter between Buddhism and the West” and the work of Bhimrao Ambedkar (1891–1956), the first minister of justice in modern India (Schmidt-Leuke 9-10). Synthesizing “traditional Buddhist ideas and Western Enlightenment ideals,” and so emphasizing “the dignity and liberty of each individual being,” Bhimrao Ambedkar did so in part to combat “the Indian caste system with all its inhuman consequences” (10). His Neo-Buddhism gained much ground among the so-called Untouchables, the ‘caste’ of the casteless or outcasts. It is particularly robust today in the Indian state of Maharashtra.

movement (that vies today with the other religions inclusive of three other monotheist religions, namely, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam). Postcolonial studies denotes a highly successful area of literary and cultural studies that is rooted in secular thought. Another distinction between the two is that Buddhism mainly focuses on inner or internal forces of suffering and oppression whereas postcolonial studies scholars examine and theorize material and other “external” sources of suffering—namely, the ideologies, practices, forces, and other agencies of colonialism and imperialism. This does not mean, however, that Buddhism, or Eastern religions as a whole, are any more “mysterious” or arcane than are religions in the West (King 532). The persistence of the belief that Eastern religions are “mysterious” are located in Western stereotypes and are comparable with the “Protestant distrust” among Protestant Christians of the ‘mystical’ elements of Catholicism” (533). Postcolonial studies scholar Richard King makes this argument in “Orientalism and Religion.” In addition to debunking common misconceptions that Eastern religions are more arcane than those in the West, King comments on the role that “the secularist” foundations of “much of modern Western culture” have played both in undermining and supporting faith-based movements in the East (533).³

Scholars whose work draws on both religious thought and secular thought look for and depend on the common grounds of religious and secular thought in their efforts to understand, theorize, address, and reduce suffering.

³ The notable exception to the main path of Buddhism, the path that focuses on internal roots of suffering, is the path of Buddhism known as Engaged Buddhism (Harris 87). Established in 1989, Engaged Buddhism reflected the traditional concern of Buddhism of the “elimination of suffering,” but it did that by drawing attention “to the fact that the causes of much oppression, poverty, and suffering lay in unjust structures and the corporate greed of the rich” (87). Older and more common forms of Buddhism mostly deal with suffering in term of its “inner manifestations” (Bielli 79). Engaged Buddhism, on contrast, “focuses more on out kinds of suffering, or suffering as a result of political and social inequities,” and it is not as common or as widely practiced as older forms of Buddhism (79).

The work of integrating religious and secular thought is represented by such scholars as Greta Gaard, a key figure in ecofeminism studies, and Kate Rigby, a key figure in ecocriticism as well as a distinguished comparative literature studies scholar. In “Mindful New Materialisms: Buddhist Roots for Material Ecocriticism’s Flourishing,” Gaard comments on the Buddhist concepts of impermanence and no-self (291). She uses these to illustrate how Buddhist scholarship and other religious scholarship vitally complement the work of secular thinkers, who focus on material as opposed to spiritual paths toward combating suffering. A similar argument is made by Rigby in “Spirits That Matter: Pathways toward a Rematerialization of Religion and Spirituality.” Rigby argues that understandings of progress are “stymied by the prevalence of Euro-Western onto-epistemology” (qtd. in Huang 135). The term “Euro-Western onto-epistemology” basically means secular, or modern scientific, forms of knowledge. As Rigby argues, scholars need to bring more “nonmodern (and frequently non-Western) religions and philosophies” into conversation with “contemporary forms of knowledge—knowledge generated out of the sciences”—if they are to effect real social and political change in the world today (qtd. in Huang 135). Ecocriticism and Asian Studies scholar Peter I-min Huang summarizes Gaard’s and Rigby’s powerful arguments thus: “...many governments in the world today are giving...insufficient attention to knowledge other than...secularized knowledge” and if governments were to give more attention to knowledge based on religious faith then they would be able to reach out to communities willing and able to help to bring about environmental and social justice (135).⁴

⁴ These same scholars also recognize the importance of interdenominational work, also known as interfaith work (Harris 87). Interfaith work as well as intersectional work that integrates religious and secular thought has brought together communities that in the past were separated by deep mistrust and antagonisms (87). The World Conference on Religion and Peace in 1970 was one of the first interfaith conferences and part the “pioneering international interfaith” movement (87). In 1987, another milestone in the interfaith movement was the formation of the Society for Buddhist-Christian Studies (based in the United States. Ten years later, in 1997, another interfaith project was inaugurated, the European Network of Buddhist-Christian Studies” (87).

Rigby's and Gaard's defenses of the vital role that faith-based movements play in alleviating suffering encourage scholars not to overlook religion—Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islamism, and so forth—in their work of reading and analyzing literature. Such defenses are being made by other thinkers—namely, scholars whose work is squarely situated in postcolonial studies. “The Sacred,” an entire section of the new, second, edition of Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin's edited *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* is devoted to understanding suffering in the specific context of integrating the work of faith-based scholars with that of secular scholars (Ashcroft, et. al. 517-539). Addressing common grounds of sacral and secular studies in specific postcolonial studies contexts, the contributors to “The Sacred,” address such topics and subject matter as the theme of religious conversion in the context of colonial and postcolonial experience; the relationship between gender, religion, and postcolonial identity, the relationship between Christianity and colonialism (“Christian colonialism” [Baldrige 528]), the relationship between “orientalism” and religion (King 531); and interpretations of the Bible from postcolonial studies perspectives.⁵

The issue of why and how “[s]ecularist assumptions about secular progress and the decline of religion” have “hindered the development of an adequate understanding of the importance of religion in the modern world” is discussed by Peter Van der Veer in “Global Conversions” (534). It has particular bearing on the ties between Buddhism studies and postcolonial studies that I make here. They relate at a larger level both to the issue of “the globalization of religion” today and contemporary “religious expansion” and to Van der Veer's particular point that the presence or role of religion today has still not been “sufficiently realized” (“for reasons that closely relate to” the

⁵ In the case of the vector of Western imperialism of Christianity, it is important to note that postcolonial studies accounts of the spread of Christianity in the past tended to focused on the negative impact of this religion on colonized people, and more recently scholars have been examining Christianity based on the evidence that it was not absolutely pernicious in many cases and functioned “as a buffer between harsh [colonial] government policy and indigenous peoples” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies*, 127-128).

phenomenon itself of the globalization of religion) (534). The present article is part of the work of drawing notice to the importance of religion in studying and teaching English language and literature. Religion not only continues to underlie many cultural practices and traditions (even in the many instances where the religious significance of the practices and traditions is no longer commonly recognized or understood), and it also is vital to building bridges between secular and religious sectors of society.⁶

IV. Reading *The Buddha of Suburbia* through a Buddhist Critical Lens

Reading *The Buddha of Suburbia* by way of a basic understanding of the central teachings of Buddhism under The Four Noble Truths involves analyzing characters in the novel according to their internal—spiritual, psychological, and so forth—sources of suffering and how they cope or deal with that. Such a reading is by no means a definitive one. It barely scratches the surface of Buddhism, but it is inspired by arguments about the need to bring into postcolonial studies more work that addresses religions and the need to give more recognition to the role that religion can play in literary and cultural studies in the specific context of communities and societies where religion is a central thread in the fabric of people's lives.

i) Introduction to the Four Noble Truths

In Buddhist teachings, recognizing, understanding, and alleviating suffering are major philosophical and practical undertakings. One of the most basic starting points for these undertakings is learning about the Four Noble Truths (and what succeeds it, The Eightfold Path), and one can do this

⁶ For more on the work in postcolonial studies that foregrounds or in some way addresses and notices the intersections between postcolonial studies and religious studies, and for more on the work that reflects genuine interest how faith-based knowledge might both complement and contributed to secular-based knowledge, see Donaldson and Baldrige.

quite superficially as well as with increasing amounts of commitment. The first and central tenet of Buddhism's The Four Noble Truths is that humans "are born into a world of suffering" (Holmes). Suffering (*dukkha*) relates to the physical conditions of birth, aging, disease, and death (Blum 203); it also refers to affective states such as sorrow, pain, grief, despair, discomfort, loneliness, alienation, and even the wish not to be born (Holmes). Suffering also refers to craving for something one does not have (Gimello 51). Craving (*samudaya*), which is explained in particular detail under the second of The Four Noble Truths, is the root or origin of suffering, and it relates both to physical states of desire (for example, wanting to hear, see, smell, taste, or touch something) and to nonphysical states of desire (Gimello 51; Willemen 218). Craving nonphysical forms of release, enjoyment, and so forth, is no less full of suffering than is craving physical forms of release and dissipation. The nonphysical forms of craving refer to one's desire for eternal life, immaterial realities, and even cessation of all material and physical forms of being. The third and fourth of The Four Noble Truths refer to the cessation of suffering (*nirodha*) (Gimello 51). Such cessation comes with relinquishing craving. One is liberated when one ceases to crave. One also is detached when one no longer desires what one does not have. When one breaks free from "the cankers of attachment," one sees "the things of this world" as being "impermanent, miserable, transitory, and elusive" (Holmes). "Freedom from desire" brings "extinction of suffering" (Holmes). The fourth of The Four Noble Truths also refers to the path known as the Middle Way. Through the Middle Way, one avoids two opposite paths or conditions. The first of these refers to the "base, vulgar, unholy, unprofitable path" of sensual pleasure; the second path refers to the "painful, unpleasant, unholy, unprofitable path" of self-destruction ("self-mortification") (Holmes).

The Four Noble Truths and the central Buddhist concept of *dukkha* (suffering) all come to mind when reading Kureishi's novel, *The Buddha of Suburbia*, and they can be illustrated according to various characters. Admittedly, to align characters with one or more of the basic ideas that are taught under The Four Noble Truths could be criticized for being reductive,

but it is useful, for it helps one to understand how The Four Noble Truths are practiced and how they might be taught and understood in literary and other aesthetic contexts. Such usefulness ties, if somewhat tangentially, to the argument that postcolonial studies scholar R. S. Sugirtharajah makes about questioning “traditional sources of moral authority” (537). The purpose of postcolonial studies such sources, as Sugirtharaja argues “is not to invest texts with...excessive and exclusive theological claims which invalidate other claims” (537). Rather, such purpose is “to puncture...Western protection and pretensions, and to help reposition [them] in relation to [their] oriental roots and Eastern heritage” (537).

ii) The Second of The Four Noble Truths: Karim

Karim, the protagonist of Kureishi’s novel, most represents the second of the Four Noble Truth. Karim’s mother Margaret and two other characters—Jamila and Terry—most represent the third of the Four Noble Truths. In other words, the latter three characters are relatively more enlightened than Karim, or suffer relatively less than Karim. Karim has many redeeming qualities, nonetheless. He is funny, self-deprecating, and extraordinarily cognizant of his social and status as a minority in England. If he were more mindful of the sources of suffering that come from within his self, he would not only be less prone to engaging in behavior that both debases him and others, he also would be able to contribute more to easing his own suffering and be able to desist from causing suffering to others.⁷

Growing up in the “South London” suburbs (Kureishi 3), Karim dreams of moving to London. One of the reasons for that ambition is that in London he will not be as visible a target of racism. Racism is an external and very real obstacle that Karim constantly faces, and postcolonial studies scholars focus on this main cause of suffering. Other kinds of suffering that Karim experiences refer to what Buddhism scholars refer to as being spiritual or internal forms of suffering. These include Karim’s hedonism and his craving

⁷ Karim’s deep sense of humor is especially provocative for Buddhism studies scholars in the context of Padmasiri de Silva’s 2018 study, *The Psychology of Emotions and Humour*. See, especially, de Silva’s discussion of humor in relation to Zen Buddhism (43-47).

for success (no matter the cost) “In bed before I went to sleep,” Karim

Fantasize[s] about London and what I’d do there when the city belonged to me...There were kids dressed in velvet cloaks who lived free lives; there were thousands of black people everywhere, so I wouldn’t feel exposed; there were bookshops with racks of magazines...there were shops selling all the records you could desire; there were parties where girls and boys you didn’t know took you upstairs and fucked you; there were all the drugs you could use. (121).

Karim continues, “You see, I didn’t ask much of life; this was the extent of my longing. But at least my goals were clear and I knew what I wanted. I was twenty. I was ready for anything” (121). In this sentence and in the sentences above, we see that Karim is driven mostly by desire for unlimited sensual experiences. He represents one who is distant from (but not permanently blocked from becoming) a being like Buddha. His state or being ties to the condition described under the second of Buddhism’s Four Noble Truths. That condition is craving. It is the root of suffering and it relates to sensual forms of pleasure as well as to nonphysical forms of desire for satiety (Holmes).

iii) Buddhism and the Third of The Four Noble Truths: Margaret, Jamila, and Terry

The third of Buddhism’s Four Noble Truths refers to the cessation of suffering. Such cessation comes with relinquishing craving. One is liberated when one ceases to crave. One also is detached when one no longer desires what one does not have. When one breaks free from “the cankers of attachment,” one sees “the things of this world” as being “impermanent, miserable, transitory, and elusive” (Holmes). “Freedom from desire” brings “extinction of suffering” (Holmes). Among the characters that evoke this condition or state, Margaret, the mother of Karim, and several other characters most represent or critically align with the third of Buddhism’s Four Noble Truths. Those characters include Jamila, the daughter of Anwar, the dear childhood friend of Karim’s father Haroon; and Terry, an individual who fights for socially progressive causes—namely greater support for the poor, the

unemployed, and other disenfranchised people. (Ted, the husband of Margaret's sister Jean, also is a character that aligns with the third of Buddhism's Four Noble Truths.) Interestingly, the principal character in Kureishi's novel, Karim, and several other major characters, are least Buddha-like; and the characters who are minor characters and are relatively quiet, modest, and insignificant figures speak for relatively greater happiness and less suffering.

When *The Buddha of Suburbia* opens, Margaret is unhappy. For years she has served her husband without complaint. Now, he is embarking on an affair with another woman, Eva. Margaret, a “plump and unphysical woman with a pale round face and kind brown eyes” and an individual who “[m]ostly [is] a timid and compliant person” (Kureishi 3), might seem to some readers to be an unimpressive or weak figure, but when one reads her character through a Buddhist lens, one sees how remarkable she is. When Haroon leaves Margaret, running off with Eva to a glamorous life in London, Margaret is devastated; nonetheless, she does not react with anger, resentment, desire for revenge, or feelings of vindictiveness. Also, she is able to overcome the feeling that she is worthless. She accepts what has happened with remarkable fortitude and as time goes by she finds peace and happiness. In the final pages of the novel, in conversation between Haroon and Karim (father and son), Haroon asks Karim how his mother is. Karim answers that she is well, “better than [he'd] seen her for years...active and optimistic and all” (280). When Haroon presses Karim about Margaret's new partner, Karim answers, “Mum's boyfriend [is] not remarkable...At least he [is] no Beethoven. But he care[s] for [Margaret]” (280-281). Haroon is astonished by these facts. He “[can't believe it [can be] so simple” (281). By “it,” Haroon means the reasons for Margaret's happiness. For Buddhists, Margaret's happiness or contentment makes sense. Not only does she relinquish craving for what she does not have and enjoys all that she has; she also recognizes the value of what she has not what she might have.

Jamila is another low-key character that evokes the third of Buddhism's Four Noble Truths. When we first meet her, she also is not particularly happy, but by the end of the novel she has found a peace and

happiness similar to Margaret, and she seems to be able to achieve that also because her wants (for herself) are modest. When readers first meet Jamila, she and her mother are working dutifully in their father Anwar's shop, "Paradise Stores" (Kureishi 50). Jamila is "filling shelves" (stocking shelves) and her mother, "The Princess Jeeta, [is] on the till" (serving customers at the cash register) (50). Paradise Stores is hardly a paradise. It is

a dusty place with a high, ornate and flaking ceiling. There was an inconvenient and tall block of shelves in the center of the shop, around which customers shuffled, stepping over tins and cartons. The goods seemed to be in no kind of order. Jeeta's till was crammed into a corner by the door, so she was always cold and wore fingerless gloves all the year round. Anwar's chair was at the opposite end, in an alcove, from which he looked out expressionlessly. Outside were boxes of vegetables. Paradise opened at eight in the morning and closed at ten at night. (50-51).

Anwar and his family all work hard, work seven days per week, and they can only afford to have break, "at Christmas" (51). Jamila has been betrothed to a Changez, the son of Anwar's brother, and she accepts the arranged marriage against her own wishes after her father goes on a hunger strike to persuade her to marry Changez. Nonetheless, although Jamila accepts the arranged marriage, she does not have sex with Changez. Raised with patriarchal attitudes toward women, Changez is by nature not patriarchal, vindictive, controlling, or mean, and so he eventually accepts Jamila's decision. Soon, Changez meets another woman, Shinko. Jamila, in turn, respects Changez's wish to have an outside relationship.

As Karim says of Jamila, She is "more advanced than [he is], in every way" (Kureishi 52). He goes on to say that Jamila excels at school and reads "non-stop" (52). She becomes interested in socialism and studies other justice movements inclusive of the women's right movement (feminism) and the African-American Civil Rights movement. Jamila is a strong individual. She does not tolerate racism or misogyny, and she stands up to those prejudices in

defense of others even more than in defense of herself. She is guided by a strong sense of right and wrong yet has a Buddha-like compassion for others, something that Karim lacks. When Anwar becomes sick, Jamila looks after him, forgiving him for insisting that she marry a person of his choice not hers. She works for non-profit social justice organizations that include “a Black Women’s Center” (182), and she becomes a vegetarian. This portrait of her by Karim reflects her internal strength.

I made myself a pot of mint tea and sat silently at the living-room table. My mind was in turmoil. I tried to distract myself by concentrating on Jamila. She sat at her desk as usual, her face illuminated by the cheap reading light beside her. A big jar of purple wild flowers and eucalyptus stood on the top of a pile of library books. When you think of the people you adore there are usually moments you can choose – afternoons, whole weeks, perhaps – when they are at their best, when youth and wisdom, beauty and poise combine perfectly. And as Jamila sat there humming and reading, absorbed...I felt this was Jamila’s ultimate moment of herselfness. (106)

Later, when Anwar dies of a heart attack (after an intense altercation between Anwar and Changez), Jamila tells Changez that she is going to leave him. He begs her to stay and she relents and agrees. Karim is deeply impressed again by Jamila’s compassion and ability to let go of any feelings of anger and hurt:

As I watched Jamila I thought what a terrific person she’d become. She was low today, and she was often scornful of me...but I couldn’t help seeing that there was in her a great depth of will, of delight in the world, and much energy for love. Her feminism, the sense of self and fight it engendered, the schemes and plans she had, the relationships...the things she had made herself know, and all the understanding this gave, seemed to illuminate her tonight as she went forward, an Indian woman, to live a useful life in white England. (216)

Over time, Jamila and Changez accept each other more and more. They are able to live together not only with tolerance but also with happiness and

content. Jamila has a child, Leila Kolontai, with another man, Simon. When Simon leaves Jamila to move to the United States, she becomes involved in a relationship with a young woman, Joanna. Through all this, she represents the kind of individual who conducts herself or himself with honesty. Jamila does not follow conventions that she/he does not believe in. In the final pages of the novel, when Karim returns to London from New York, he goes to Jamila and Changez's home, which they share with others in a "commune" (271). Jamila is upstairs. After a while, she comes down to the room where Karim and Changez are speaking: "Just then the door opened and Jamila came in. She looked thinner and older, her cheeks were slightly hollow and her eyes more lined, but there was something quicker, lighter and less serious in her now; she seemed to laugh more easily" (272). Jamila and Changez are happy together and accept each other's respective partners: "As Jamila and Changez talked I became aware of a new tone between them. I listened carefully. What was it? It was gentle respect; they were speaking to each other without condescension or suspicion, as equals. How things had changed!" (274).

Terry is another a minor character (or perhaps a major minor character). Similar to Simon, the father of Jamila's child Leila. Terry is an individual committed to social justice movements. The main difference between Terry and Simon (and between Terry and the other people with whom Jamila befriends and is befriended by) is Terry is more actively political. The organizations and association that Simon and Jamila support envision an "equitable society" (Kureishi 218). Those that Terry supports also envision social justice, but, in the words of Simon, "Unlike Terry's bunch, [Simon's group] didn't want power." They don't wish "to overthrow...those presently in power"; rather they wish to challenge "the whole principle of power-over" (218). Otherwise, Terry, similar to Margaret and Jamila, evokes the third of Buddhism's Four Noble Truths: cessation of suffering. When Karim first meets Terry, the fellow actor is "in his early forties" (146). A "quiet, generous, working-class Welsh man-boy," Terry also is an "active Trotskyite" (146-147). Karim likes him "instantly" and they see each other often at first (146). Terry's "gentleness of heart so melt[s] [Karim's]... own that [Karim] help[s] [Terry]"

sell his newspapers outside factories, on picket lines and outside East End tube stations at seven-thirty in the morning” (158). Eventually, Karim decides to move to New York to be with Charlie, a figure as hedonistic as Karim and even more self-centered. This is deeply hurtful to Terry. He cares deeply for Karim; nonetheless, he does not try to hold on to Karim. Karim is moved by Terry’s selflessness: “I suddenly saw such humanity in his eyes, and in the way he tried to smile – such innocence in the way he wanted to understand me, and such possibility of pain, along with the implicit assumption that he wouldn’t be harmed –” (241).

Terry, Jamila, and Margaret are far from perfect individuals, but if one were to see their potential strengths, then one might agree that each in her or his own way manifests what Buddhist scholars identify as three main corollaries of The Four Noble Truths: patience, happiness, and selflessness (Deng et al., 224). The word patience is derived from the Sanskrit term *kṣhanti* and means “strength to face the challenges and difficulties of life without losing composure and inner tranquility” (224). Patience also closely relates to the quality or state of happiness (225), and, happiness, closely relates to, in turn, selflessness, which refers to “a sense of one’s identity that extends beyond the individual or personal to encompass wider aspects of humankind, life, psyche or the cosmos” (227). Patience, happiness, and selflessness also all are bound up in the work of breaking “egocentrism” (227).

iv) Buddhism and the Fourth of The Four Noble Truths: Haroon.

The character so far hardly mentioned is perhaps the most obscure character in the novel, the ostensible Buddha-like figure, Haroon, Karim’s father. Karim ironically and humorously calls his father “The Buddha of suburbia” (Kureishi 32). The first time we see Haroon is when he is practicing yoga in his home. Not long after this, Haroon’s girlfriend Eva Kay asks Haroon to start up a meditation group. At the first of these meetings, which take place in Eva’s home, Eva introduces Haroon as a Buddhist venerable: “Eva turned to my father and bowed to him, Japanese fashion. ‘My good and deep friend Haroon here, he will show us the Way. The Path (12-13).’” By The Path, Eva is

referring here either to the Middle Way of the Four Noble Truths or to The Eightfold Path, which succeeds The Four Noble Truths. The Eightfold Path deals with the concept of *dharma*, or that which is opposite to *dukha*, which is the concept most important for understanding The Four Noble Truths. *Dharma* carries meanings of a “uniform norm, universal and moral order ...natural law...[and] proper conduct” (Willemen 218). Also, as Buddhism studies scholar Carol S. Anderson briefly summarizes it, The Eightfold Path consists of eight main precepts or forms of conduct or attitude, and it is “the middle way...between the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification.” The “eight limbs” of this path are “right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration” (296). Also, these actions or forms of conduct are not sequential. Each one depends on the other and is “meant to be followed and practiced in cooperation” with the other actions (Anderson 297).

Haroon is not a complete charlatan. He is deeply interested in Buddhism and other Eastern philosophies and religions, and he speaks truthfully and earnestly about these subjects at the meditation meetings. At the same time, Haroon capitalizes on the Western fad for Eastern wisdom and using Eastern wisdom to show off that one is more enlightened than those ignorant about it. Eva also is a somewhat duplicitous figure, using Haroon and to an extent being used by him. She makes the arrangements for the meditation sessions over which Haroon presides.

The Venetian blinds [are] lowered, Indian sandalwood [incense sticks are] ignited and put in flowerpots, and a small carpet [is] put down for the Buddha of suburbia to fly on. Eva bow[s] to him and handed him a daffodil. God [Haroon] smile[s] at people recognized from last time. He seem[s] confident and calm, easier than before, doing less and allowing the admirers to illuminate him with...respect. (32)

Haroon uses Buddhism and other Eastern-based faiths to help those around him to accept what they cannot change and change what they are capable of changing in their lives. He says to one group of participants:

I believe happiness is only possible if you follow your feeling, your intuition, your real desires. Only unhappiness is gained by acting in accordance with duty, or obligation, or guilt, or the desire to please others. You must accept happiness when you can, not selfishly, but remembering you are a part of the world, of others, not separate from them. Should people pursue their own happiness at the expense of others? Or should they be unhappy so others can be happy?

There's no one who hasn't had to confront this problem. (76)

Notwithstanding the support that Haroon gives to others, and his mentoring of others, and notwithstanding his erudition, which includes a great knowledge of Buddhism, Haroon is a far cry from a Buddha. He caused great suffering to Margaret both during and after their long marriage, a marriage that benefited Haroon far more than Margaret. He seems happy in his relationship with Eva, but he carries much guilt. This does not destroy his relationship with Eva but it does interfere with it, and we see this even in the final pages of the novel, when Haroon and Eva are about to marry. As morally suspect as Haroon is, he is a character that suffers according to Buddhist thought. Margaret, has far less regret than Haroon has about the breakdown of their marriage. She seems to be an individual who, in Buddhist terms, is less trapped than Haroon is by cravings. Jamila and Terry also seem to be individuals who, in Buddhist terms, are less trapped than Karim is by cravings.

Karim abandons Terry to follow a hedonistic life with Charlie, Eva's son, in New York. In the final pages of the novel, Karim returns to London, but we do not know what his future will be. Jamila has found happiness with woman, and she also is reconciled with Changez. Terry continues to do good work in his efforts to alleviate suffering caused by deep political and social inequities in England. Karim and Charlie (Karim's best friend and Eva's son) are probably the least Buddha-like of the major and minor characters in Kureishi's novel. They deserve moral consideration, nonetheless, for according to Buddhist teachings, all individuals are on a path to enlightenment and no one is barred from attaining it and the cessation of suffering. The two young men, like the other characters in the novel, struggle consciously or unconsciously to

find what Buddhism studies scholars call the Middle Way between the “base, vulgar, unholy, unprofitable path” of sensual pleasure and the “painful, unpleasant, unholy, unprofitable path” of self-destruction (“self-mortification”) (Holmes). Although Karim and Charlie seem further from the Middle Way than do Margaret, Jamila, Terry, and Haroon, they are not doomed to failure.

All of the characters of *The Buddha of Suburbia* can be read according to central teachings of Buddhism inclusive of the Four Noble Truths and the Middle Way. They also can be read, and have been read, according to postcolonial studies and the focus on forms of suffering that relate to material causes of suffering (social and political inequities) as opposed to inner or spiritual causes of suffering. In this article, I have attempted to bring together both sets of perspectives. In doing so, I have relied on arguments by postcolonial studies scholars who explain the merits of giving more notice to religious movements and sacral thinking, and to the powerful role that faith-based knowledge might and does play in postcolonial studies and in other literary and cultural studies projects.

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重論古日語之音韻限制：以語料庫方式切入

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【摘要】

本研究旨在探討古日語中音節結合的音韻限制。古日語母音可分成三大類，甲類母音($i_{\text{甲}}$ 、 $e_{\text{甲}}$ 、 $o_{\text{甲}}$)、乙類母音($i_{\text{乙}}$ 、 $e_{\text{乙}}$ 、 $o_{\text{乙}}$)及一般母音(u 與 a)。前人研究已針對後母音提出兩個限制。在同一音韻字內，後母音中的甲乙類($o_{\text{甲}}$ 與 $o_{\text{乙}}$)並不同時出現，以及後母音中的乙類($o_{\text{乙}}$)不常與一般母音同時出現。因古日語的甲乙類母音共有三組，前人研究已討論後母音，而未詳細討論前母音。本研究欲奠基於前人對後母音的研究之上，增加另外兩組前母音，並重新討論後母音，以提出更完整的古日語音節限制。

本研究採用英國牛津大學與日本國立國語研究所共同合作之古日語語料庫，The Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (ONCOJ)，所收錄之詞彙為主。本研究主要針對音韻字(雙音節與三音節)內僅出現單一母音類別之例子為主，依據母音種類分成前高母音($i_{\text{甲}}$ 與 $i_{\text{乙}}$)、前中母音($e_{\text{甲}}$ 與 $e_{\text{乙}}$)以及後中母音($o_{\text{甲}}$ 與 $o_{\text{乙}}$)。之後再依據音韻字中母音是否能加以區分，分成三類：母音皆可區分甲乙類、部分母音可區分甲乙類以及母音無法區分甲乙類。

本研究一共收集到 114 字，共 1,352 例。結果顯示音韻字中，甲乙類的區分主要出現在前高母音(40 字)與後中母音(71 字)兩大類，前中母音(3 字)則因數量過低，無法提供完整資料。本研究提出適用於前高母音與後中母音的通用限制，以及個別的前後母音限制。通用限制則為甲乙類母音並不同時出現為於音韻字中。個別限制則為(a)前高母音中，可同時出現在音韻字中的為甲類母音($Ci_{\text{甲}}Ci_{\text{甲}}$)；(b)後中母音中，可同時出現在音韻字中的為乙類母音($Co_{\text{乙}}Co_{\text{乙}}$)。本研究認為這是受限於原始日語中的單母音與雙母音的來源差異。

【關鍵詞】

古日語、甲乙類母音、音節限制、語料庫

Revisit phonotactic constraints in Old Japanese: from a corpus-based approach

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【Abstract】

This paper employs a corpus-based approach to investigate phonotactic constraints in Old Japanese. In Old Japanese, vowels are categorized into *kō-rui* vowels (i_{kō-rui}, e_{kō-rui}, o_{kō-rui}), *otsu-rui* vowels (i_{otsu-rui}, e_{otsu-rui}, o_{otsu-rui}), and the remaining vowels, namely *u* and *a*. Previous research has proposed phonotactic constraints pertaining to back vowels (o_{kō-rui}), suggesting that back vowels o_{kō-rui} and o_{otsu-rui} do not concurrently occur within the same phonological word, and that vowel o_{otsu-rui} typically avoids co-occurrence with vowel *a* or *u*. Given the existence of three pairs of vowels in Old Japanese and the prior discussion on back vowels, this paper extends its inquiry to include front vowels, alongside back vowels, to propose additional phonotactic constraints within the language.

This paper utilizes data from The Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (ONCOJ), a collaborative effort between Oxford University and the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. The paper focuses on disyllabic and trisyllabic words featuring consistent vocalic classifications, namely front high vowels (i and wi), front mid vowels (ye and e), and back mid vowels (wo and o). The data is further categorized based on the internal vowel types in a phonological word: “plain” (where *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels are entirely distinguishable), “mixed” (where *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels are partially distinguishable), and “unidentified” (where *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels exhibit blurriness in distinction).

The results reveal that the dataset comprises 114 words totaling 1,352 tokens. The data pertaining to high front vowels (40 words) and back mid vowels (71 words) demonstrate significant sufficiency within the dataset. However, the low frequency of front mid vowels (3 words) contributes

minimally to the discussion. Consequently, based on these findings, a general constraint and two specific restrictions are proposed to elucidate the patterns observed within the dataset. The overarching general constraint posits that *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels do not co-occur in a root. Additionally, two specific conditions are posited: Ci + Ci for front high vowels and Co + Co for back mid vowels. This paper suggests that these conditions may reflect their early forms as monophthongs or diphthongs.

【keywords】

Old Japanese, *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels, phonotactic constraints, corpus

1. Introduction

This paper explores phonological constraints on word structure in Old Japanese, focusing on the distinction between *kō-ruī* (甲類) and *otsu-ruī* (乙類) vowels.¹ In the Old Japanese phonological system, there are eight vowels, categorized into three primary groups: (a) *kō-ruī* vowels, also known as the A-type series, comprising *i*, *ye*, and *wo*; (b) *otsu-ruī* vowels, or the B-type series, consisting of *wi*, *e*, and *o*; and (c) the remaining vowels, *u* and *a*.² The *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels are organized into three pairs according to their articulation: front high vowels, *kō-ruī* *i* and *otsu-ruī* *wi*; front mid vowels, *kō-ruī* *ye* and *otsu-ruī* *e*; and back mid vowels, *kō-ruī* *wo* and *otsu-ruī* *o*. In Old Japanese phonology, it is observed that back mid vowels (*wo* vs. *o*) tend not to co-occur in the same root, as illustrated in (1) by Arisaka (1934, 1957).

(1) Arisaka's laws on back mid vowels

- a. *Kō-ruī* vowel *wo* and *otsu-ruī* vowel *o* do not exist in the same root.
- b. It is rare that *otsu-ruī* vowel *o* co-exists with vowel *u*, especially in a disyllabic word.
- c. There is a low tendency that *otsu-ruī* vowel *o* co-exists with vowel *a*.

Arisaka's laws describe three conditions for the pair of back mid vowels. The simultaneous occurrence of two back vowels in a single root is prohibited, whether in the sequence Cwo + Co or Co + Cwo. In other words, instances of two *kō-ruī* vowels or two *otsu-ruī* vowels in the same root are permissible, as exemplified by words like *mwomwo* 'hundred; many' and *sono* 'garden'.

On the other hand, the *otsu-ruī* vowel *o* does not co-occur with the vowels *u* and *a* in the same root. The second condition highlights the infrequent co-

¹ The distinction between *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels is a unique feature of Old Japanese. Over time, the two types of vowels merged, leading to the absence of this distinction in both Middle and Modern Japanese.

² For consistency with the online corpus, this paper adopts the annotation system proposed by Frellesvig and Whitman (2008) for *kōruī* and *otsuruī* vowels: *i* vs. *wi* for front high vowels, *ye* vs. *e* for front mid vowels, and *wo* vs. *o* for back mid vowels.

occurrence of the *otsu-rui* vowel o with the vowel u in a disyllabic word, given that all examples illustrating this condition presented by Arisaka (1957) are trisyllabic words, such as *usiro* ‘back’ and *musiro* ‘mat’. Regarding the third condition, Arisaka (1957) demonstrates 39 instances of the *kō-rui* vowel o coexisting with the vowel a, and 19 examples of the *otsu-rui* vowel o coexisting with the vowel a. Consequently, Arisaka (1957) suggests a diminished tendency for the *otsu-rui* vowel o to coexist with the vowel a.

Ono (1957) offers a reinterpretation of Arisaka’s (1934) laws by outlining three conditions: (a) *kō-rui* vowel wo and *otsu-rui* vowel o do not co-exist in the same root, (b) *kō-rui* vowel wo tends to coexist with vowel u in a disyllabic word, and (c) *kō-rui* vowel wo tends to co-exist with vowel a. However, Ono (1957: 160) reduces these conditions into two, as demonstrated in (2).

(2) Ono’s constraints on *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels

- a. There is a tendency that *kō-rui* vowel o, vowel u and vowel a appear in the same root.
- b. There is a tendency that *otsu-rui* vowel o does not appear with vowels *kō-rui* wo, vowel u and vowel a.

The constraints proposed by Ono (1957) elucidate the distinctions between vowels *kō-rui* wo and *otsu-rui* o. Specifically, the *kō-rui* vowel wo is observed to co-occur with the vowels u and a in the same root, whereas the *otsu-rui* vowel o exhibits restrictions when paired with other vowels, such as the *kō-rui* vowel wo, the vowel u, and the vowel a.

Matsumoto (1995: 120) posits an alternative view, suggesting that rather than being distinct phonemes, the *kō-rui* vowel wo and the *otsu-rui* vowel o are allophones. In disyllabic words, the differentiation between them lies in specific conditions where only the *otsu-rui* vowel o appears in CoCo contexts, such as in *soko* ‘bottom’, and only the *kō-rui* vowel wo appears in CuCwo contexts, exemplified by *kurwo* ‘black’. Additionally, Matsumoto (1995) contends that the frequency of the *kō-rui* vowel wo and the *otsu-rui* vowel o

also plays a role in phonological constraints. With the *otsu-rui* vowel o outnumbering the *kō-rui* vowel wo in Old Japanese (24.6% for *kō-rui* vowel wo vs. 75.6% for *otsu-rui* vowel o), this skewed distribution results in the constraint that the *kō-rui* vowel wo preferably emerges in CuCo environments.³

So far, the literature has predominantly focused on the back mid vowels, *kō-rui* wo and *otsu-rui* vowel o, with limited discussion on front vowels. An unresolved issue is whether the other two pairs of front vowels also manifest a similar distinction between *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels at the word level. Specifically, it remains uncertain whether *kō-rui* vowel i and *otsu-rui* wi, as well as *kō-rui* vowel ye and *otsu-rui* vowel e, adhere to the pattern of agreement of $C_{V_{kō-rui}} C_{V_{kō-rui}}$ or $C_{V_{otsu-rui}} C_{V_{otsu-rui}}$. If these other pairs also exhibit such a distinction, a comprehensive understanding of the differentiation between *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels in Old Japanese can be attained. Therefore, this paper aims to pose two questions:

- a. Do front *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels (*kō-rui* i and *otsu-rui* wi; *kō-rui* ye and *otsu-rui* e) demonstrate comparable phonological constraints in the same root as observed with back vowels?
- b. Is it feasible to propose general constraints to explain the patterns exhibited by the three pairs of *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels in Old Japanese?

To address the two questions, this paper adopts a quantitative approach by analyzing data collected from The Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (ONCOJ). The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 presents the

³ Hayata (2017) challenges Matsumoto's (1995) hypothesis regarding the complementary distribution of *kōrui* vowel wo and *otsurui* vowel o. Despite this, Matsumoto's analyses provide an alternative perspective on the phonological constraints in Old Japanese, especially concerning the co-occurrence of vowel u and *kōrui* vowel wo.

methodology for data collection and classification. The data encompasses not only front vowels for new constraints but also includes back vowels for the general constraints. Section 3 reports the distributions of the three pairs of *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels. Section 4 discusses phonological constraints for the three pairs and proposes a general pattern for *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels. Finally, Section 5 provides concluding remarks.

2. Data collection and classification

The data used for this paper are collected from an online corpus, The Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (ONCOJ), a collaborative effort between Oxford University and the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. This online corpus comprises seven primary resources, as outlined in (3).

- (3) a. Kojiki kayō (KK; 古事記歌謡): 112 poems; 2,527 words. Compiled 712 CE
- b. Nihon shoki kayō (NSK; 日本書紀歌謡): 133 poems; 2444 words. Compiled 720 CE
- c. Fudoki kayō (FK; 風土記歌謡): 20 poems; 271 words. Compiled 730s CE
- d. Bussokuseki-ka (BS; 仏足石歌): 21 poems; 337 words. Compiled after 753 CE
- e. Man'yōshū (MYS; 万葉集): 4,685 poems; 83,706 words. Compiled after 759 CE
- f. Shoku nihongi kayō (SNK; 続日本紀歌謡): 8 poems; 134 words. Compiled 797 CE
- g. Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu (JSHT; 上宮聖徳法王帝説): 4 poems; 60 words. Date unknown.

Although the corpus comprises 4,983 poems (over 89,000 words), not every poem is phonographically transcribed. Some poems are written

logographically, and as such, do not accurately reflect the phonetic values of Old Japanese. Therefore, these logographically written poems are excluded from the analyses.

The online corpus provides a function called *DICTIONARY*, which lists all the words in the seven resources. In this function, words are alphabetically arranged along with their senses and frequencies. Each word is accompanied by a list of occurrences. For instance, the word *aki* ‘autumn’ has 302 hits, which are displayed alongside its original 297 text entries.

2.1 Data selection criteria

To collect data for the phonological constraints on *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels, words from the *DICTIONARY* are scrutinized based on the following criteria. First, the data are not limited to disyllabic words; trisyllabic words are also included in the analyses. However, words with more than three syllables are excluded from consideration. Then, words selected for further analysis exclusively contain vowels from the three pairs. That is to say, words containing vowels *u* and *a*, in addition to *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels, such as *aki* ‘autumn’ and *kurwo* ‘black’, are not included in the discussion.

Next, *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels exhibit phonotactic constraints, with their distinction primarily observed after onset consonants, as outlined by Vovin (2005) and illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Examples of *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels in Old Japanese

Place of articulation	<i>Kō-rui</i> vowels	<i>Otsu-rui</i> vowels	Examples	
Labial	i	wi	<i>pi</i> ‘sun’	<i>pwi</i> ‘fire’
	ye	e	<i>mye</i> ‘female’	<i>me</i> ‘eye’
	wo	o	-----	-----
Alveolar	i	wi	-----	-----
	ye	e	-----	-----
	wo	o	<i>swode</i> ‘sleeve’	<i>so</i> ‘that’
Velar	i	wi	<i>ki</i> ‘alcohol’	<i>kwi</i> ‘three’
	ye	e	<i>kyepu</i> ‘today’	<i>suge</i> ‘sedge’
	wo	o	<i>kwo</i> ‘child’	<i>ko</i> ‘here’

Regarding the differentiation between *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels, three key observations should be noted. First of all, the distinction between *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels is absent when there is no onset consonant. In such instances, only five vowels are present: *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*. Next, a phonotactic constraint exists concerning labial consonants and the vowels *wo* and *o*. According to Bentley (1997) and Miyake (2003: 262), the contrast between *wo* and *o* after consonants /p/ and /m/ is primarily observed in the *Kojiki*, while other resources lack such distinction. Furthermore, there is no differentiation between *wo* and *o* when the onset consonant is *w*. Lastly, there is a neutralization for the contrast between front vowels *i* and *wi* and for that between front vowels *ye* and *e* after alveolar onsets (Miyake 2003). In cases where no discernible contrast between *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels exists, the vowels are labeled as *i*, *e* and *o*, syllables like *ti*, *si*, *ni*, *te*, *se*, *ne*, *po*, and *mo*.

2.2 Data classification

Following the data selection criteria in Section 2.1, the next step involves classifying the collected data. Each word’s syllable count is designated as

either disyllabic or trisyllabic. Subsequently, disyllabic words can fall into one of four potential subcategories in (4).

- (4) a. $CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui}$
b. $CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui}$
c. $CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui}$
d. $CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui}$

When the vowel in the first syllable is a *kō-ruī* vowel, the second vowel can be either a *kō-ruī* vowel (4a) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (4b). When the vowel in the first syllable is an *otsu-ruī* vowel, the second vowel can be either a *kō-ruī* vowel (4c) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (4d).

Regarding trisyllabic words, there are eight distinct subcategories in (5).

- (5) a. $CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui}$
b. $CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui}$
c. $CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui}$
d. $CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui}$
e. $CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui}$
f. $CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui}$
g. $CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{k\bar{o}-rui}$
h. $CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui} + CV_{otsu-rui}$

In (5), the vowel in the first syllable can be either a *kō-ruī* vowel (5a-5d) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (5e-5h). Further subdivisions occur in (5a-5d) based on whether the second vowel is a *kō-ruī* vowel (5a and 5b) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (5c and 5d). When both the first and second vowels are *kō-ruī* vowels, the third vowel can be either a *kō-ruī* vowel (5a) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (5b). Alternatively, when the first vowel is a *kō-ruī* vowel and the second vowel is an *otsu-ruī*

vowel, the third vowel can be either a *kō-ruī* vowel (5c) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (5d).

The second half of the combinations in (5) occurs when the first syllable contains an *otsu-ruī* vowel. Here, (5e) and (5f) represent combinations where the second vowel is a *kō-ruī* vowel, while (5g) and (5h) represent combinations where the second vowel is an *otsu-ruī* vowel. Regarding the third syllable, when the first syllable is an *otsu-ruī* vowel and the second syllable is a *kō-ruī* vowel, the third syllable can be either a *kō-ruī* vowel (5e) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (5f). Conversely, when both the first and second syllables are *otsu-ruī* vowels, the third syllable can be either a *kō-ruī* vowel (5g) or an *otsu-ruī* vowel (5h).

The next step in data classification involves categorizing the status of each word as (a) unidentified, (b) mixed and (c) plain. These categories are based on whether *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels are differentiated in all or some syllables in a phonological word, under three neutralization conditions: no onset consonant (V), front vowel after alveolar consonant ($C_{[alveolar]}V_{[front]}$), and back vowel after labial consonant ($C_{[labial]}V_{[back]}$), as summarized in Table 2 below.

When *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels are neutralized across all syllables in a phonological word, or when there is no onset consonant, differentiation between *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels becomes challenging. In such instances, examples are marked as “unidentified”, as exemplified by *isi* ‘stone’. The initial vowel *i* in *isi* poses a challenge in determining whether it is a *kō-ruī* or *otsu-ruī* vowel, as there is no onset in this syllable. Additionally, the second vowel *i* in *isi* is indiscernible when it follows the alveolar fricative *s*.

When some syllables in a phonological word lack clear differentiation, while others show distinction, it is labeled as “mixed”. An example is the word *iki* ‘breath’. In this case, the initial vowel *i* is not clearly differentiated, while there is a distinction for the vowel *i* in the second syllable when it follows a velar consonant, identifying it as a *kō-ruī* vowel. Another example of “mixed” is *miti* ‘road’, where there is neutralization between the *kō-ruī* vowel *i* and *otsu-ruī* vowel *wi* in the second syllable. Similar instances are observed in

trisyllabic words like *simimi* ‘densely’ and *koromo* ‘robe, garment’.

Table 2: Three categories for data classification

Categories	Definition	Neutralization conditions
unidentified	Unable to differentiate <i>kō-ruī</i> or <i>otsu-ruī</i> vowels in all syllables in a phonological word	1. no onset consonant (V) 2. front vowel after alveolar consonant ($C_{[alveolar]}V_{[front]}$) 3. back vowel after labial consonant ($C_{[labial]}V_{[back]}$)
	Example: <i>isi</i> ‘stone’ (condition 1 + condition 2)	
mixed	Unable to differentiate <i>kō-ruī</i> or <i>otsu-ruī</i> vowels in some syllables in a phonological word	1. no onset consonant (V) 2. front vowel after alveolar consonant ($C_{[alveolar]}V_{[front]}$) 3. back vowel after labial consonant ($C_{[labial]}V_{[back]}$)
	Examples: <i>iki</i> ‘breath’ (condition 1 in the first syllable) <i>miti</i> ‘road’ (condition 2 in the second syllable) <i>simimi</i> ‘densely’ (condition 1 in the first syllable) <i>koromo</i> ‘robe, garment’ (condition 3 in the third syllable)	
plain	Able to differentiate <i>kō-ruī</i> or <i>otsu-ruī</i> vowels in all syllables in a phonological word	No neutralization conditions
	Examples: <i>kimi</i> ‘lord’ <i>kokoro</i> ‘heart’	

Finally, the remaining examples where syllables clearly differentiate in

kō-ruī and *otsu-ruī* vowels are marked as “plain”, as seen in words like *kimi* ‘lord’ and *kokoro* ‘heart’.⁴ These marking criteria consistently apply to labial onsets and mid-back vowels. For instance, *opo* ‘big’ is classified as “unidentified”, whereas *poko* ‘spear’ is categorized as “mixed”. Following these criteria, a word such as *koko* ‘here’ remains unlabeled. Since the vowels in this word are distinguishable, it is annotated as “plain” in the dataset. The findings are reported in Section 3.

3. Results

This section presents the distributions of the *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels in Old Japanese. The dataset comprises 114 words totaling 1,352 tokens, and the distributions are elaborated upon in Section 3.1 for front high vowels (40 words), Section 3.2 for back mid vowels (71 words), and Section 3.3 for front mid vowels (3 words).

3.1 Distinction between *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* front high vowels

3.1.1 Disyllabic words for *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* front high vowels

Firstly, eight disyllabic words feature two *kō-ruī* vowels *i* in a root, and they are marked as “unidentified”: *sisi* ‘game animal’ (16 tokens), *isi* ‘stone’ (15 tokens), *titi* ‘father’ (15 tokens), *sizi* ‘secretly; abundantly’ (10 tokens), *siri* ‘behind’ (7 tokens), *nisi* ‘west’ (3 tokens), *iti* ‘market’ (1 token), and *tiri* ‘dust’ (1 token), as shown in Table 3.

⁴ When syllables in a phonological word can be clearly identified, such as one for *kō-ruī* vowel and one for *otsu-ruī* vowel in a disyllabic word, they are classified as “plain”, not “mixed”, as in *kwošo* ‘[focus particle]’ (*kō-ruī* vowel *wo* in the first syllable and *otsu-ruī* vowel *o* in the second syllable).

Table 3: Disyllabic words for front high vowels (status as unidentified)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	16	sisi	game animal
2.	15	isi	stone
3.	15	titi	father
4.	10	sizi	secretly; abundantly
5.	7	siri	behind
6.	3	nisi	west
7.	1	iti	market
8.	1	tiri	dust

Table 4 shows the 16 words marked as “mixed”. 11 words are those with two *kō-ruī* vowels: *miti* ‘road’ (34 tokens), *sibi* ‘tuna (Thunnus)’ (7 tokens), *iki* ‘breath’ (6 tokens), *sigi* ‘snipe; sandpiper’ (4 tokens), *sipi* ‘Chinquapin oak’ (3 tokens), *nigir-* ‘to grasp’ (2 tokens), *pisi* ‘water chestnut’ (2 tokens), *pidi* ‘mud’ (1 token), *pisi* ‘squeak [onomatopoeia]’ (1 token), *pizi* ‘sandbank’ (1 token), and *simi* ‘vastly’ (1 token). The other five words show that *kō-ruī* vowel and *otsu-ruī* vowel appear in the same root. There are three words for the ordering that *kō-ruī* vowel *i* precedes *otsu-ruī* vowel *wi*, as in *sikwi* ‘[unknown]’ (7 tokens), *sipwi* ‘personal name’ (2 tokens), and *nigwir* ‘grasp’ (1 token). On the other hand, there are two words for the ordering that *otsu-ruī* vowel *wi* precedes *kō-ruī* vowel *i*, as in *kwiri* ‘mist, fog’ (14 tokens), and *gwiri* ‘mist, fog’ (4 tokens).

Table 4: Disyllabic words for front high vowels (status as mixed)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	34	miti	road
2.	7	sibi	tuna (Thunnus)
3.	6	iki	breath
4.	4	sigi	snipe; sandpiper
5.	3	sipi	Chinquapin oak
6.	2	nigir-	grasp
7.	2	psi	water chestnut
8.	1	pidi	mud
9.	1	psi	squeak [onomatopoeia]
10.	1	pizi	sandbank
11.	1	simi	vastly
<hr/>			
12.	7	sikwi	[unknown]
13.	2	sipwi	personal name
14.	1	nigwir	grasp
<hr/>			
15.	14	kwiri	mist, fog
16.	4	gwiri	mist, fog

In Table 5, only four words are labeled as “plain” in the dataset. Three words are those with only *kō-ru* vowels: *kimi* ‘lord’ (84 tokens), *miki* ‘honorable wine’ (16 tokens), and *pimi* ‘place name’ (1 token). The word, *kibwi* ‘place name’ (4 tokens), shows that *kō-ru* vowel and *otsu-ru* vowel appear in the same root.

Table 5: Disyllabic words for front high vowels (status as plain)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	84	kimi	lord
2.	16	miki	honorable wine
3.	1	pimi	place name
4.	4	kibwi	place name

3.1.2 Trisyllabic words for *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* front high vowels

In addition to disyllabic words, Table 6 shows 12 trisyllabic words for front high vowels, and 11 words are marked as “mixed”.

Table 6: Trisyllabic words for front high vowels

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss	Status
1.	5	simimi	densely	mixed
2.	4	kigisi	green pheasant; Japanese pheasant	mixed
3.	2	nisiki	brocade; cloth woven with multi-colored yarn	mixed
4.	2	piziri	sage; sage emperor	mixed
5.	1	iripi	setting sun	mixed
6.	1	itipi	<i>Quercus gilva</i> (red-bark oak)	mixed
7.	1	nigisi	place name	mixed
8.	1	piripi	pick up	mixed
9.	1	sikimi	Japanese star anise	mixed
10.	1	sizimi	basket clam	mixed
11.	1	kwisimi	place name	mixed
12.	1	pibiki	reverberate	plain

Ten words are those with *kō-rui* vowels only: *simimi* ‘densely’ (5 tokens), *kigisi* ‘green pheasant; Japanese pheasant’ (4 tokens), *nisiki* ‘brocade; cloth

woven with multi-colored yarn’ (2 tokens), *piziri* ‘sage; sage emperor’ (2 tokens), *iripi* ‘setting sun’ (1 token), *itipi* ‘*Quercus gilva* (red-bark oak)’ (1 token), *nigisi* ‘place name’ (1 token), *piripi* ‘pick up’ (1 token), *sikimi* ‘Japanese star anise’ (1 token), and *sizimi* ‘basket clam’ (1 token). One word, *kwisimi* ‘place name’ (1 token), shows that there are *kō-ruī* vowel and *otsu-ruī* vowel in the same root. Only one word in this category is marked as “plain”: *pibiki* ‘reverberate’.

3.2 Distinction between *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* back mid vowels

3.2.1 Disyllabic words for *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* back mid vowels

In the dataset, there are 56 disyllabic words and 15 trisyllabic words under the category of back mid vowels. In the 56 disyllabic words, 41 words are those with two similar *kō-ruī* or *otsu-ruī* vowels, and 16 words are those with different *kō-ruī* or *otsu-ruī* vowels. As shown in Table 7, there are four words for “unidentified”: *opo* ‘big; grand’ (113 tokens), *momo* ‘hundred; many’ (14 tokens), *omo* ‘mother’ (9 tokens), and *obo* ‘vague’ (4 tokens). Additionally, an unidentified word with two *kō-ruī* vowels is *wowor* ‘bow’ (11 tokens)

Table 7: Disyllabic words for back mid vowels (status as unidentified)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	113	<i>opo</i>	big; grand
2.	14	<i>momo</i>	hundred; many
3.	9	<i>omo</i>	mother
4.	4	<i>obo</i>	vague
5.	11	<i>wowor</i>	bow

Table 8 below shows the subcategory of “mixed”, and there are 16 words with two *otsu-ruī* vowels: *tomo* ‘concessive conjunctive particle’ (96 tokens), *mono* ‘conjunctive particle’ (56 tokens), *topo* ‘faraway, distant; far’ (44 tokens), *moto* ‘stem (of a tree or plant); lower part; base; origin, beginning’ (29

tokens), *oto* ‘sound’ (21 tokens), *domo* ‘concessive conjunctive particle’ (16 tokens), *ono* ‘reflexive pronoun’ (11 tokens), *moro* ‘all; both’ (7 tokens), *komo* ‘Manchurian wild rice; mat (made from straw or leaves of the rice plant)’ (6 tokens), *moto* ‘counter for plants’ (6 tokens), *sopo* ‘red clay’ (5 tokens), *dopo* ‘faraway, distant; far’ (4 tokens), *gomo* ‘Manchurian wild rice; mat (made from straw or leaves of the rice plant)’ (2 tokens), *otor* ‘be inferior; be worse off’ (1 token), *poso* ‘slender, slim; narrow’ (1 token), and *pyoyo* ‘mistletoe’ (1 token).

There are also two words with two *kō-ru* vowels, *wonwo* ‘(small) field’ (2 tokens) and *wodwo* ‘place name’ (1 token). With regard to words with *kō-ru* vowel *wo* and *otsu-ru* vowel *o* in the same root, there are four words with the ordering that *kō-ru* vowel *wo* precedes *otsu-ru* vowel *o*, as in *woto* ‘distant time or place’ (3 tokens), *twomo* ‘concessive conjunctive particle’ (1 token), *woko* ‘foolish, stupid’ (1 token), and *woso* ‘lie’ (1 token). Finally, there are three words for the ordering that *otsu-ru* vowel *o* precedes *kō-ru* vowel *wo* in the dataset: *towo* ‘ten’ (3 tokens), *potwo* ‘time, period’ (2 tokens), and *mokwo* ‘ally, partner’ (1 token).

Table 8: Disyllabic words for back mid vowels (status as mixed)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	96	tomo	[concessive conjunctive particle]
2.	56	mono	[conjunctive particle]
3.	44	topo	faraway, distant; far
4.	29	moto	stem (of a tree or plant); lower part; base; origin, beginning
5.	21	oto	sound
6.	16	domo	[concessive conjunctive particle]
7.	11	ono	reflexive pronoun
8.	7	moro	all; both
9.	6	komo	Manchurian wild rice; mat (made from

			straw or leaves of the rice plant)
10.	6	moto	counter for plants
11.	5	sopo	red clay
12.	4	dopo	faraway, distant; far
13.	2	gomo	Manchurian wild rice; mat (made from straw or leaves of the rice plant)
14.	1	otor	be inferior; be worse off
15.	1	poso	slender, slim; narrow
16.	1	poyo	mistletoe
17.	2	wonwo	(small) field
18.	1	wodwo	place name
19.	3	woto	distant time or place
20.	1	twomo	[concessive conjunctive particle]
21.	1	woko	foolish, stupid
22.	1	woso	lie
23.	3	towo	ten
24.	2	potwo	time, period
25.	1	mokwo	ally, partner

As shown in Table 9, the dataset includes 26 words without positional or consonantal constraints on the vowels.

Table 9: Disyllabic words for back mid vowels (status as plain)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	123	koto	thing
2.	117	koso	[focus particle]
3.	52	goto	[restrictive particle]
4.	26	toko	constant

5.	25	soko	there
6.	14	koko	here
7.	13	tono	palace
8.	12	yodo	meander
9.	11	poko	spear
10.	9	sono	garden
11.	9	yoso	(from) afar; elsewhere; outside
12.	8	koro	time
13.	6	toyo	abundant
14.	4	noto	place name
15.	4	yoko	across, horizontal
16.	2	kozo	tonight; last night
17.	2	goro	time
18.	2	noko	place name
19.	1	kozo	last year
20.	1	soyo	rustling
21.	1	todo	pounding [onomatopoeia]
<hr/>			
22.	5	mwomwo	hundred; many
23.	1	mwokwo	ally, partner
<hr/>			
24.	1	kwoso	[focus particle]
25.	1	tworo	[unknown]
26.	1	yworo	nighttime, night

The words are *koto* ‘thing’ (123 tokens), *koso* ‘focus particle’ (117 tokens), *goto* ‘restrictive particle’ (52 tokens), *toko* ‘constant’ (26 tokens), *soko* ‘there’ (25 tokens), *koko* ‘here’ (14 tokens), *tono* ‘palace’ (13 tokens), *yodo* ‘meander’ (12 tokens), *poko* ‘spear’ (11 tokens), *sono* ‘garden’ (9 tokens), *yoso* ‘(from) afar; elsewhere; outside’ (9 tokens), *koro* ‘time’ (8 tokens), *toyo*

‘abundant’ (6 tokens), *noto* ‘place name’ (4 tokens), *yoko* ‘across, horizontal’ (4 tokens), *kozo* ‘tonight; last night’ (2 tokens), *goro* ‘time’ (2 tokens), *noko* ‘place name’ (2 tokens), *kozo* ‘last year’ (1 token), *soyo* ‘rustling’ (1 token), *todo* ‘pounding [onomatopoeia]’ (1 token). Words with two *kō-ru* vowels are *mwomwo* ‘hundred; many’ (5 tokens), and *mwokwo* ‘ally, partner’ (1 token). Table 9 also shows four words marked as “plain” for the mixture of *kō-ru* vowel *wo* and *otsu-ru* vowel *o* in the same root: *kwoso* ‘focus particle’ (1 token), *tworo* ‘[unknown]’ (1 token), and *yworo* ‘nighttime, night’ (1 token).

3.2.2 Trisyllabic words for *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* back mid vowels

With respect to trisyllabic words for back mid vowels, 15 words are attested in the dataset. As shown in Table 10, six words are marked as “mixed”: *koromo* ‘robe, garment’ (24 tokens), *goromo* ‘robe, garment’ (5 tokens), *mokoro* ‘like, similar to’ (5 tokens), *konomo* ‘this side’ (4 tokens), *podoro* ‘dawn, daybreak’ (3 tokens), and *podoro* ‘lightly and in spots (of snow falling and settling)’ (2 tokens).

Table 10: Trisyllabic words for back mid vowels (status as mixed)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	24	koromo	robe, garment
2.	5	goromo	robe, garment
3.	5	mokoro	like, similar to
4.	4	konomo	this side
5.	3	podoro	dawn, daybreak
6.	2	podoro	lightly and in spots (of snow falling and settling)

Table 11 shows nine words that do not show any ambiguity, *kokoro* ‘heart’ (76 tokens), *tokoyo* ‘eternal world’ (9 tokens), *todoro* ‘rumbling [onomatopoeia]’ (4 tokens), *kokono* ‘nine’ (2 tokens), *dokoro* ‘place’ (1 token), *kogoto* ‘[unknown]’ (1 token), *tokoro* ‘place’ (1 token), and *yogoto* ‘good thing’

(1 token). There is also a word with *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels in the same root, *kwogwoto* ‘roughly (describes manner of rubbing)’ (1 token).

Table 11: Trisyllabic words for back mid vowels (status as plain)

No.	Tokens	Examples	Gloss
1.	76	kokoro	heart
2.	9	tokoyo	eternal world
3.	4	todoro	rumbling [onomatopoeia]
4.	2	kokono	nine
5.	1	dokoro	place
6.	1	kogoto	[unknown]
7.	1	tokoro	place
8.	1	yogoto	good thing
9.	1	kwogwoto	‘roughly (describes manner of rubbing)’

3.3 Distinction between *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* front mid vowels

The occurrence of words representing front mid vowels in the dataset is rare, with only three instances: *mede* ‘love’ (3 tokens), *seme* ‘attack’ (2 tokens), and *ee*, which functions as an interjection (1 token). However, it is essential to note that in the words of *mede* and *seme*, the second vowel *e* serves as a derivational morpheme, specifically -e- ‘get’. Consequently, it becomes challenging to ascertain whether these two words genuinely represent examples of front mid vowels. Additionally, the interjection *ee* is disregarded as it primarily serves as an expression of emotion. As a result, there are no suitable examples available for front mid vowels in the dataset.

One possible reason for the biased distribution of front mid vowels is their low frequency. According to Frellesvig (2010: 49), as shown in Table 12, syllables with clear distinction between *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* front mid vowels

account for only 3.6% ((686+853)/42,487).

Table 12: Distribution of syllables in Old Japanese

Vowels	<i>kō-ruī</i>	<i>otsu-ruī</i>	neutralized	Total	
Ci	3,160	370	6,103	9,633	23%
Ce	686	853	2,299	3,838	9%
Co	1,030	5,820	3,631	10,481	25%
Ca	12,120			12,120	29%
Cu	6,415			6,415	15%
Total				42,487	

Given the scarcity of mid front vowels in Old Japanese, it is challenging to compile an adequate number of disyllabic and trisyllabic words exclusively containing *kō-ruī* or *otsu-ruī* mid front vowels for further analysis.

4. Discussion

This section discusses the phonological constraints concerning *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels in the same root in Old Japanese. Based on the data presented in Section 3, it is evident that only front high vowels and back mid vowels provide a sufficient number of examples to formulate these phonological constraints. Firstly, Table 13 illustrates the distributions of these two subcategories in the dataset. Variants of the same roots, such as *kwiri* and *gwiri* ‘mist, fog’, are counted as the same example.

Table 13: Front high and back mid vowels in plain and mixed subcategories

Status	Front high vowels		Back mid vowels			Total
Plain	5		30			35
	K+K	K+O	O+O	K+O	K+K	
	4	1	25	3	2	
Mixed	24		28			52
	K+K	K+O	O+O	K+K	K+O O+K	
	20	4	18	2	8	
Total	29		56			87

* K = *kō-ruī* vowel and O = *otsu-ruī* vowel

4.1 Conditions for words marked as “plain”

A broad view of Table 13 indicates that there are 5 words for front high vowels and 30 words for back mid vowels. Firstly, among the five words featuring high front vowels—namely, *kimi* ‘lord’ (84 tokens), *miki* ‘honorable wine’ (16 tokens), *pimi* ‘place name’ (1 token), *pibiki* ‘reverberate’ (1 token), and *kibwi* ‘place name’ (4 tokens)—two tentative conditions can be proposed: (a) the absence of two *otsu-ruī* vowels in the same root; and (b) when *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels coexist in the same root, the *kō-ruī* vowel precedes the *otsu-ruī* vowel (to be further discussed in the subsequent section).

As for mid back vowels, there are 28 words and 25 words are those with *otsu-ruī* vowels: *koto* (also *goto* from *yo-goto*) ‘thing’ (124 tokens), *koso* ‘focus particle’ (117 tokens), *kokoro* ‘heart’ (76 tokens), *goto* ‘restrictive particle’ (52 tokens), *toko* (also *toko* from *toko-yo*) ‘constant’ (35 tokens), *soko* ‘there’ (25 tokens), *koko* ‘here’ (14 tokens), *tono* ‘palace’ (13 tokens), *yodo* ‘meander’ (12 tokens), *poko* ‘spear’ (11 tokens), *koro* (also *goro*) ‘time’ (10 tokens), *sono* ‘garden’ (9 tokens), *yoso* ‘(from) afar; elsewhere; outside’ (9 tokens), *toyo* ‘abundant’ (6 tokens), *noto* ‘place name’ (4 tokens), *todoro* ‘rumbling [onomatopoeia]’ (4 tokens), *yoko* ‘across, horizontal’ (4 tokens), *dokoro* (also *tokoro*) ‘place’ (2 tokens), *noko* ‘place name’ (2 tokens), *kokono*

‘nine’ (2 tokens), *kozo* ‘tonight; last night’ (2 tokens), *kozo* ‘last year’ (1 token), *kogoto* ‘[unknown]’ (1 token), *soyo* ‘rustling’ (1 token), and *todo* ‘pounding [onomatopoeia]’ (1 token).

There are three words with *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels in the same root: *kwoso* ‘[focus particle]’ (1 token), *tworo* ‘[unknown]’ (1 token), and *yworo* ‘nighttime, night’ (1 token).⁵ The three words are low in frequency in the dataset and show dialectal features. *Kwoso* is only attested in MYS.14, suggesting that it is a dialectal variation of *koso*. *Tworo* is also solely attested in MYS.14, but this word does not show clear etymology. As for *yworo*, it is attested in FK.3. Although it is not a dialectal variation, most examples of this word are *yworu*. Evidently, a noteworthy observation is that the condition for back mid vowels is the absence of two *kō-rui* vowels in the same root.

There are also two words with two *kō-rui* vowels: *mwomwo* ‘hundred; many’ (5 tokens), and *mwokwo* ‘ally, partner’ (1 token). However, the two words are limited to *Kojiki* only.

4.2 Conditions for words marked as “mixed”

In Table 13, the second subcategory consists of words with certain syllables exhibiting positional or consonantal restrictions. Regarding front high vowels, 20 words fit this criterion for *kō-rui* vowel: *miti* ‘road’ (34 tokens), *sibi* ‘tuna (Thunnus)’ (7 tokens), *iki* ‘breath’ (6 tokens), *simimi* ‘densely’ (5 tokens), *kigisi* ‘green pheasant; Japanese pheasant’ (4 tokens), *sigi* ‘snipe; sandpiper’ (4 tokens), *sipi* ‘Chinquapin oak’ (3 tokens), *nigir-* (also *nigwir-*) ‘to grasp’ (3 tokens), *nisiki* ‘brocade; cloth woven with multi-colored yarn’ (2 tokens), *pisi* ‘water chestnut’ (2 tokens), *piziri* ‘sage; sage emperor’ (2 tokens), *itipi* ‘*Quercus gilva* (red-bark oak)’ (1 token), *nigisi* ‘place name’ (1 token), *pidi* ‘mud’ (1 token), *piripi* ‘pick up’ (1 token), *pisi* ‘squeak [onomatopoeia]’ (1 token), *pizi* ‘sandbank’ (1 token), *sikimi* ‘Japanese star anise’ (1 token), *simi* ‘vastly’ (1 token), and *sizimi* ‘basket clam’ (1 token).

⁵ The word *kwogwoto* ‘roughly (describes manner of rubbing)’ is removed from the discussion because it might be a compound of *kog* ‘row’ + *oto* ‘sound’.

In addition, there are four words with *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels in the same root: *kwiri* (also *gwiri*) ‘mist, fog’ (18 tokens), *sikwi* ‘[unknown]’ (7 tokens), *sipwi* ‘personal name’ (2 tokens), *kwisimi* ‘place name’ (1 token).⁶ Upon closer examination of the words, it becomes evident that only *kwiri* (also *gwiri*) ‘mist, fog’ stands out as representative example. The other three words could be exceptions, as *sikwi* lacks a clear meaning, and *sipwi* and *kwisimi* are proper nouns.

For back mid vowels, 18 words feature *otsu-rui* vowels: *tomo* (also *domo*) ‘concessive conjunctive particle’ (112 tokens), *mono* ‘conjunctive particle’ (56 tokens), *topo* (also *dopo*) ‘faraway, distant; far’ (48 tokens), *koromo* (also *goromo*) ‘robe, garment’ (29 tokens), *moto* ‘stem (of a tree or plant); lower part; base; origin, beginning’ (29 tokens), *oto* ‘sound’ (21 tokens), *ono* ‘reflexive pronoun’ (11 tokens), *moro* ‘all; both’ (7 tokens), *komo* ‘Manchurian wild rice; mat (made from straw or leaves of the rice plant)’ (6 tokens), *moto* ‘counter for plants’ (6 tokens), *mokoro* ‘like, similar to’ (5 tokens), *sopo* ‘red clay’ (5 tokens), *podoro* ‘dawn, daybreak’ (3 tokens), *gomo* ‘Manchurian wild rice; mat (made from straw or leaves of the rice plant)’ (2 tokens), *podoro* ‘lightly and in spots (of snow falling and settling)’ (2 tokens), *otor* ‘be inferior; be worse off’ (1 token), *poso* ‘slender, slim; narrow’ (1 token), and *poyo* ‘mistletoe’ (1 token).⁷

On the other hand, two words in the dataset exhibit *kō-rui* vowels, *mwokwo* ‘ally, partner’ (1 token) and *wodwo* ‘place name’ (1 token). *Mwokwo* is particularly annotated with its attestation in the *Kojili* in the online corpus, suggesting that this word is likely a sporadic example. Regarding *wodwo*, it is a dialectal variation, as its attestation is solely found in MYS 14. Therefore, both *mwokwo* and *wodwo* could be considered exceptions in the dataset.

Finally, eight words show mixture of *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels: *woto*

⁶ The word *iripi* ‘setting sun’ (1 token) is removed from the discussion because it is a compound of *ir-i-pi* set-infinitive-sun.

⁷ The word *konomo* ‘this side’ is a compound, *ko-no-omo* this-genitive-side, and it is removed from the discussion.

‘distant time or place’ (3 tokens), *towo* ‘ten’ (3 tokens), *wonwo* ‘(small) field’ (2 tokens), *potwo* ‘time, period’ (2 tokens), *mokwo* ‘ally, partner’ (1 token), *twomo* ‘[concessive conjunctive particle]’ (1 token), *woko* ‘foolish, stupid’ (1 token) and *woso* ‘lie’ (1 token).

4.3 Constraints for *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels

Thus far, we have examined the distributions of *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels, as well as the differentiation between “plain” and “mixed” situations for these vowels. Concerning high front vowels, the analysis has revealed two conditions for plain situations: firstly, the absence of two *otsu-ru* vowels in the same root, and secondly, cases where both *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels co-exist in the same root, with the *kō-ru* vowel preceding the *otsu-ru* vowel. The first condition remains applicable in mixed situations where two or three *otsu-ru* vowels do appear in the same root, with *kwiri* ‘mist, fog’ serving as a counterexample.

On the other hand, for back mid vowels, the condition for the plain situation is the absence of two *kō-ru* vowels in the same root. In mixed situations, two or three *kō-ru* vowels do not emerge in the same root. Therefore, the phonological constraints for the *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels in Old Japanese can be proposed in (6).

(6) There is a high tendency for *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels not to co-occur in the same root.

The dataset comprises 35 words from the subcategory of “plain”, including 5 words with high front vowels and 30 with back mid vowels. In the 35 words, there are four outliers: *kibwi* ‘place name’ (4 tokens), *kwoso* ‘[focus particle]’ (1 token), *tworo* ‘[unknown]’ (1 token), and *yworo* ‘nighttime, night’ (1 token). The two words with two *kō-ru* vowels, *mwomwo* ‘hundred; many’ (5 tokens), and *mwokwo* ‘ally, partner’ (1 token), should be considered exceptions as they only appear in *Kojiki*. Although 83% of the words adhere to the stipulated condition in (6), it is apparent that the constraint in (6) is

strongly valid in Old Japanese. The six outliers show that four are variants (koso ~ kwoso ‘[focus particle]’, yworu ~ yworo ‘nighttime, night’, momo ~ mwomwo ‘hundred; many’ and mokwo ~ mwokwo ‘ally, partner’) and one is unknown (*tworo* ‘[unknown]’). The only one that is indeed an outlier is *kibwi*, which is not attested in MYS.14. As *kibwi* is a place name, it could be considered an exception. Therefore, it could be confidently concluded that *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels not to co-occur in the same root in Old Japanese.

Here, it is crucial to discuss the condition stated in Section 4.1 regarding high front vowels, specifically the condition that *kō-ru* vowels precede *otsu-ru* vowels when both are present in the same root. Upon examination of data from mixed situations, this condition is, however, contradicted. The word *kwiri* ‘mist or fog’ stands out as a significant example, alongside *kibwi* ‘place name’, challenging this condition. It becomes evident that *kwiri* cannot be dismissed as an isolated instance; rather, it significantly undermines the validity of the condition. Therefore, the condition for the *kō-ru* vowels preceding *otsu-ru* vowels becomes invalid.

While we have proposed a constraint in (6), further discussion is necessary to differentiate between front and back vowels and encompass a broader spectrum of examples. Some words indeed exhibit the presence of both *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels in the same root. To refine the analysis, more precise conditions need to be established. Drawing insights from the data distributions of the subcategories in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, the combinations of *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* syllables can be Ci + Ci (4 words), and Co + Co (18 words). Other combinations represent variants or toponyms, which do not contribute significantly to understanding the constraints of *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels.

Here, we consider constraints based on the observation that Ci + Ci and Co + Co are two major patterns. Arisaka (1957) suggests that vowel harmony explains the occurrence of mid back vowels Co + Co. This hypothesis might also provide insights into high front vowels. Given that the *kō-ru* vowel *wo* is recognized as a *yang* vowel (or male vowel) and the *otsu-ru* vowel *o* as a *yin*

vowel (or female vowel), their co-occurrence in the same root could violate vowel harmony.

The data concerning the occurrence of the two *otsu-ru* vowels, Co + Co, align with Arisaka's (1957) law. However, the vowel harmony hypothesis appears incomplete as it does not fully explain the constraints involving the *kō-ru* vowel wo and high front vowels. Table 13 clearly demonstrates that *kō-ru* vowels, Cwo + Cwo, do not co-occur within the same root for back mid vowels. If vowel harmony were solely responsible for these restrictions, examples of Cwo + Cwo should be prevalent in Old Japanese. Furthermore, Arisaka (1957: 115) suggests that the *kō-ru* vowel i might function as a neutral vowel, which should be transparent in vowel harmony. Nevertheless, the dataset includes instances of Ci + Ci, which challenges this aspect of the vowel harmony hypothesis.

Given that vowel harmony does not entirely explain the restrictions on the co-occurrence of *kō-ru* and *otsu-ru* vowels in the same root, an alternative proposal for these restrictions is presented in (7).

- (7) a. *(Cwi) Cwi Cwi: a sequence of *otsu-ru* vowel wi does not co-occur in the same root.
 b. *(Cwo) Cwo Cwo: a sequence of *kō-ru* vowel wo does not co-occur in the same root.

Restriction (7a), *(Cwi) Cwi Cwi, denotes a constraint where front high *otsu-ru* vowels are prohibited from co-occurring within the same root. Similarly, restriction (7b), *(Cwo) Cwo Cwo, limits the simultaneous presence of back mid *kō-ru* vowels within the same root.⁸

⁸ In Arisaka (1957), there are five words for Co_{kōru} Co_{kōru}, *kwokwo* 'sound of rubbing', *mwomwo* 'hundred, many', *mwomwo* 'thigh', *itwokwo* 'dear, beloved', and *sinwonwo* 'soaked'. However, these words are presented differently in ONCOJ. There is no *kwokwo*, but there is *kwogwoto*, which is a compound of *kog* 'row' and *oto* 'sound'. In our dataset, *mwomwo* is marked as 'unidentified'. As for *mwomwo* 'thigh', it only appears in *mwomwo-naga-ni* thigh-long-COP 'the thigh is long' in ONCOJ. The trisyllabic words, *itwokwo* 'dear, beloved', and *sinwonwo* 'soaked' contain different

The Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) might account for the restrictions in (7), as it limits the repetition of identical consonants or vowels in a word. However, OCP also predicts outputs without empirical examples. In (7a), *(Cwi) Cwi Cwi indicates that no word exists with the structure (Cwi) Cwi Cwi, but OCP would also predict the possibility of Ci + Ci, Ci + Cwi, and Cwi + Ci. However, only Ci + Ci appears in the dataset. Similarly, *(Cwo) Cwo Cwo explains the absence of words like Cwo + Cwo in the dataset, but it would also predict the structures, Co + Co, Cwo + Co, and Co + Cwo. Yet again, only Co + Co is present in the dataset. Therefore, OCP does not successfully account for the absence of co-occurrence of *kō-ru*i and *otsu-ru*i vowels in the same root.

Here, a diachronic perspective is adopted to elucidate the prevalence of Ci + Ci and Co + Co in Old Japanese. According to Frellesvig (2010: 50), the *kō-ru*i vowel i derives from Proto-Japanese *i, and the *otsu-ru*i vowel o originates from *i or *ə. Conversely, *kō-ru*i vowel wo arises from *ua, and *otsu-ru*i vowel wi from *ui and *ii. It is evident that *kō-ru*i vowel i and *otsu-ru*i vowel o were monophthongs in Proto-Japanese, whereas *kō-ru*i vowel wo and *otsu-ru*i vowel wi were diphthongs. As Vovin (2005) contends, Old Japanese allows sequences like [V]CVCVCV..., indicating that only monophthongs can occur in a phonological word. If diphthongs were incompatible with the structure of Proto-Japanese, it would be uncommon to encounter their descendants in Old Japanese.

5. Conclusion

This paper investigates the phonological constraints of *kō-ru*i and *otsu-ru*i vowels in Old Japanese, and diverges from previous studies such as Arisaka (1934, 1955), Ono (1957), and Matsumono (1995), by examining only back vowels but also front vowels. Analysis of data from the ONCOJ reveals that the available tokens adhere to the ranking: back mid vowels (71 words) > front

vowels and are not discussed in this paper.

high vowels (40 words) > front mid vowels (3 words). Due to the low frequency of front mid vowels in the dataset, this paper focuses on back mid vowels and front high vowels. Drawing upon corpus data, this paper proposes conditions for both plain and mixed situations, alongside a comprehensive constraint governing *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels in Old Japanese.

The findings adeptly address the two research questions. Initially, the paucity of front mid vowel tokens fails to substantiate discernible phonological constraints. The overall distribution of data concerning front high and back mid vowels reveals a notable tendency for *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* vowels to avoid co-occurring within the same root. To explain this restriction, both synchronic and diachronic factors are considered. This paper emphasizes a diachronic perspective that underscores earlier forms distinguishing monophthongs from diphthongs, providing a more compelling account than both vowel harmony and the obligatory contour principle.

For future research, two issues merit deeper examination. Firstly, as proposed by Matsumoto (1995), the *kō-ruī* vowel o in CuCo contexts warrants investigation, particularly regarding potential restrictions on their co-occurrence with vowels u and a in Old Japanese. Secondly, certain words in the dataset, such as *kokoro* ‘heart’, are attested abundantly. Exploring variations in their phonographic transcriptions across different time periods and resources presents a compelling avenue for further study.

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報紙的生命政治化：多麗絲·萊辛的《金色筆記》

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【摘要】

本論文嘗試展開《金色筆記》安娜偶然參與一場政治事件與相關報紙偶然介入而放大其群眾異質連結的研究，以其啟動倫敦市民通勤來自不同交通工具所形成的相關人群政治聚集的異質弱連結和其事件延續影響力的省思過程。藉由阿圖塞的原子偶然相遇理論，本論文試圖挖掘安娜在公車上偶然看到街上奔跑的學生，她跳下公車參與人群聚集的偶然發生的政治事件的沒有特殊動機的偶然性、異質弱連結和延續的改變。以《想像共同體》為案例，本論文論述報紙往前承繼想像的同質同步生活圈忽略地理差異。這場偶然發生的政治事件事前，瑪莉恩在茉莉家為自殺未遂而失明的湯米讀報，間接促成瑪莉恩和湯米出席這場偶然發生的政治事件的先行會議。從生命政治的角度看報紙，瑪莉恩讀報時想透過安娜進一步與非洲某國獨立代表人士馬特隆通信。然而，瑪莉恩和安娜在這打破現代性準時的交通理想的異質偶然弱連結影響下，她們都成為新的主體改變。

【關鍵詞】

生命政治、主體改變、《金色筆記》、阿圖塞、《想像共同體》

Biopoliticization of Newspapers: Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook*

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【Abstract】

This study explores the role of serendipitous interactions in political engagement as depicted in *The Golden Notebook*. Anna, a character in the novel, becomes inadvertently involved in a political event, a development that is chronicled by a newspaper. Through this analysis, the paper aims to uncover the diverse connections within the crowd and the disparate influences of various modes of transportation in London, leading to further reflection. Drawing on Louis Althusser's concept of the random meeting of atoms, the paper delves into how the political event continues due to the accidental, diverse weak links between characters like Anna, who leaves a bus, and students, who are seen running in the streets. Anna's unplanned participation in the political event exemplifies the randomness of such encounters. This analysis also considers how newspapers, as agents of print capitalism, transform geographic distinctions into a uniform "imagined community," referencing Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. These theoretical discussions on the heterogeneousness and homogeneousness help us to comprehend how Tommy, who becomes blind because of trying to commit suicide, has the newspaper read to him by Marion, before the contingent political event, in *The Golden Notebook*. This paper seeks to provide a biopolitical perspective on the role of the newspaper. Marion, while reading the newspaper, expresses a desire to correspond with Mathlong, a revolutionary leader from Africa, with Anna's assistance. Additionally, the coverage of African issues indirectly motivates Tommy and Marion to attend a meeting preceding the contingent political event. However, both Marion and Anna change to new subjects under the influence of the contingent heterogeneous weak ties that break the modern homogeneous ideal of punctual transport in a sense.

【Keywords】

biopolitics, subject change, *The Golden Notebook*, Louis Althusser,
Imagined Communities

Introduction

In *Free Women 4*, a pivotal incident unfolds involving Tommy and Marion, who find themselves amidst the throng near the focal point of a crowd following a conference on African issues. When Richard probes Anna about the unfolding events, she manages to convey the prevailing atmosphere, having been present at the scene herself. The youthful crowd converges on the headquarters of a specific African country, chanting political slogans in fervor. Anna complicates matters further when she says, “I didn’t know Marion and Tommy were there until I [see] it in the newspapers” (Lessing 487). The crowd of young people surround the building of headquarters. It is not until Anna reads the newspaper does she know Marion and Tommy were in the crowd. In other words, Anna is very surprised to see Tommy there through the newspaper. After leaving hospital, Tommy never left home. However, he and Marion were present at the scene of the demonstration.

The complexity of the situation is exacerbated by the ambiguity surrounding Tommy’s health, particularly his blindness following a suicide attempt. When Tommy arrived at the scene, he was without his white cane, necessitating Marion to act as his guide and support amidst a bustling crowd. This presented significant challenges, especially in navigating through a crowded area. Despite their efforts to stay together, Tommy became separated from Marion amidst the crowd. However, Marion quickly maneuvered her way through the throng to reunite with Tommy as swiftly as possible. Adding to the complexity is the familial connection between Tommy’s father, Richard, who is also Marion’s husband, a prominent city financier. The media coverage of Marion and Tommy’s involvement in a demonstration further entangles their lives with public opinion, affecting not only them but also Anna, Richard, and Molly. As a kind of medium, the relevant report in the newspaper has an influence on Anna, Richard, Marion, Tommy, and Molly, so that their ideas collide violently. The serendipitous convergence of the crowd facilitates the simultaneous presence of Tommy, Marion, and Anna. To interpret and prolong

the life of their encounters, my following paper, relating to the critical idea, is posed. This examination is guided by the following research question in the following paper: how do the newspaper and the protest march continue to exert influence on Anna, who would like to support and defend justice, and who wants to find the meaning of life?

In her book, *Changing the Story: Feminist Fiction and the Tradition*, Cayle Greene explores Anna's attempts to conjure the presence of Tom Mathlong in her room, only to find herself unable to do so. Mathlong's character and morals transcend the worldly, leaving a lasting impression on Anna. He is depicted as polite, respectful, and altruistically devoted to aiding those who are ambiguously defined as "others." "That the 'terrible irony' calls forth 'a kind of courtesy' recalls the association of irony with 'courtesy' in relation to Tom Mathlong, 'a courteous, ironical figure' 'who performed actions, played roles, that he believed to be necessary for the good of others, even while he preserved an ironic doubt about the results of his actions'" (Greene 125). Expanding on Greene's analysis, I would point out that Anna is only able to contingently imagine encounters with Mathlong, such as envisioning them seated together in a café, as depicted in *Free Women* 4. In this scene, Anna confides in Mathlong about the situation involving Marion and Tommy. This contrasts with her inability to envision or embody Mathlong in the blue notebook 4, where she can only imagine him in a fleeting and conditional manner in *Free Women* 4. This sporadic encounter in *Free Women* 4 suggests that Anna and Mathlong share a connection characterized by "weak ties." Despite her inability to conjure Mathlong at will, these weak ties extend his influence on her and, paradoxically, enhance Anna's sense of individuality.

Seminal research on the process of Marion summoning Mathlong was conducted by Molly Hite in 1989. The essence of Hite's argument is that "the old methods of 'naming'" (*The Other Side of the Story* 69) encounters many difficulties when English and African cultures are not much alike. Anna's naming Tom Mathlong evokes his passions, and then he gives a response. Even more important, the following implication causes anxiety. The leader of African

revolutionists could be removed from Lessing's character list in her fiction, not to mention general African people. My analysis of Mathlong's reaction extends beyond the immediate context, touching on broader themes of epistolary communication and biopolitics. The portrayal of Mathlong in the newspaper gains layered meanings as it interacts with reader responses and Mathlong's subsequent replies. Writing to an object from another culture allows for the manifestation of one's heterogeneous identity, presenting a unique opportunity for self-awareness. In *Free Women 3*, the narrative progresses as Marion reads a newspaper article about Mathlong to Tommy, sparking her desire to communicate with Mathlong, who is incarcerated in Africa. This act of correspondence is not just a personal endeavor but a conduit through which Marion seeks to provide financial aid to those in need in Africa. Furthermore, this act of reaching out highlights Marion's individuality and her desire for personal and global change.

The primary focus of this paper is to present evidence and offer personal interpretations regarding how the protest march and its participants catalyze societal changes. This paper is structured into four sections. The first section will examine the themes of atoms and imagined communities through Louis Althusser's concept of the atomic rain in *Philosophy of the Encounter* in the beginning. It will also discuss the weak ties formed by the chance encounters of atoms and contrast these with the strong ties within abstract imagined communities. The second section explores the metaphor of atoms moving parallel to each other. One of the atoms departs from its original track and encounters another atom, so they produce weak links. This analogy illustrates Anna's random encounters, which diverge from her routine life, underscoring her experiences of chance. For instance, Anna learns about Tommy and Marion's involvement in an African independence campaign through a newspaper, highlighting her contingent exposure to significant events. The third section delves into how imagined communities foster stronger connections among individuals through shared narratives, as exemplified by newspapers. *The*

Golden Notebook is cited to illustrate how a boarding school, representing an imagined community, can shape an individual's identity through conformity, such as uniforms. The final section examines how the heterogeneous individuals within the protest march unify under a common cause. Marion's capture, reported in the newspaper, inadvertently brings attention to the Third World due to her association with Richard as a capitalist. Anna's firsthand observation of the protest march, particularly her solidarity with Molly's family, deepens her understanding of historical and subjective shifts. Anna's participation in the march alongside Molly's relatives allows her to narrate the unfolding history and the evolving identities of those involved. The march prompts Anna to transcend her personal boundaries, enabling a broader perspective that includes others. This phenomenon is reflective of the broader revolutionary spirit in London, attracting diverse, spontaneous participants to the cause of African independence. These participants of no particular reason therefore establish weak ties between each other and then their subjects have transformed into new subjects.

I. Atoms According to Louis Althusser

Anna reads about the contingent event on the street of the crowd and its demonstration in the paper. Coincidentally, while she is on a bus, she witnesses students running on the street. Prompted by this observation, she spontaneously decides to participate in the event by disembarking from the bus. This spontaneous action places her amidst a diverse group of protesters, including Tommy and Marion, who had previously attended a meeting discussing the political issues surrounding an African country's fight for decolonization and independence. While Anna did not attend this meeting, she finds herself contingently joining the crowd on the street. Later, Anna realizes that she, Tommy, and Marion inadvertently became part of the same political demonstration, a fact she confirms when reading the newspaper afterward. This serendipitous convergence of individuals at the protest echoes the philosophical concept explored by Louis Althusser in *Philosophy of the Encounter*. Althusser illustrates how atoms, normally moving in parallel paths, can unexpectedly

deviate and collide, leading to revolutionary changes and the creation of a new world. This notion suggests that, much like atoms, individuals lead parallel lives but can, through random encounters, come together to spark significant changes. The atomic raindrops originally are falling in parallel lines so that the atomic raindrops do not fall in to the category that birds of a feather flock together. Similarly, in the context of the gathering crowd, there is no predetermined connection between individuals, much like the divergent paths of falling raindrops. Just as raindrops, despite their disparate origins, converge in the urban landscape, individuals from diverse backgrounds come together, commuting via various modes of transport from different parts of the city. This randomness is likened to city dwellers who, despite their different backgrounds and routines, can intersect and collectively shape events, underscoring the unpredictability and potential of human interactions in shaping societal dynamics.

The atoms fall into the heterogeneous categories, because the dirt is dissolved into the atomic raindrop when it falls. By extension, the links between the swerving atom and the encountered atom belong to the heterogeneous weak links, because of their heterogeneous backgrounds and the contingency of the atom's swerving. In contrast, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* presents a scenario involving the inhabitants of a large city who perceive themselves as part of a unified community. Despite the physical differences between the city's central and peripheral areas, these residents view themselves as part of a seamless community. The act of reading the newspaper during their commutes is instrumental in shaping this collective identity. Anderson characterizes the connections among these homogeneous individuals, shaped by print capitalism, as strong links, as they exist as abstract constructs within the imagined community.

As an associate professor of history at New York University, Manu Goswami has authored an article on Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. In this analysis, Goswami interprets newspapers as a form of instant bulletin board. This platform allows city dwellers to spend their commute time gaining a

nanced understanding of current events. He argues that this communal engagement with the newspaper fosters a sense of shared identity among urban dwellers, bridging the divide between the central city and rural areas. Meanwhile, scholar Jason Xidias authored *An Analysis of Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities*, in which he explores the concept of newspapers as museums, encapsulating the notion of an imagined community. This perspective suggests that newspapers elevate everyday items to a higher cultural status. The act of exhibiting newspapers in a museum context underscores their significance beyond mere information dissemination. In my opinion, the inhabitants of a greater city would sacrifice themselves to put the idea printed on the newspaper into practice, which reveals the power of the strong abstract imagined ties.

II. Contingent Encounter

In *Free Women* 4, following a political gathering concerning a certain African country's independence, the crowd continues to spontaneously convene. This London-based meeting, dedicated to discussions on decolonization in Africa, attracted a diverse group of individuals, all keen on contributing their ideas and experiences to the discourse on this critical issue. The atmosphere electrified during the Q&A session, as unexpected connections and insights emerged from the participants' contributions. As the indoor meeting concludes, attendees disperse and mingle with others from various parts of London and beyond, forming a large gathering. "Anna, standing to one side, had watched: under the restless, fluid movement of people and police was an inner pattern or motif" (Lessing 489-490). The majority of students in the crowd continue shouting out their strong stand on politics, colliding with the police who represent the authority. This event is unstable and experimental. The political event suddenly breaks out. Students chant slogans echoing the pressing questions raised during the meeting, aiming to draw attention to diverse perspectives. The political gathering evolves in unforeseen ways, rendering any predictions about its trajectory futile. Amidst the fervor, a sense of contention is palpable, with participants clearly opposing governmental interference, as embodied by the

police presence. However, amidst their defiance, a hint of uncertainty lingers, reflecting the complex dynamics at play.

Some segments of the youthful population seem to attract police attention, leading to their arrest and sparking discussions in the media. The following day, newspapers cover the incident. During these events, the lines between lawful order and political unrest blur. Slogans and actions emerge as crucial means for the crowd to advocate for change. This reflects a deeper contemplation by the participants on the role and significance of the African country's London headquarters and its relationship with England. People are now paying more attention to architectural details of the headquarters, details they previously overlooked. While many attendees are unprepared for the ensuing turmoil, the African country in question often experiences such chaos. This creates a stark contrast between the country, situated on the periphery, and London, serving as the central hub. Students run in the street, seen by Anna on the bus. Originally, students and Anna are like atoms that parallelly rain down on the city. Though Anna did not participate in that political meeting, she gets off the bus on the spot and joins the crowd.

In his work *Philosophy of the Encounter*, Louis Althusser suggests that the fortuitous meeting of atoms initiates the formation of the world. Atoms, being parallel to each other, rain down in the void. By chance, an atom drifts off the course and encounters another atom, revolutionarily resulting in the birth of the world and historical change. This kind of birth could be regarded as opening a door to a multiple-interpreted dialogue that props up another space to discuss questions and heterogenous issues. “But the *accomplishment of the fact* is just a pure effect of contingency, since it depends on the aleatory encounter of the atoms due to the swerve of the clinamen” (Althusser 169-170). One atom does not encounter another atom in theory. That is to say, these atoms originally are not birds of a feather flock together. I argue that the strong bond between like-minded individuals relies on the presumption that such individuals possess a profound understanding of each other's minds, and that their thoughts and

objectives share common ground. Thus, the strong ties¹ emphasized by Graham Harman find their origins in the solidarity of kindred spirits. However, aleatory encounter of atoms results in heterogeneous weak ties, mentioned by Harman, because the structure and component of the atoms contain heterogeneity. There are manifold kinds of falling to the ground, which mostly describe each heterogeneous atom of the heterogeneous crowd of atoms frequently becomes an abstract number as the statistics of the statistical data. These complexities are currently under scrutiny to enhance our understanding of atomic heterogeneity. As these atoms descend and chance encounters proliferate, they forge tenuous connections akin to raindrops falling. Much like the reverberation in a valley, these aleatory encounters and weak bonds possess the potential for profound revolutionary impact.

The feature of heterogeneous enables the structure to be precarious. The heterogeneous structure is liable to collapse. Althusser, in his philosophical discourse, illustrates that heterogeneous atoms descend in parallel because they lack a collective purpose, preventing them from clustering. In my opinion, unlike friends united by a common goal, these atoms do not naturally form strong bonds. These heterogeneous atoms fall down parallel to each other, but one of them aleatory swerves off the original track and contingently collides with another atom, which establishes unstable heterogeneous weak bonds. I would point out that these heterogeneous atoms could mix themselves with oil and dust, and thus the aleatory encounter of the heterogeneous atoms in terms of their components (the atom as the rain drop, the oil and the dust) forms the unstable structures of oil and rain drop. This means that the practice of social revolution is under way.

¹ In *Immaterialism: Objects and Social Theory*, Graham Harman explores the concept of homogeneous strong ties exemplified by the efficient law connecting the six principal Dutch harbor cities. These cities, united by common challenges such as the threat posed by the Spanish imperial family and the shared economic imperative for spices from Indonesia, ultimately gave rise to the Dutch East India Company. That is to say, these cities, united by their shared opposition to the Spanish imperial family and their mutual reliance on the spice trade with Indonesia, collectively established the Dutch East India Company. Expanding on Harman's analysis, I would point out that it can be likened to the symbiotic relationship between a mother and her (similar) newborn, where the strong ties between the Dutch harbor cities and the Dutch East India Company resemble an umbilical cord sustaining vital connections.

That is, the atoms originally would not encounter, but one of them swerves off its original track and aleatory collides with another atom. In other words, the heterogeneous falling atoms' routes originally would not be mixed; however, one atom swerves off its route and then encounters another atom. In Althusser's view, these encounters are accidental, with no underlying cause for an atom's deviation. There is no external force or metaphysical reason guiding their movement. Consequently, the original orderly descent of the atoms is disrupted by these swerves, leading to the formation of weak bonds and the emergence of diverse, dynamic structures characterized by heterogeneous relations.

Writing in the criticism, "The hazards of aleatory materialism in the late philosophy of Louis Althusser," André Tosel puts it that a link between an atom and another atom is established and its reproduction could be expanded. When atoms collide contingently, a phenomenon known as the *clinamen* occurs, integrating one atom with another and subsequently with other atoms, leading to the formation of a world. "Thus is born a world which is neither necessary nor the only possible one, which is not the result of an intention, nor of an end, nor of any other reason, but the casual-contingent fact of being there; and yet it can be enlarged to other atoms which encounter it and which it links to itself" (Tosel 5). As atoms accumulate, they forge connections, contributing to the fabric of an aleatory world tied to atomic interactions. What is significant is the interdependent relationship between the atom deviating from its course and the atom it collides with. The scale of the atomic organization's change is so enormous and crucial. Nevertheless, this aleatory world cannot guarantee a stable supply of links between atoms.

This passage introduces a novel concept to elucidate how the dynamic aleatory movements of atoms in the void serve as a source of inspiration for Paul Cockshott (Althusser's critic). In detailing the motion of atomic rain, it is observed that atoms typically move parallel to one another, indicating a tradition of autonomy and non-interference. However, Cockshott discusses instances where one atom deviates and swerves towards another. In my opinion, it is also

noteworthy that in Cockshott's discourse, the aleatory encounter of atoms is juxtaposed with another life experience in Lessing's *The Golden Notebook* involving crowd movements. These aleatory encounters collectively shape our comprehension of the world. Such serendipitous encounters further our understanding of the unpredictability arising from the diverse individuals within the crowd's movements. Consequently, this uncertainty can either present an opportunity for reform or seemingly define the destiny of a particular idea. A key insight from Cockshott's "On Althusser's Philosophy of the Encounter" underscores this perspective: "No aim, no purpose, just the play of chance and fortune [produces] the world we know" (51). This "play of chance and fortune" contains rich philosophical thoughts. Analogous to a carnival, it implies that a specific world mechanism could undergo a reset due to the aleatory nature of this phenomenon. Expanding upon this, much like "a side effect of the cosmic dice roll" (Cockshott 51), "this play of chance and fortune," rooted in Althusser's random encounters, envisions the potential to disrupt political inertia and usher in a new world. The "play of chance and fortune" presents a potential to disrupt political stagnation and usher in a new era. These random events, different from typical motions, carry powerful implications, exerting force and energy.

Warren Montag (Althusser's critic) holds distinct views on the motion of atoms, drawing a parallel to the descent of raindrops. Though sometimes the atoms may be coagulated by the situation that birds of a feather flock together, sometimes the atoms dissolve heterogeneous small objects. To further Montag's argument, I would point out that it is worth noting that the atoms' heterogeneity and complexity, akin to raindrops, increase over time, primarily due to the introduction of dust from cosmic and natural sources, resulting in a diverse assembly. Montag's concept of the aleatory encounter aids in understanding how individuals like Anna on the bus and others in the traffic line contingently participate in the crowd and its movements, driven by natural emotions. They genuinely exhibit kindness and concern for the street crowd, devoid of political preoccupations and their associated outcomes. The text expresses a significant preoccupation with falling atoms, equating them to raindrops in "The Late

Althusser: Materialism of the Encounter or Philosophy of Nothing?” Montag’s observation in “The Late Althusser: Materialism of the Encounter or Philosophy of Nothing?” captures this: “[I]t is precisely in the nothing that precedes what is that philosophy dwells, the eternal void in relation to which being is mere rain, fleeting condensations of matter destined quickly to dissolve” (166). Drawing from *The Golden Notebook*, the bus Anna rides offers a high vantage point, letting passengers view the city as if from a cloud. This metaphorical descent, like raindrops or atoms, is aimless. The trajectory of falling atomic rain and the bus passenger’s leap, both devoid of a predetermined purpose, can be juxtaposed. Similarly, people on London’s streets absorb the city’s culture, much as raindrops merge with other elements. Like atomic raindrops dissolving heterogeneous small objects, some individuals on the streets of London draw inspiration from their surroundings, absorbing the culture and becoming diverse in their own right. If we liken the street crowd to a symphony orchestra, a shouted slogan might be compared to a solo violinist’s melody, guiding the diverse crowd towards spiritual growth. This aleatory gathering might prompt someone to shout, echoing through the crowd like a valley. However, these echoes remain authentic, reflecting an individual’s contingent discourse. This sets the stage for dynamic dialogues and increasing complexity.

As one of the leaders of a certain African country, Mathlong would measure an African country’s achievement of independence in the following ways. He emphasizes the importance of punctuality, expecting buses, operated by semi-skilled personnel, to adhere to schedules, and for efficient handling of business correspondence. For Mathlong, punctuality is a cornerstone of progress and is essential for the realization of modern amenities. That is to say, the boss does expect punctuality from the workers. Mathlong’s plans for modern necessity are contingent upon punctuality. However, Anna does not arrive punctually, because she does not plan it before the event. This political event brings to the other people’s attention because a group of people, including students, contingently gather in front of the building of the headquarters of a certain African country in

London. This unplanned congregation swells as more people, attracted by the growing crowd, join in. Such gatherings exemplify how chance encounters can unite individuals of varied backgrounds in a city's bustling network of transport. The city's transport system, a vital component of urban life, ensures the timely movement of goods and people. It serves commuters, including workers and students, facilitating their on-time arrival at workplaces and educational institutions. Anna, a commuter herself, relies on this system, using a double-decker bus for her daily travels. After work, she takes the two-floored bus and sees (college) students run on the street. This movement would bring her attention, because college students and students belong to familiar faces in her living hood. This impromptu gathering gradually swells, drawing in passersby from various backgrounds and transit routes, inadvertently galvanizing citizens of diverse origins who traverse the city's transportation networks. This narrative underscores the interplay between individual habits and broader societal dynamics, highlighting how transportation acts as a lifeline that connects various facets of urban life.

During that period, Molly's son, Tommy, is of college age, yet he is not enrolled in a college. Anna's daughter, Janet, is younger, making the students' identities and faces familiar to Anna in a social context. However, Anna is unaware of their whereabouts at that time. She did not associate Tommy's age with potential involvement in the current political event. In my opinion, Anna did not associate Tommy with being involved in the unfolding political events, despite his age aligning with that of typical college students. Anna had been involved in communist movements in Africa since her youth, which perhaps gave her insight into the mindset of young people. She was unaware of the recent conference addressing African issues or the involvement of Tommy and Marion in it. Then, unexpectedly, Anna observes students running in the streets and people gathering, drawing her attention. She shows concern for student movements in London, reminiscent of her past involvement in African communist movements. She keeps caring about the social movements and welfare problems. She is a curious adult and delighted in finding out all sorts of

things in terms of the students and the people, who gradually gather together. She also hopes to participate in and witness the possible revolution. Yet, she recognizes the inherent uncertainty of the situation. The unexpected political event unfolds rapidly, disrupting everyday norms and routines, reflecting the public's spirited discussions on African matters spilling into the streets, presenting commuters with a glimpse of possible societal change beyond the established order. Anna's contingency has resisted the introduction of inflexible mechanical modernity.

We can better understand how Anna deviates from her usual routine and unexpectedly “swerves” towards the students on the pavement through Althusser's discussion of aleatory encounters. According to Althusser, an atom (in this case, we can liken Anna on the bus to an atom) contingently changes course towards another atom (in this instance, a student on the street), resulting in their encounter and the creation of connections. On her journey in the double-decker bus, driven along the roads, it is unlikely that Anna, seated upstairs, and the pavement-bound students would typically cross paths. However, from her elevated vantage point on the second floor of the bus, Anna observes the students running on the street below, without a direct encounter. Despite this observation, Anna's encounter with the students on the street is limited, not only from the perspective of public infrastructure but also because of her daughter Janet's need for her companionship. In *Free Women 5*, Janet's choice of a boarding school diverges sharply from Anna's preference for “progressive schools” as mentioned in the blue notebook 4 (Lessing 519), and her engagements with communist groups in Central Africa and London. It is worth noting that Anna's communist ideal is akin to a song that emphasizes its beauty rather than its language, aiming to transcend national and racial boundaries. Her youthful participation in the Central African communist movement was driven by a desire to serve the local populace rather than perpetuate the wartime colonial exploitation. In my opinion, Anna and her friends from the air force can be likened to a boundary or outer space within the colonial force in Central Africa. Anna and her air force

comrades, operating at the margins of the colonial establishment in Central Africa, sought to mitigate the colonial power's inflicted violences—including those of language, race, and sexuality—and alleviate local suffering from hunger for sustenance, knowledge, and aesthetic fulfillment. These issues transcend national and racial boundaries.

Even upon her return to London, Anna continues to champion a song that transcends national and racial divisions, as evidenced in her relationship with Saul (Anna's lodger). Despite Saul's attempts to distance himself from America, where ideal communists are marginalized, he finds solace in the same song while in Anna's room. This underscores the idea that beauty and the ideal communist concept can transcend boundaries. However, Janet's post-school activities are unrelated to those of the college students running on the street in *Free Women 4*. In addition to the influence of her daughter Janet, Anna, as depicted in the blue notebook 2, adheres to her routine of going to work on time and taking the bus, even on rainy days. In the blue notebook 2, though it is raining hard outside, Anna goes to "the office" (Lessing 325) by bus from home. Her stockings are splashed with mud and rain during the journey, but Anna remains committed to commuting by bus in all weather conditions. This stoicism underscores her identity as a Londoner whose life is framed by the regularity of public transport, eschewing taxis for the more communal bus rides. I would point out, in *Free Women 4*, the routes of Anna's ordinary daily life and her aleatory encounter have been diverging. Of no reason, Anna gets off the bus midway to join the crowd. Her absence from a previous political meeting explains why she did not come across any students during that time. This encounter with the student procession appears to be a metaphorical leap from her structured life, symbolizing a yearning for liberation from the confines of daily obligations.

The bus service handles passengers that could engender the heterogeneousness of the crowd. As individuals alight from the bus and merge with the multitude, they contribute to this diversity, creating a multifaceted and varied world. If the crowd is heterogeneous, the ties between its members belong to the weak ties. This diverse group of people, possessing a sense of

independence linked to these weak connections, is also deeply influenced by their surroundings. Unlike a structured meeting where participants share a common objective, the gathering of this diverse crowd is spontaneous and unorganized. This political event, triggered by the heterogenous crowd, has uncertain tracks. We could not regard the heterogenous crowd's aleatory encounter as the scene of a business meeting that the business men efficiently agree with the proposal. The random assembly of this diverse crowd in a public setting—such as an unexpected protest in the heart of London, near the headquarters of an African country's embassy—cannot be compared to a structured business meeting where agreements are swiftly reached. When Anna joins this crowd without a clear purpose, the chance interactions among its members underscore the event's spontaneity. In the narrative of *Free Women 4*, although Anna participates in the political event, she remains unaware of Tommy and Marion's arrest. It is through chance encounters with newspapers that Anna inadvertently learns of their situation, highlighting the newspaper's role as a communication medium disseminating information about societal events. However, it is common for individuals to peruse newspapers casually, leading to a more contingent approach to information consumption and weaker connections between events and memories. However, conventional wisdom has it that we tend to browse among newspapers and magazines at will or without thinking. Therefore, the latter mode of reading causes the process of browsing among newspapers to be full of contingency. This gives rise to the weaker links. Returning to the political event, the police's on-the-spot arrests of non-compliant individuals surprise both the detainees and onlookers, affecting their recollection of the event and further diluting the collective memory. I argue that these weak connections serve as a form of political "alternative space" facilitated by the media, bridging individual memories with the unpredictable nature of political happenings.

III. Strong Ties in Transition

In his seminal work, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson contends that newspapers play a crucial role in fostering a sense of shared identity among citizens and rural dwellers by providing a common written language. Therefore, people, living in the city and in the countryside, could imagine that they are a family. The strong link between them is established. Anderson posits that in the 18th century, both fiction and newspapers, serving as forms of imagined constructs, laid the groundwork for the emergence of imagined communities centered around various peoples or groups within Europe. The newspaper is “a good seller of the day”: “At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential [neighbors], is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in every life” (*Imagined Communities* 35-36). Through the dissemination of news and stories, newspapers, along with fiction, facilitate the reconstruction of a collective identity for a community, utilizing technological advancements as a means of realization. He characterizes the newspaper as an “extreme form” of publication, noting its transient popularity and rapid turnover in content. Not just the daily newspaper, but also the evening editions, become a part of the daily rhythm for commuters traveling between home and work. Newspapers excel in swift dissemination and emphatic delivery of news, creating a platform where disparate events are placed side by side, fostering an “imagined” relationship among them. Through these mechanisms, newspapers play a crucial role in the construction and maintenance of imagined communities.

Benedict Anderson’s seminal work, *Imagined Communities*, was first published in 1983. In 2020, Manu Goswami wrote an article addressing Anderson’s book, particularly the new chapter added by Anderson. Both of these authors subsequently embarked on an exploration aimed at understanding why disparities in social class indirectly lead to a diverse populace rather than fostering a unified national identity. Goswami elucidates, “The main line of the argument centered on the fateful relationship between the print-capitalist reconstitution of language, the novel apprehension of temporality it helped

generalize (materialized in the novel and newspaper), and the affectively resonant style with which the categorical abstraction of the nation was transformed for millions of people, across different historical junctures and regions, into a relation of lived immediacy” (442). Goswami’s concept of the newspaper as an immediate “noticeboard” allows the characters in *The Golden Notebook* to stay informed about international news, particularly from Africa, as they travel by bus. The bus driver plays a pivotal role in circulating information as passengers—citizens of the nation—read newspapers and other materials during their journeys. This contingent exposure to information leads the passengers, who hail from various parts of the nation, to become aware of relevant African news. The subsequent reporting on these individuals suggests that their gathering is influenced both by newspapers and the broader societal structures in place. Expanding on Lessing’s and Goswami’s dialogical arguments, I would like to highlight that various individuals, including Marion, Tommy, Anna, and some college students, are emotionally invested in witnessing dialogue between the populace and the authorities. Their enthusiasm stems from a desire to see a specific African country achieve independence and decolonization.

In *The Golden Notebook*, Marion’s unexpected involvement in a crowd and her subsequent account of it could significantly enhance the complexity of the diverse assembly beyond mere class distinctions. This is particularly noteworthy due to Marion’s role as the wife of a capitalist. Consequently, the crowd transcends being exclusively associated with African communities in London; it encompasses various social strata, contingent bus passengers, and college students. In my opinion, this perspective aids in our understanding of the multifaceted crowd depicted in *The Golden Notebook*, which mirrors the evolving dynamics in the relationship between England and Africa, particularly in the context of the decolonization issue.

Anderson’s study at this stage could reveal that the newspaper and the discourse of the museum are closely related under the print capitalism.

Newspapers are designed to reinforce the sense of unity in imagined communities, blurring internal differences and fostering a strong sense of identification among members. These members experience a deep emotional resonance with their community, often leading to a profound sense of nationalism. “These parallel developments yielded the modern nation and nationalism, and as Anderson observes, these concepts inspire such a strong emotional bond to one’s nation and the people to whom one feels connected by national citizenship, that some are even willing to sacrifice their lives for the ‘common good’” (Xidias 75). Upon delving into the discourse within museums focused on imagined communities, everyday objects, once utilitarian, transform into curated exhibits that maintain a degree of detachment from the audience. This detachment extends to the original collectors, who find themselves distanced from their exhibited objects. Through the museum discourse of the imagined communities, Anderson expresses the imagined communities of the modern nation and the culture of nationalism, which are beyond the newspaper from the print capitalism, because of the development of the technology and the derived condensed force of the museum. The strong homogeneous bonds of the imagined communities inspire the people’s fighting will, so that the people would sacrifice their own lives for the common good.

Most newspaper articles are standalone incidents. Newspapers facilitate the rapid assembly of events from various global locations, presenting them side by side. Writing in his book, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson, following the spirit of anthropology, puts it that a people is an imagined political community. Central to this concept is the notion of a collective “imagination,” where certain rights are enjoyed by its members. This implies that every individual—man, woman, or child—within this community has the autonomy to interpret this “imagination” in their own way. The concept of an imagined political community is termed “imagined” because it is practically impossible for even the smallest subset of a nation’s population to know, meet, or hear about all their compatriots. Nevertheless, the sense of interconnectedness and shared identity persists within each member.

In my opinion, one implication of Anderson's treatment of imagined communities is that the imagined educational community is imagined. Even within the confines of a small-scale school, students may not personally know, encounter, or even hear about all their classmates. However, the idea of interconnectedness among students persists strongly in the minds of most. Consider the symbolic significance of the school uniform; it serves to bolster the formation of this imagined educational community. Uniforms provide a tangible symbol that students associate with their membership in the community, reinforcing their sense of belonging and shared identity. Through Anderson's framework, we can understand Anna's perspective on Janet's choice to wear her boarding school uniform. Despite the absence of a uniform requirement, Janet envisions herself as part of the collective identity of her boarding school, hence her desire to wear the uniform.

Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities offers a valuable lens for understanding Janet's development as depicted in the blue notebook 4, providing insights into her growth from Anna's perspective. These results open the door to studies that a precocious child (Janet) in terms of her development in the blue notebook 4. The narrative takes a significant turn when Janet expresses her desire to attend a boarding school. Rather than focusing on the financial burden of boarding school tuition, Anna reflects on Janet's innate qualities. She perceives Janet as an intelligent, charming, and seemingly carefree young girl whenever she observes her. Janet's proposition carries weight as it signifies her wish to seek refuge from the complexities of both Anna's and Molly's households. Throughout, Anna has demonstrated a keen interest in schools fostering progressive educational philosophies. However, Janet's preference leans towards an "ordinary" boarding school. Ultimately, Anna contemplates the profound significance of Janet's choice, recognizing that traditional British girls' boarding schools are far from ordinary; they are unparalleled institutions globally.

The methodologies developed by Benedict Anderson offer valuable insights into the dynamics of cultural assimilation, particularly in the context of Janet's

experience at boarding school and her choice of uniform. When Janet is at her boarding school, the school does not stipulate that each student should wear a uniform. However, Janet has her own right and would like to wear her uniform that consists of a sage-green tunic with a yellowish-brown bouse and a round hard dark green hat. Tunics were worn by both men and women in ancient Greece and Rome. Janet's uniform is an antique style. Anna, disapproving of the uniform's style, finds it unflattering, a sentiment not shared by Janet who takes pleasure in wearing it, signaling a significant gap in their perceptions. To the best of Anna's memory, she never felt comfortable while wearing a uniform formerly. When Janet wears the uniform, her manner becomes "practical" (Lessing 522). Anna could feel that Janet might have a notion to be a practical person. This notion is somehow popularized at Janet's boarding school. Janet's attire not only brings her joy but also seems to align with a broader cultural practice at the school, suggesting a nuanced form of assimilation. Janet would like to have some fun with her companions. Our findings are the first step toward Janet's time in assimilating. The uniform, serving as a tool for assimilation, potentially aligns students with the cultural norms advocated by the institution and by extension, with broader societal structures. Janet's willingness to engage with the uniform and the boarding school's customs marks an initial stage in her assimilation process. That is to say, Janet chooses to go to the boarding school and wear the uniform, who seems to be integrated to the whole system of her school and hidden Capital. This phenomenon raises questions about the role of clothing in assimilating students from diverse backgrounds, hinting at a subtle interplay between individual choices and broader socio-economic forces, possibly influenced by capitalism. However, Anna's perspective diverges from Janet's approach. Since the events of *Free Women 1*, Anna has consistently expressed her preference for attire that reflects her unique personality rather than conforming to social norms. This analysis serves as an initial exploration of how Janet's time at the boarding school and her decision to wear the uniform signify a complex process of integration and identity formation within the school's cultural and possibly capitalistic framework.

Further exploration in this field might result in the evolution of a virtual paternal figure for Anna. Janet's familial dynamics are multifaceted. Initially, Molly and Tommy, central figures in Molly's immediate family, exert an impact on Janet. Additionally, Anna and Michael (Anna's previous boyfriend) impact Janet. Consider the yellow notebook 1, for example. The image of Ella's son (Michael) overlaps that of Anna's daughter (Janet). The contents of the yellow notebook 1, wherein Ella embodies Anna, serve as a poignant manifestation of Anna's affection for Michael as an integral family member, akin to her daughter Janet. Moreover, Janet is often described as a product of a "broken marriage." However, the choice of attire Janet desires is subject to the discretion of the headmistress, a figure Anna deems worthy of consulting. This head-mistress, an erudite, reserved, and highly intelligent Englishwoman, is seen by Anna as an exemplary "father figure" for Janet, providing guidance at the boarding school. Anna feels that she has found an admirable "father figure" (Lessing 522) for Janet through sending Janet to that head-mistress's boarding school to look for guidance. Anna aspires for Janet to keenly perceive her unique family circumstances alongside the "norms" of her boarding school. Predominantly, Anna adopts the roles of both mother and father figures, infusing the latter with versatility. She wishes for Janet to redefine the traditional paternal archetype in her unique manner. In my opinion, Anna hopes that Janet would not become another head-mistress, who is rather "dry and dry." In sending Janet to the boarding school, Anna anticipates Janet's interactions with classmates from diverse backgrounds, fostering connections that might otherwise be lacking. The potential for developing weak ties with her diverse classmates at the boarding school is seen as beneficial. Encountering her varied peers in unforeseen situations could catalyze a profound personal transformation in Janet. Anna's motivation lies in nurturing Janet's individual development, fostering her ability to navigate through varied social contexts and embrace her own evolving identity.

In *Free Women* 1, Anna receives letters from three individuals whose correspondence appears remarkably similar. Bound by the principles of

Communism, their writings reflect a uniformity that underscores their shared ideological commitment. This uniformity manifests in a consistently stern tone throughout their letters, illustrating how these individuals inadvertently echo the collective narrative of Communist ideology, as noted by Taunton: “[T]hree people inadvertently [write] identically as they reproduce the shared scripts of Communist commitment” (275). Furthermore, these individuals seem constrained by habitual phraseology, as evidenced by the uniformity in the portrayal of their thoughts and emotional states. Upon receiving another set of letters from these three individuals, Anna observes a consistent pattern in their emotional transitions. For instance, Anna receives three people’s letters again that their emotional transitions go in the same direction. These three people’s letters belong to a collective creative work. They reproduce and develop the plot of Communism. Despite being sent separately to Anna, when juxtaposed, their letters magnify the effect of their homogeneity. When Anna juxtaposes these letters, the striking similarities become more apparent, revealing a broader commentary on the homogenizing effect of their shared ideological adherence.

I contend that the distinctiveness of these three individuals’ worldviews diminishes further after Anna “transcribes” a selection of their letters. Upon typing them, Anna lays out the typewritten documents and notices that the letters from these three individuals are strikingly similar in their phraseology, style, intonation, and sentence construction. Therefore, we cannot distinguish these three people’s letters. However, despite this uniformity, the letters retain the distinctive heterogeneity of each person’s handwriting, delaying the manifestation of their peculiar homogenized motive and its amplified impact. Anna possesses some background knowledge about these individuals: they are men from the working class and serve as trade union officers. Additionally, Anna realizes that she is operating within the confines of a strong connection. Under such circumstances, she finds herself within a group lacking distinct personalities.

IV. The Subject Change

In *Free Women* 3, the narrative unfolds with Tommy adjusting to his blindness at home, while Anna observes Marion's departure from Richard's influence. Concurrently, Molly relays a curious observation to Anna via a phone call from a booth: Marion frequently visits Molly and Tommy's urban residence, often directly interacting with Tommy, which strikes Molly as peculiar. Later, Anna visits Richard's office at his invitation, where she receives another insight from Richard: Marion seems to prefer Tommy's company over others. "[Marion] comes into town every morning. She buys all the newspapers, and spends the time reading them to Tommy" (Lessing 365). Marion's routine involves her daily presence at Molly and Tommy's home, where she spends her mornings reading newspapers to Tommy until late evening, engaging in discussions mainly centered around Tommy and politics, rather than Richard. When Anna encounters Marion unexpectedly, Marion explains her actions, which are closely tied to her relationship with Tommy.

Both Marion and Tommy consider seeking Anna's advice regarding Tom Mathlong's name and address. Marion acknowledges Tommy's influence in prompting her to confess and rectify her ignorance. Previously, Marion did not engage with newspapers or their content until she started reading them aloud to Tommy, who keeps up-to-date with current events through these articles. Although Tommy might not be able to articulate his thoughts precisely, he shares his perspectives with Marion, impressing her with his insightful observations. I would point out that Marion, who once focused solely on her own concerns, now takes an interest in broader societal issues, recognizing a significant shift in her own attitudes. This transformation underscores her belief that they are undergoing profound personal changes. Anna may be able to help Marion and Tommy with information on Mathlong. Marion hopes they could work their life work together.

Before the protest march, Tommy and Marion use Molly's flat as a base for their expanding welfare work. In the blue notebook 1, Tommy visits Richard's villa in the countryside, home to Tommy's stepmother, Marion, and three lively,

cheerful boys. However, in *Free Women* 4, Marion travels to Molly's flat specifically for Tommy and ends up staying the night at the small apartment previously occupied by Anna and Janet. "Marion, [Tommy's] stepmother, begins to stay overnight with Tommy in Molly's flat; it becomes clear that she has in essence left Richard for Tommy without ever stating such an intention" (Pickering 114). Adding to Pickering's argument, I would point out that Marion strengthens her bond with Tommy at Molly's flat, using it as a base for their activities. It is Tommy who informs Molly of Marion's need for temporary accommodation in London, with Marion agreeing to cover the monthly rent and occasionally residing in the flat. Since then, Marion has only returned home once to retrieve her belongings, effectively leaving Richard and her sons by quietly establishing herself in the small flat.

At that time, young people hold a demonstration, made up the flow of a crowd, and crowded round the building of the headquarters. After a few minutes' approximate hesitation, they are shouting out several political slogans. It appears that their vocalization of these slogans is more about the experience of projecting their voices than about the specific content of the words themselves. "Slogans" are bodily experiences, 'tentatively' approached for tonal qualities with the words presumed largely arbitrary and only tangential to the true meaning of the lived commitment of protest" (Darlington 941). In the streets, the demonstrators vocalize concise, impactful words that sincerely reflected their political convictions. It was observed that their slogans served as a temporary yet potent unifying force. The transient yet potent gravitational pull of their slogans is evident. Shortly thereafter, law enforcement arrives on the scene, but they are uncertain about how to proceed. Both the police and the demonstrators are unsure of the unfolding events' eventual outcomes.

I contend that the assembly comprises diverse, dynamically active individuals, including students. Initially, Anna, as a distinct and diverse participant, becomes part of the mass by disembarking from the bus. Her presence introduces diversity into the gathering, potentially prolonging the movement's duration. Anna invests her time and effort into challenging Tommy

and Marion's conventional thinking, prompting them to consider alternative perspectives. Secondly, the actions of some youths provoke the police, symbolizing established authority. This reaction underscores a clash of attitudes and intentions within the gathering. Thirdly, many students engage in the protest not merely to incite conflict but to vocalize and examine their political beliefs. Consequently, their collective energy bolsters their resistance to external pressures, at least temporarily.

After the protest march, I argue the strong ties between Tommy and Marion will have to undergo changes. Specifically, their strong bond may transform into a weaker connection within the confines of Molly's flat, which serves as a sanctuary. In the first place, Tommy and Marion regard Molly's flat as a social justice base in London. United by their shared grievances against Richard—who failed to honor his marital commitments in two marriages—they team up to distance themselves from him. Their collaboration extends to participating in a demonstration together. Subsequently, following the protest, Tommy finds himself involved in a situation where Richard and Molly require assistance from Anna. Following the protest, Richard finds himself unable to connect with either Marion or Molly. In his frustration, he contacts Anna, accusing her of possibly inciting the march, which further complicates their relationships. Concurrently, the bond between Molly and Tommy deteriorates, leading to Molly's illness and her request for Anna to counsel Tommy. Molly hopes that Anna could provide Tommy with advice, because Tommy seems to be out of reason. Due to Richard's call and Molly's plea, Anna visits Tommy and Molly's residence in an effort to mend their interpersonal connections and provide assistance.

Marion considers Anna a very fortunate woman, the latter who once lived in this little flat. Janet's childhood was filled with joy, largely due to the four years she and Anna spent together in this flat. It was here that Anna developed a close friendship with Molly, rooted in shared passions and artistic pursuits. Lessing describes a poignant moment: "Anna leaned against a wall and looked at Marion, [...], and behind [Marion's] hysteria was a mortal terror that Anna

was going to send her home and away from this [white painted] refuge from responsibility” (Lessing 491). For Marion, the flat symbolizes a sanctuary, characterized by its cleanliness, whiteness, brightness, freshness, and comfort. Its window can be opened, offering Marion a fresh perspective. In my opinion, this act of opening the window parallels her engagement with the newspaper, symbolizing another window through which she accesses new ideas. Consequently, Marion’s exposure to these new perspectives broadens her thinking.

I would point out that Marion and Anna establish unsteady weak ties. Initially, Marion holds Anna in high regard because, as depicted in *Free Women* 3, she expresses a desire to communicate with Mathlong in Africa via Anna. However, in *Free Women* 4, Marion appears to forget about Mathlong, suggesting that their bond is not particularly strong. Additionally, Marion harbors fears of being sent home by Anna, who feels a strong sense of duty. Furthermore, Anna’s distinctiveness within a group enhances the sustainability of a random political event through these feeble connections. Recognizing one’s own unique traits allows individuals in the group to more readily exchange perspectives. The gesture of subject exchange helps one to put oneself in somebody else’s position, and so people in the crowd can embrace each other.

Anna is an active participant in the crowd’s demonstration, although her motivations are unclear. Anna contingently gets off the bus, upon seeing the crowd in demonstrating. That is, Anna is a heterogeneous member in the crowd. Consequently, Anna forms tenuous connections with Marion. Subsequently, Anna suggests Marion and Tommy spend their holidays abroad. This offers Marion an opportunity for reflection and provides Tommy with an experience of independence through travel. However, Marion decides against contemplating a matter related to Richard, expressing her emotions alone in the kitchen. For the other thing, Tommy is pointed out by Anna that he treats his mother not with respect, which belongs to a problem. Tommy, feeling the weight of the situation, requests some personal space, prompting Anna to depart slowly. Despite her involvement, Anna remains unaware of the specifics of the situation or its origins.

Nonetheless, she senses a shift and anticipates forthcoming changes, believing that certain barriers have been overcome and that transformation is inevitable.

In Lessing's *The Golden Notebook*, the theme of newspapers plays a significant role. Two central female characters, Anna and Marion, are profoundly affected by the African decolonization movements that unfolded in London in the 1950s. Reporters often sourced raw material from street happenings, which then found their way into print. The streets of London were sometimes filled with a diverse group of people, due to the African decolonization movements. Marion, inspired by Anna's communist ideals, expresses her sentiments on the African decolonization matter, leading to a conflict with her capitalist husband, Richard. In *Free Women 2*, Richard contemplates investing in "a [rural] clinic [designed to serve] fifty people" (Lessing 250), believing that impacting the lives of fifty individuals would be significant. However, Marion, inspired by Anna's ideologies, disagrees. Anna's reality revolves around her anticipation of Janet's return since Janet left for boarding school. Anna seems to exist in a sort of "satellite country" that is dependent on Janet's boarding school. Consequently, she is unwilling to abandon her life in London for Richard's hypothesis. The underprivileged groups are reported following the political event on the newspaper. This becomes pertinent and indirect for Marion, especially during an incident when she is detained by the police. Initially, she was with Tommy in the crowd, a man who did not fit the stereotypical image of a blind individual. "Many post-modern novels are reflexive, their content being their own methodology. Doris Lessing's novels are never purely formal, however. She is deeply interested in her raw material as well as in ways of representing it, and she never loses sight of the real world. The strength and innovation of *The Golden Notebook* is the degree to which it combines both aspects: the realist story and the examination of realism" (Whittaker 63). Among Whittaker's discussions regarding the indirect representation of the real world, Marion's case stands out. I would point out that her real world, with its accidental and tenuous connections among the diverse crowd and the involvement of the police, finds its

embodiment in the newspaper's representation. Marion undergoes a transformative experience as her "shock" reflects her examination of the real world, the raw material, and its representation. Even though Marion assumes the newspaper's main interest would be Tommy, who had introduced her to the world of newspapers and the African decolonization movement, the media sensationalizes her identity as a capitalist's wife. Nevertheless, this report leads to a significant shift in her self-perception, offering an alternative and meaningful change of perspective.

In *Free Women* 5, Marion and Tommy present Dolci with a substantial collection of books on Africa, which serve as their reference material for their welfare-related studies. Marion cherishes a photograph of Dolci, which often brings back memories of her and Tommy's journey to Sicily. With financial support from Richard, they depart from Molly's urban residence to meet Dolci, who plays a pivotal role in their mission to assist others. "Molly was also alone in an empty house, having lost her son to her ex-husband's second wife. She invited Richard's sons to stay with her" (Lessing 618). Lessing's point is that Marion seems to change her subject to Molly's subject in terms of Tommy's caregiver. Consequently, Molly and Marion appear to swap their responsibilities, with Molly now looking after Richard and Marion's sons. Molly even would like to offer her city home to Marion and Tommy, because both Tommy and Marion later have found their own unique work. Tommy progresses towards assuming Richard's role, taking on official duties and understanding Richard's former responsibilities. Unlike Richard, Tommy aims to instigate change in the world by leveraging his influence on a government department, reflecting a more progressive stance. Anna believes that Tommy's innovative approach is fitting for their era.

After the protest march, Marion demonstrates a notable progression towards what she perceives as "recovery," valuing her journey and championing the rights of others. In my opinion, her compassion extends beyond the African community to embrace individuals of diverse gender identities, thereby amplifying the impact of the event on her life. Initially, Marion and Tommy

might return to living in Molly's urban residence, yet the connection between her and Tommy has weakened. Additionally, she establishes a new venture, a dress shop in Knightsbridge, near the West End. This shop attracts a primarily queer clientele, offering them not just fashionable attire but also a space for dialogue and exchange of ideas.

In Lessing's *The Golden Notebook*, the intricate dynamics between capitalism and personal identity are explored through various characters and narrative strands. An invisible conflict between the capitalist's eldest son and his present wife comes in the blue notebook 2 and its parody (*Free women 3*, *Free Women 4*, and *Free Women 5*). By examining Tommy's girlfriend in the blue notebook 2, we gain insights into the comparison between capitalist and proletarian ideologies. Tommy's girlfriend, introduced in the blue notebook 2, hails from the middle class, aligns with socialist ideals, discusses savings deposits, and contemplates purchasing insurance. I begin to probe and try to find out how Marion reads the newspaper for Tommy, who was blind in *Free Women 3*, and how the topic of discussion on Marion as the capitalist's wife, written by the newspaper, as a detailed examination is made by the author of the article in terms of the conflict between the capitalist and the proletariat. "It is only in 'Free Women 5' that the narrative becomes exaggeratedly conventional and therefore clearly parodic" (Ridout 57). Adding to Ridout's argument, I would point out that Marion, in *Free Women 5*, is exaggeratedly described to go to the boundary of the capitalist and go back to the heterogenous communities of London. She returns to London to establish an inner space that encompasses both external and internal boundaries. As the narrative reverts to a traditional perspective in *Free Women 5*, Anna and Marion appear to be absorbed by capitalism, embarking on a new life as members of the middle class. Research about Marion's and Anna's new subject back to the communities of the middle class is not in the majority of literary research about *The Golden Notebook*, so that I would point out how Anna and Marion, after the political event that was reported by the newspaper, go back to the communities of the middle class as new subjects. Anna and Marion's

decision to reintegrate into middle-class communities post-political event underscores their desire to preserve a degree of personal freedom. This transition is indicative of their resistance to the gender norms prevalent in middle-class society. They exist on the periphery, challenging conventional gender roles. Anna, unwittingly serving as a consultant in marital matters while applying for a job as a marital counselor, subtly emphasizes the importance of freedom of association and additional public spaces for women of various socioeconomic backgrounds. Therefore, Anna's marital greeting words to Molly seem to reveal the importance of the freedom of free association and the additional public space for a wife of the middle class, upper middle class and even the capitalist. Take Marion's case as an example. She did not have any public space in her former marital life with the capitalist. She paid her attention only to her three children and wore the casual comfortable clothes because her husband prefers them. However, her husband failed to reciprocate this loyalty. With Anna's assistance, Marion does not merely mimic Anna's actions but emerges as a distinct individual. Engaging with a high-end clothing store frequented by male homosexual minorities, Marion navigates a realm that Anna, in her discussions with Janet, could not entirely explore. Marion's transformation posts her interaction with Anna and illustrates a journey from a confined domestic life to a newfound agency. Her involvement with a high-end boutique catering to a niche clientele signifies her break from past constraints, embodying a narrative of self-redefinition rather than imitation, thereby enriching the novel's exploration of identity, class, and gender.

In *The Golden Notebook*, Anna contingently takes part in the protest march, whose contingency helps Marion to enlarge the scope of her care, after the protest march. This participation exposes Anna to two unpredictable situations. Before the protest march, Anna participates in the crowd of no reason that shows her contingency. Then, Anna contingently meets Tom Mathong to discuss with her face to face through interpellation. I would point out that this decision prompts her to stash relevant newspapers in her brown bag, an extension of her identity as a subject.

If my interpretation of a change in one's perspective is accurate, it significantly impacts how we understand Anna's internal world. Anna stands in the central part of her room, whose mind is like a brown bag that is empty. She does not know what to say to Tommy and Marion, because she even does not know what has happened. "[Anna] hastily picked up various bits of paper suggested to her by thinking of Tom Mathlong; she stuffed them into her bag and ran down into the street and along to Molly's house" (Lessing 489). By extension, I would point out that Anna's bag, which represents the extension of her brown bag subject, is stuffed with the newspaper. It seems as though she is being called upon to assume a transformative role, akin to that of an apostle, as a societal revolution takes root within her. No longer is she the Anna known before; she has evolved into a new entity, carrying the essence of the newspaper within her. Mathlong's influence prompts Anna to envision how he and other non-capitalist individuals from the Third World residing in England bravely endure their suffering while striving for positive change in Africa. The information from the newspaper articles liberates Anna's spirit from confinement within her body.

I delve into the reasons behind the weak connection between Mathlong and Marion within the context of the newspaper's theme. The transition of Marion's attitude before the contingent political event and Marion's other attitude after that event reflects the weak links between Marion and Mathlong. Initially, Marion inquires about Mathlong's whereabouts, but since Mathlong is detained in an African prison, Anna doubts that Mathlong will ever receive Marion's letter. Following the political event, while Anna highlights Marion's biopolitical commitment, Marion appears to have disregarded Mathlong, indicating a breakdown in their relationship. Similarly, the relationship between Anna and Mathlong is characterized by frailty. Anna's action of placing a newspaper wad in a brown bag symbolizes a connection to Mathlong. "Mathlong balances Saul's gifts to Anna of passion and flexibility with his own gifts of detachment and commitment" (Draine 84). Building on Draine's perspective, I would point out that the newspaper wad in Anna's bag not only diversifies Anna's roles but also

evokes her perception of Mathlong's political stance. Thus, I would point out that the brown bag can be seen as an extension of Anna's identity, encompassing her reflections on Mathlong's politics. Embracing Betsy Draine's analysis of varying viewpoints, we observe Marion's nuanced engagement with the newspaper theme, influenced by Mathlong's modern perspective and Anna's postmodern stance. This paragraph organizes discussions of African decolonization movements in *The Golden Notebook* in both modern and postmodern contexts. The modern framework revolves around the bus schedule, letters, and the concept of imagined national communities depicted in the newspaper. However, Anna transitions into a discourse on postmodernism, exploring radical decolonization through a deeper examination of heterogeneous individual emergence. The promoters of the radical decolonization not only do not blindly build a duplicate modern surface for the decolonized people, but also would be hovering on the brink of the breakthrough in multiple meanings of words, phrases, and sentences from the colonized past. As I interpret multiple weak ties and their relevant self-reflection as the key to the subject change, the subject change would be switched on by the flexibility.

Amanda Anderson posits that the philosophical mindset of Saint Paul and Mr. Mathlong is rooted in dialectics. For a long time, there are both compassionate confirmation and critical refutation of this general essence of the object or its relevant matter. Consequently, a discerning understanding of these objects emerges. "Paul and Mr. Mathlong, by contrast, model a combination of aspiration and detachment, compassion and critique. They can successfully access critical knowingness without letting it corrode the personality" (*Bleak Liberalism* 138-139). Mr. Mathlong transcends worldly concerns to embody a sense of sanctity. Characterized by his noble ideals and integrity, he commands respect through his deeds, motivated by a commitment to the collective welfare. Despite potential setbacks, he remains dedicated to his endeavors, reflecting his strong work ethic and commitment to positive outcomes.

I argue that Anna imagines that Mathlong goes to missionary school in the blue notebook 4. In Christianity, everybody, who is completely convinced of and

reveres *Jesus*, is promised eternal life. Anna appears to acknowledge the significance of Mr. Mathlong's detachment from worldly concerns in the context of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, there may be few individuals akin to Mr. Mathlong, who defy conventional constraints.

Krouse Tonya advocates Anna's trying to hide her true personality. Tonya's way of thinking about personality has it that one possesses a natural endowment, and that the environment and education shape personality. Artists, according to this view, must reject conventional constraints because the existing framework is overly rigid and laden with excessive rules. "According to Anna's logic, the artist needs to erase her 'I' from the text; in order to honor the demands of art, the personality of the author must be driven underground. [...] She must write to have no face" (Tonya 48-49). In *The Golden Notebook*, Saul's character counters this by repeatedly uttering "I," using these recurrences as auditory reflections, akin to the ricocheting of bullets. These mechanically repeated spoken words function as sources of sound reflection, which are similar to bullets. If Saul only has his own wishes, he would speak the way a machine gun scatters bullets. I would point out that an artist employs a detached perspective to assess an experience, using an objective scale to gauge its significance.

My central argument is that Anna adopts a novel approach to address the challenges artists face in contemporary society by submitting an article anonymously. In the black notebook 3, Anna collaborates with James, a young American writer, to contribute to an American literary magazine. They opt to publish under the pseudonym of a friend who is too reticent to write, focusing on a piece that targets publication. They make a conscious decision to withhold their true identities while crafting an article of approximately one thousand words, which they are ecstatic to see published in the review. Notably, the article originates from a personal diary. Yet, Anna chooses to mask her identity when submitting the adapted piece to the magazine, aiming to foster a sense of universality that emerges from a deliberate distance between the creator and the work. Subsequently, Anna and James pen another piece, this time under the alias

of a middle-aged female writer, further exploring this theme of anonymity and artistic expression.

The concept of universality holds significant value, particularly in its opposition to fascism. It would be an ideal world for communist and socialist worldwide that the colonies of Africa are independent. In *Free Women* 4, Anna's portrayal of African characters participating in the emancipation of the colonized world suggests a loss of individual freedom to some extent. "Some of its manifest content is the role of politics in the lives of the 'free women' it describes and in the lives of the characters imagined by Anna Wulf as writer" (Stern 37). These imagined political allegories symbolize the aspiration for change. The character Mathlong is depicted as an ascetic, eschewing life's comforts and dedicating himself to political responsibilities. Despite his dedication, he experiences discomfort in public engagements. Similar to Saint Paul's commitment to preaching the gospel, Mathlong delivers speeches on ideal politics to the people. His spirit serves as an inspiration for Anna to confront difficulties, prompting her to seek strength of will. Anna's invocation of Mathlong and her engagement with newspapers rejuvenate her resolve to confront challenges. I would point out that this interplay of character and resolve offers valuable insights for both teaching and writing.

In *Free Women* 5, Anna embarks on a quest for a new job in welfare, aiming to foster a dialogue between herself and the broader social sphere. She considers a role in marital consulting, where she can offer genuine advice to those in need. Additionally, she contemplates joining the Labour Party, which presents an opportunity to teach juvenile delinquents twice a week. "[Anna] was carefully avoiding that [she is going to be integrated with British life at its roots]" (Lessing 635). The tenuous connection between Anna and Mathlong prompts a shift in her focus. Consequently, she transitions from her expansive room and diary to the more intimate setting of the marriage welfare center and a night class, seeking to engage with those on the margins of society. Previously, these societal others were confined to imagined relationships in Anna's narrative. However, a chance encounter with Mathlong on route to Molly and Tommy's urban residence,

amidst a political event, also leads to a meeting with Tommy. In the blue notebook 1, Anna frequently intervened to assist Molly amid escalating family strains. Initially, Anna would directly convey to Tommy what Molly was unable to articulate about her first marriage. Now the new weak link between Anna and Tommy, in my opinion, causes her to become a book that is worthy of Tommy's continued rereading. In *Free Women*, Anna articulates her thoughts on Tommy's potential suicide. This book becomes a sanctuary for Tommy, offering a space where he can seek Anna's memories and support, engaging in a reflective dialogue with her.

In *Free Women* 4, Anna and Marion form a tenuous connection following their chance meeting. Subsequently, Anna recounts Mathlong's preoccupation with Western modernity and civilization, expressing his desire to materialize these concepts in his hometown through initiatives such as punctual bus services and the dissemination of newspapers. After Anna aleatory encounters Marion, both of the two females have themselves transformed into two new people different from their original features. In the subsequent chapter, *Free Women* 5, Anna undergoes a personal transformation, gaining new insights into Molly's recent marriage, which, to Anna, seems devoid of genuine security. Molly inadvertently suggests that she could eventually seek assistance at a marriage welfare center—a place where Anna contemplates employment. Anna experiences a sense of loss as her daughter, Janet, begins to spend more time with her peers. Determined to address this emotional upheaval differently from the norm, Anna reflects on the weak connections she has established with individuals ranging from Mathlong and Tommy to Marion and Molly. These connections were forged through shared political events and chance encounters. As a new person, Anna finds that she hopes to devote herself in meaningful work through carrying on a dialogue between her and the social other. In my opinion, though she may not have direct connections with these individuals, she aims to support them through engaging in contingent discourse and forming meaningful connections.

Conclusion

Upon introspection, it becomes apparent that the newspaper report profoundly impacts Anna, sparking her desire to advocate for the working class. The opportunity to correspond with an African revolutionary opens a window for Anna and Marion to gain insights into the unfolding events in Africa and England. This interaction provides both the revolutionaries and the enlightened individuals a platform to engage in meaningful dialogue about freedom and mortality, particularly as they navigate the complexities of their involvement in the movement. Following the protest march, Anna assists Marion in recollecting her original aspiration to correspond with Mathlong. I would point out that this act fosters emotional reliance on Anna from Marion, who appreciates Anna's attention to and remembrance of her initial wish. Anna's universal attitude toward Tommy, Molly, Richard and Marion brings about the mutual understanding among and the new subjects of the family members that aims to solve problems with a not so violent mood.

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教材《Schritte International》中關於請求言語行為 的表述及其影響

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【摘要】

請求在日常溝通中不可或缺的一部分，因此，請求之言談行為在德語教學中扮演著重要的角色。本研究旨在探討台灣一所大學德語系學生運用從教材「Schritte International」學習到的語言表達來提出請求或給予指示的能力。研究採用對話完成任務 (Dialogue Completion Tests, DCT) 收集資料進行分析。結果顯示，大多數參與者由於缺乏明確的講解，往往傾向於使用不適當的語言表達。此外，研究也發現了母語漢語對德語請求表達的干擾。因此，本研究建議教師和教材應提供明確的講解，以幫助學生提升德語請求表達的能力。

【關鍵詞】

請求、言談行為、語言表達、干擾、明確的講解

Die Auswirkungen von den Darstellungen im Bezug auf Sprechakt von Aufforderungen im Lehrwerk Schritte International

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【Abstract】

Requests are an essential part of everyday communication, and therefore, the speech act of requests is a crucial topic in foreign language teaching. This study investigates the ability of students studying German at a Taiwanese University to use the linguistic expressions which they learned from *Schritte International* (Level A1 & A2) to make appropriate requests or give instructions. Dialogue completion tasks (DCTs) are used to collect data for analysis. The results reveal that the majority of the participants tend to use inappropriate linguistic expressions due to a lack of explicit explanations. Additionally, interference from Chinese was observed. These findings highlight the need for explicit instruction on appropriate request strategies in German classrooms to mitigate interference from Chinese.

【Keywords】

requests, speech act, linguistic expressions, interference, explicit explanation

1. Einleitung

1.1 Hintergrund und Motivation

Der Sprechakt von Aufforderungen ist in Studien bezüglich Interlanguage und Interkulturalität weitgehend untersucht worden (vgl. Beltrán/Martínez-Flor, 2004, S. 199). Der Sprechakt Aufforderung wurde als das Verhalten definiert, das die Hörer auffordert, etwas für den Sprecher auszuführen (vgl. Brown/Levinson, 1987). Die Aufforderung impliziert, dass der Hörer eine Aktion ausführen muss, von der der Sprecher Vorteile erhält (vgl. Trosborg, 1995, S. 187; Sifianou, 1999, S. 95). Aufgrund dieser Implikation wird die Aufforderung als ein gesichtsbedrohender Sprechakt betrachtet (vgl. Brown/Levinson, 1987, S. 70). Daher gilt es als schwierig, passende Aufforderungen zu stellen, ob an Kollegen oder Vorgesetzte, ob in der Muttersprache oder einer Fremdsprache (Yates/Springall, 2010).

Trotz der zuvor beschriebenen Herausforderungen lässt sich die Notwendigkeit, Bitten und Aufforderungen zu äußern, aufgrund ihrer Allgegenwärtigkeit im täglichen Sprachgebrauch nicht umgehen. Aufforderungen umfassen nicht nur Bitten und Befehle, sondern auch wichtige Funktionen wie z.B. höfliches Anfragen, Vorschläge unterbreiten oder Ratschläge geben. Die Fähigkeit, angemessene Aufforderungen zu formulieren, ist im interkulturellen Kontext besonders wichtig, da die Normen für höfliches Verhalten von Kultur zu Kultur variieren können. Muttersprachliche Interferenzen und kulturelle Unterschiede können sich erheblich darauf auswirken, wie Lernende Aufforderungen formulieren, was potentiell zu unangemessenen oder pragmatisch inadäquaten Äußerungen führen kann. Um derartige pragmatische Fehlgriffe zu verhindern, sind im Fremdsprachenunterricht umfassende Erklärungen unerlässlich. Lernende benötigen nicht nur sprachliche Mittel zum Ausdruck von Aufforderungen, sondern auch ein Verständnis der sozialen und kontextuellen Faktoren, die die angemessene Form bestimmen (Uso-Juan, 2010). Eine explizite Vermittlung der pragmatischen Normen und soziopragmatischen Variablen, die die Formulierung

von Aufforderungen in der Zielsprache beeinflussen, ist entscheidend für die Entwicklung der pragmatischen Kompetenz der Lernenden in diesem hochkomplexen Sprechakt.

Die pragmatische Kompetenz von Deutschlernenden im chinesischsprachigen Raum ist ein Forschungsfeld, das bislang nur wenig Beachtung gefunden hat. Sowohl die Vermittlung sprachlicher Mittel als auch die Berücksichtigung pragmatischer Normen und soziopragmatischer Variablen im DaF-Unterricht in dieser Region wurden kaum systematisch untersucht. Diese Forschungslücke hat mein Interesse geweckt und mich dazu motiviert, die vorliegende Studie durchzuführen.

1.2 Zweck der Forschung

Dieser Beitrag wird sich mit den folgenden zwei Fragen auseinandersetzen:

1. Wie werden die sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen für Bitten und Aufforderungen im Lehrwerk *Schritte International* präsentiert?
2. Sind die Lernenden in der Lage, die im Lehrwerk gelernten sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen zu verwenden und angemessene Bitten oder Aufforderungen zu formulieren?

Die Probanden dieser Studie sind Studierende aus meinem Konversationskurs an einer taiwanesischen Universität, die Deutsch als Fremdsprache lernen. Als Kursbuch wird das Lehrwerk *Schritte International* verwendet. Die Studierenden werden aufgefordert, in drei verschiedenen Szenarien jeweils einen Dialog zu ergänzen. Ihre Fähigkeit, die passenden Aufforderungen gemäß der drei kontextuellen und sozialen Varianten zu formulieren, wird anhand der gesammelten Daten untersucht. Darüber hinaus werden die Auswirkungen der Instruktionen im Lehrwerk analysiert. Außerdem werden mögliche Ursachen für die Verwendung unangemessener Ausdrucksformen erläutert.

Die vorliegende Arbeit gliedert sich in fünf Kapitel. In diesem Kapitel werden der Hintergrund, die Motivation und der Zweck der Studie erläutert. Das zweite Kapitel bietet einen umfassenden Überblick über die bisherige Forschungslandschaft zum Thema der vorliegenden Studie. Im dritten Kapitel werden die Probanden der Studie, die verwendeten Forschungsinstrumente und

das Studiendesign detailliert beschrieben. Kapitel vier widmet sich der Darstellung der vielfältigen sprachlichen Mittel, die Aufforderungssätze im Deutschen ausdrücken können, im Lehrwerk *Schritte International*. Außerdem werden die gesammelten Daten, einschließlich der verschiedenen sprachlichen Formen und ihrer statistische Verteilung, analysiert. Im abschließenden Kapitel werden die Ergebnisse der Studie zusammengefasst, diskutiert und im Kontext der bestehenden Forschungsliteratur interpretiert. Darüber hinaus werden Implikationen für die Praxis und Ideen für zukünftige Forschungsarbeiten formuliert.

2. Zustand der Forschung

Dieses Kapitel wird in drei Teile gegliedert. Der erste Teil untersucht den Sprechakt der Aufforderung. Der zweite Teil befasst sich mit Studien in Bezug auf die Verwendung von Aufforderungen bei DaF-Lernenden. Der dritte Teil setzt sich mit Studien auseinander, die die Wirkungen der Instruktion von Aufforderungen behandeln.

2.1 Der Sprechakt der Aufforderungen

Ivanovska et al. (2016) definieren Aufforderungen als "Sprechakte, die das Verhalten des Gesprächspartners oder anderer Personen festlegen" (S. 156). Laut Hentschel und Wyder (2013: 379) dient der Aufforderungs- oder Imperativsatz dazu, jemanden zu einer Handlung aufzufordern. Er leitet sich vom lateinischen "imperare" für "befehlen" ab und wird auch Befehlssatz genannt. Der Satzmodus wird durch einen Imperativ (z.B. *Sei nicht böse!*, *Kommt bald wieder!*, *Bringen Sie mir bitte ein Schnitzel!*) oder eine Imperativ-Periphrase (z.B. *Alle mal herhören!*, *Lass uns abhauen!*) markiert.

Indirekte Aufforderungen wie *Würden Sie mir endlich das Geld zurückgeben?*, die formal überwiegend als Interrogativsätze ohne Fragewort auftreten, sind im Deutschen ebenfalls weit verbreitet. Darüber hinaus können Aufforderungen im Deutschen mit anderen Mitteln ausgedrückt werden, beispielsweise

Mit einem Infinitivsatz

Nicht hinauslehnen!

Mit Modalverb müssen oder sollen

Du musst kommen!

Du sollst nicht stehlen!

Mit dem Indikativ Futur I

Du wirst sofort kommen!

Mit dem Indikativ Präsens

Du kommst jetzt!

Mit dem Passiv ohne Subjekt

Nun wird geschlafen!

(Ivanovska et al. 2016: 157-158)

Warga (2004) ordnete die Aufforderungen in drei Kategorien ein. Die erste Kategorie umfasst die direkten Formulierungen von Aufforderungen. Diese werden meist mit performativen Verben oder im Imperativ ausgedrückt. Die zweite Kategorie beinhaltet die konventionell indirekten Realisierungen. Hierbei wird die Aufforderung in Form eines anderen Sprechaktes, wie zum Beispiel einer Frage, getarnt. Diese Fälle gelten als konventionell, da sie in der Sprachgemeinschaft bereits so weit etabliert sind, dass nicht die wörtliche Bedeutung, sondern die intendierte Aufforderung als allgemeingültig verstanden wird. Die dritte Kategorie bilden die tatsächlich indirekten Formulierungen. Diese werden nur noch als Andeutungen oder Anspielungen auf die eigentliche Aufforderungshandlung wahrgenommen und verstanden.

Eine Bitte kann aus zwei Komponenten bestehen: dem Hauptakt der Bitte und den Modifikationseinheiten. Der Hauptakt ist "die Hauptäußerung, die die Funktion der Bitte hat und für sich allein stehen kann" (Uso-Juan, 2010, S. 238). Andererseits sind die Modifikationseinheiten "optionale Elemente, die dem Hauptakt der Bitte vorausgehen und/oder folgen können und dazu dienen, die illokutionäre Kraft der Äußerung zu modifizieren" (Uso-Juan, 2010, S. 238-239).

Es wird argumentiert, dass Indirektheit den Höflichkeitsgrad einer Bitte erhöhen kann, weil der Sprecher durch eine indirekte Bitte Rücksicht auf die Gesichtsbedürfnisse des Gesprächspartners nehmen kann (Trosborg, 1995;

LoCastro, 2003; Safont, 2008). Außerdem können Sprecher auch Modifikationseinheiten einsetzen (Trosborg, 1995; Sifianou, 1999; Reiter, 2000; Safont, 2008). Die Modifikationseinheiten lassen sich in zwei Typen unterteilen: interne und externe (Beltrán & Flor, 2004). Sifianou (1999, S. 158) argumentiert, dass "interne Einheiten jene sprachlichen Elemente sind, die innerhalb desselben Bitte-Aktes erscheinen, um dessen Kraft abzumildern oder zu verstärken (z.B. Könnten Sie wahrscheinlich die Tür für mich öffnen?), wohingegen externe Modifikationseinheiten im unmittelbaren sprachlichen Kontext um den Bitte-Akt herum erscheinen (z.B. Könnten Sie die Tür für mich öffnen? Ich trage so viele Taschen, dass ich es nicht selbst machen kann).

2.2 Studien im Bezug auf die Anwendung der Aufforderungen bei DaF-Lernenden

Im Gegensatz zu Wissenschaftlern im Fachbereich TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) haben relativ wenige Wissenschaftler Forschung bezüglich der Anwendung von Aufforderungen bei DaF-Lernenden durchgeführt. Ivanoska und Xhaferri (2019) verglichen die von mazedonischen Germanistikstudierenden und von Deutschmuttersprachlern ausgedrückten Höflichkeitsformen, um die kulturellen und soziopragmatischen Unterschiede in diesem Sprachpaar zu erklären. 59 Bachelor (B2 Niveau nach dem GERR) Germanistikstudierende der deutschen Sprache an der Goce Delčev Universität zu Štip, im Alter zwischen 18 und 30, und 32 deutsche Muttersprachler (älter als 16 Jahre alt) nahmen an ihrer Untersuchung teil. Sie wurden aufgefordert, einen Diskurs Ergänzungstest (DCT) auszufüllen, der aus sechs Situationen bestand. Der Grad der Autorität, der sozialen Distanz und des Grades der Auferlegung variiert je nach Situation.

Gemäß der vorgestellten Studie nutzen die mazedonischen Germanistikstudierenden eine Vielzahl sprachlicher Strukturen, um Aufforderungen auszudrücken, sei es in Form eines Wunsches, Befehls oder einer Möglichkeit. Darüber hinaus verwenden Mazedonische Germanistikstudierende für denselben pragmatischen Akt mehr Wörter als

deutsche Muttersprachler, da sie aufgrund sprachlicher Defizite primär nicht in der Lage sind, sich kurz zu fassen. Die Äußerungen von Lernenden sind länger als die von Muttersprachlern, weil Lernende den Kontext - also Hintergrund, Voraussetzungen, Gründe, Rechtfertigungen, Erklärungen und Ähnliches - stärker ausarbeiten. Sie geben mehr Hintergrundinformationen, präsentieren Voraussetzungen ausführlicher und führen häufiger und detaillierter Gründe, Rechtfertigungen und Erklärungen an als deutsche Muttersprachler (Ivanoska/Xhaferri 2019).

Ivanoska und Xhaferri (2019) führten eine Untersuchung gezielt mit albanischen Deutschlernenden durch. Die Probanden waren 26 albanische Bachelor- und Masterstudierende mit Hauptfach Germanistik. Als Forschungsinstrument wurden Diskurs-Ergänzungstests (DCTs) mit neun Situationen eingesetzt. Die Ergebnisse verdeutlichen, dass die albanischen Fremdsprachenlernenden vorrangig Hörerbezogene Aufforderungen verwendeten und dabei ein breites Spektrum sprachlicher Strukturen einsetzten.

Bei der Analyse der gewählten Perspektiven zeigt sich, dass Aufforderungen an den Hörer (*Können Sie mir das Buch ausleihen*) und an den Sprecher selbst (*Kann/Darf ich dein Vorlesungsskript haben*) am häufigsten vorkamen. Gemeinsame Perspektiven (*Können wir das machen*) oder unpersönliche Formulierungen (*Es muss gemacht werden*) spielten hingegen eine untergeordnete Rolle. Darüber hinaus wurden Fragen mit Hilfsverben oder Modalverben in Infinitiv- oder Indikativformen häufig verwendet. Vorbedingungsfragen wie beispielsweise *Würden Sie mir kurz Ihr Feuerzeug geben, Könnte ich ..., hätten Sie vielleicht Feuer für mich, Entschuldigung, haben Sie mal ..., Könnte ich bitte mal Feuer haben* oder *Könnten Sie ...* kamen hingegen seltener vor.

Aliu et al. (2022) erforschten die pragmatischen Kompetenz der albanischsprachigen Deutschlernenden. 60 albanischsprachigen Deutschlernenden aus Kosovo, 27 weibliche und 33 männliche Probanden, nahmen an der Untersuchung teil. Das Alter betrug zwischen 17 bis 27. Die TeilnehmerInnen hatten unterschiedliche Sprachkenntnisse (A2/B1/B2-Niveau

nach dem Gemeinsamen europäischen Referenzrahmen (GERA)). Der in deutscher Sprache abgefasste DCT wurde als das Forschungsmittel verwendet und bestand aus sechs Situationen. Jede Situation gibt einen unterschiedlichen Grad der Autorität, sozialen Distanz und des Grades der Auferlegung. Die sechs Situationen waren: Eine Projektarbeit abgeben, eine berühmte Person einladen eine Rede zu halten, um Heimfahrt bitten, Feuerzeug verlangen, um ein Vorlesungsskript bitten und Geld von einem Kommilitonen leihen.

Die Antworten der Lernenden wurden drei Ebenen zugeordnet: der direkten Ebene, der konventionell-indirekten Ebene und der unkonventionell-indirekten Ebene. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass 78% der Probanden die konventionell-indirekte Ebene als Äußerungsstrategie wählten. Davon verwendeten 70% der Probanden einleitende Fragen. 21% der Teilnehmenden griffen auf Äußerungsstrategien der direkten Ebene zurück. Nur eine vernachlässigbar geringe Zahl von Probanden nutzte die unkonventionell-indirekte Ebene. Mehr als die Hälfte aller Aufforderungen wurde indirekt gestellt.

Im empirischen Teil dieser Forschungsarbeit zeigte sich, dass die mehrheitlich albanischsprachigen Probanden - vorwiegend Schüler und Studenten ohne eigene Auslandsaufenthalte - eine mutmaßlich eher risikoaverse Strategie anwendeten, als sie gebeten wurden, im Deutschen eine Aufforderung gemäß der sprechakttheoretischen Analyse zu formulieren. Obwohl die Probanden bei der Erhebung allgemein eine Vielzahl sprachlicher Strukturen nutzten, lässt sich daraus vorsichtig empfehlen, bei der Entwicklung von Lehrplänen für den Fremdsprachenunterricht besonderen Wert auf Methoden zu legen, die die pragmatischen Kompetenzen und damit die Kommunikationsfähigkeit der Lernenden verbessern.

2.3 Studien in Bezug auf die Wirkung der Instruktion in Aufforderungen

Die Effizienz verschiedener Unterrichtsmethoden wurde ebenfalls erforscht (Uso-Juan, 2010). Es gibt zwei typische Arten von pädagogischen Vermittlungen: implizite und explizite Instruktionen (Takahashi, 2001; Soler, 2005; Takimoto,

2009). Laut der Studie von Takahashi (vgl.2001) helfen explizite Instruktionen beim Ausbau der Strategien, eine passende Aufforderung zu stellen. Die Studie von Soler (vgl. 2005) hat die Effektivität der impliziten und expliziten Instruktionen nachgewiesen. Allerdings hat die explizite Gruppe mehr Vorteile. Takimoto (vgl. 2009) hat herausgefunden, dass problemlösende Aktivitäten, Input Aufgaben und explizite Informationen die Lernenden befähigt haben, passende Aufforderungen zu stellen.

Zusammenfassend gibt es schon zahlreiche veröffentlichte Studien in Bezug auf Sprechakte im Englischen. Allerdings wurden Sprechakte im Fachbereich Deutsch als Fremdsprache selten erforscht. Darüber hinaus hat die Instruktion des Sprechakts in Lehrwexren weniger Aufmerksamkeit erweckt.

Die Studien bezüglich dieses Themas können in drei Kategorien eingeteilt werden: 1.die Lehrbarkeit 2. die Instruktion versus die Exponierung 3. verschiedene Unterrichtsmethoden. In den Studien bezüglich der Lehrbarkeit wurde eine Gruppe von Lernenden vor und nach dem Unterricht geprüft, so dass die Wirkungen des Unterrichts untersucht werden konnten. Das Fazit zeigte, dass explizite Erläuterungen den Lernenden die Höflichkeit der Aufforderungen bewusst gemacht haben (vgl. Salazar, 2003, S. 241). Außerdem haben sie zunehmend Modifikationsmittel in ihren Äußerungen verwendet (vgl. Martínez-Flor, 2008). Allerdings neigten die Lernenden dazu, überwiegend die Modifikationsmittel "können" oder "könnten" in ihren Aufforderungen zu verwenden, auch wenn andere Modifikationsmittel ebenfalls im Unterricht geübt wurden (vgl. Salazar, 2003, S. 240).

Die Studien hinsichtlich der Instruktion versus Exponierung untersuchen, ob Instruktion besser als Exponierung ist, weshalb zwei Gruppen von Probanden geprüft werden. Laut der Studie von Safont-Jordà und Soler (2012) haben die unterwiesenen Lernenden nicht mehr Strategien als die andere Gruppe angewandt. Demgegenüber hat die Studie von Fukuya und Zhang (2002) gezeigt, dass die unterwiesenen Lernenden sprachlich korrektere Aufforderungen formulieren konnten. Die Studie von Codina (2008) hat gezeigt, dass die positiven Wirkungen der Instruktion nur bei den Lernenden mit besseren

Sprachkenntnissen auftraten.

3. Datenerhebung

In diesem Kapitel wird zunächst der Hintergrund der Probanden erläutert. Anschließend werden die für diese Forschung angewandten Methoden ausführlich dargestellt und erläutert.

3.1 Die Probanden

An dieser Forschung beteiligen sich 100 Studierende, die im ersten Jahr an einer taiwanesischen Universität Deutsch als Hauptfach oder Nebenfach studieren. Von den Probanden haben nur fünf Studentinnen die A1-Prüfung und zwei die A2-Prüfung bestanden. Die übrigen Teilnehmer sind A1-Lernende. Das Alter der Probanden liegt zwischen 18 und 20 Jahren.

Die Studierenden haben Modalverben wie z.B. *können*, *dürfen* und *müssen* sowie den Imperativ gelernt. Im Lehrwerk werden jedoch nur Dialoge dargestellt, und es gibt keine expliziten Erläuterungen zur Verwendung dieser Formen. Abgesehen von den Modalverben *können*, *dürfen* und *müssen* sowie dem Imperativ haben die Studierenden zu Beginn des Deutschlernens ebenfalls Ja-Nein-Fragen gelernt. Dementsprechend sollten sie in der Lage sein, mit dem Modalverb *können* oder *dürfen* indirekte Bitten zu formulieren. Außerdem können sie Ja-Nein-Fragen mit Modifikationsmitteln wie beispielsweise *bitte* verwenden. Dies ist besonders nützlich in Situationen, in denen eine direkte Bitte als unhöflich oder unangemessen empfunden werden könnte.

3.2 Die Forschungsinstrumente

Die Probanden werden aufgefordert, in drei verschiedenen Szenarien jeweils einen Dialog zu ergänzen, um ihre Kenntnisse bezüglich der pragmatischen Linguistik zu untersuchen. Die drei Szenarien sind folgende:

- (1) Sie sind seit einer Woche krank und können daher Ihre Hausaufgabe, deren Abgabetermin morgen ist, nicht rechtzeitig erledigen. Sie gehen zu Ihrem Professor/Ihrer Professorin und bitten um eine Verlängerung.
- (2) Sie reisen gerade in Deutschland. Sie sind im Zug und lesen eine Zeitung. Es gibt ein Sprichwort, das Sie nicht kennen. Sie haben schon

versucht, es im Internet nachzuschlagen, aber leider können Sie die Bedeutung nicht finden. Sie möchten daher einen Deutschen neben Ihnen fragen, den Sie nicht kennen.

- (3) Sie gehen mit Ihrem Freund/Ihrer Freundin ins Restaurant. Wenn Sie fertig mit dem Essen sind und bezahlen wollen, bemerken Sie erst, dass Sie kein Geld dabei haben. Sie müssen deshalb Ihren Freund/Ihre Freundin bitten, Ihnen Geld zu leihen.

Die Szenarien basieren auf dem PDR-Modell (Power Difference (P), soziale Distanz (D) und Größe der Auferlegung (R)) von Brown und Levinson (1978). Das PDR ist im ersten Szenario relativ hoch, da ein Student eine Bitte an seinen Professor richtet. Der Machtunterschied zwischen den beiden Gesprächspartnern sowie die soziale Distanz sind groß. Zudem bittet der Student um eine Verlängerung des Abgabetermins, daher ist auch die Größe der Auferlegung hoch.

Das PDR im zweiten Szenario ist intermediär. Der Gesprächspartner ist ein Fremder, was bedeutet, dass der Machtunterschied und die soziale Distanz in der deutschen Kultur relativ groß sind. Allerdings ist die Größe der Auferlegung nicht so hoch wie im ersten Szenario. Dies bedeutet, dass der Sprecher dem Adressaten weniger Druck ausübt, die Bitte zu erfüllen. Die Bitte ist relativ klein und nicht dringend.

Das PDR im dritten Szenario ist relativ gering, da es sich um einen Dialog zwischen Freunden handelt. Die Probanden werden gebeten, ihre Bitten oder Aufforderungen basierend auf dem jeweiligen Bedürfnis in die Dialoge einzufügen, um diese zu ergänzen.

1. Du: Hallo, guten Tag, Frau Tsai.

Frau Tsai: Guten Tag.

Du: Ah...Seit einer Woche bin ich krank. Ich habe meine Hausaufgabe noch nicht

gemacht. Ich möchte fragen:

P.S. Du möchtest erst nächste Woche deine Hausaufgabe abgeben.

2. Du: Entschuldigung. _____

Deutscher: Natürlich. Das bedeutet, dass man darauf achten muss, was man sagt.

P.S. Du möchtest einen Deutschen fragen, was das Sprichwort „Hüte deine Zunge!,,

heißt?

3. Freund: Bist du fertig mit dem Essen?

Du: Ja. Wollen wir jetzt bezahlen?

Freund: In Ordnung.

Du: (suchst deinen Geldbeutel) Oh, Mist!

Freund: Was ist denn los?

Du: Ich habe meinen Geldbeutel nicht dabei. _____

P.S. Du brauchst von einem Freund etwas Geld.

Die Anzahl der Probanden, die die verschiedenen Ausdrucksformen verwenden, wird gezählt und der jeweilige Anteil berechnet. Mithilfe statistischer Verfahren werden die Fähigkeiten der Probanden analysiert, angemessene Aufforderungen zu formulieren. Zudem wird die Effizienz der Instruktionen verschiedener linguistischer Ausdrucksformen im verwendeten Lehrwerk untersucht.

4. Analyse und Diskussionen

Dieses Kapitel gliedert sich in drei Teile: Im ersten Teil werden die Instruktionen zu den Modalverben *können*, *dürfen* und *müssen* sowie zum Imperativ im Lehrwerk *Schritte International* analysiert. Der zweite Teil befasst sich zunächst mit der Darstellung der Anzahl der Probanden, die die verschiedenen Ausdrucksformen für Aufforderungen verwenden. Anschließend werden die Ausdrucksformen der Probanden analysiert und die Effizienz der Instruktionen dieser Ausdrucksformen im Lehrwerk untersucht. Der dritte Teil setzt sich mit den Implikationen bzw. Schlussfolgerungen für die

Unterrichtspraxis auseinander.

4.1 Die Instruktionen zu den Modalverben können dürfen und müssen sowie zum Imperativ im Lehrwerk *Schritte International*

4.1.1 *können*

Das Modalverb *können* wird in Lektion 7 des ersten Bandes von *Schritte International* eingeführt. In der ersten Übung zu diesem Thema werden zwei kurze Dialoge präsentiert, in denen das Modalverb *können* verwendet wird. Die Lernenden sollen diese Minidialoge anhören und die Lücken durch Einfügen der korrekten Konjugation des Modalverbs ausfüllen:

a. ○: Ich _____ aber nicht Tango tanzen.

□: Tanzen _____ doch jeder.

○: Ich nicht!

□: Na, wie du meinst.

b. ○: Los Wirüber jetzt Tango.

□: Was? Du _____ Tango tanzen?

○: Klar! Alle Finnen _____ Tango tanzen.

Die Konjugation wird in einer Tabelle nebenbei präsentiert.

In der zweiten Übung wird ein Minidialog dargestellt:

○: Du kannst aber gut Tango tanzen. Kannst du auch Salsa tanzen?

□: Na Klar! Ich kann sogar sehr gut Salsa tanzen.

Die Lernenden sollen den Originaldialog sowie Variationen dieses Dialogs mit verschiedenen Änderungen üben.

Varianten:

Italienisch/indeisch kochen ● Ski/Snowboard fahren ● Fußball/ Tennis spielen

In den Dialogbeispielen im Kursbbuch wird das Modalverb 'können' jedoch lediglich zur Beschreibung von Fähigkeiten verwendet.

Im Arbeitsbuch werden einige Beispielsätze angeboten, mit denen die Lernenden die vorgegebenen Dialoge ergänzen und fertigstellen müssen. In einer weiteren Aufgabe sollen die Lernenden mithilfe einer Wortauswahl vollständige Sätze mit dem Modalverb 'können' bilden. In diesen Sätzen wird 'können' zur

Formulierung indirekter Bitten oder Aufforderungen eingesetzt:

Kann ich bitte ein Brötchen haben?

Kann ich bitte das Wörterbuch haben?

Kann ich bitte Herrn Löffler sprechen?

Kannst du das bitte noch einmal sagen?

Kann ich bitte Zucker und Milch haben?

Können Sie das bitte noch einmal sagen?

Könnt ihr die Getränke kaufen?

In den Beispielsätzen des Arbeitsbuches handelt es sich um indirekte Aufforderungen, die formal überwiegend als Interrogativsätze ohne Fragewort auftreten. Nach der Kategorisierung von Warga (2004) fallen diese Beispiele unter die konventionell indirekten Formulierungen. Durch die Kombination des Modalverbs, Modifikatoren wie *bitte* höfliche und abgemilderte Aufforderungen gebildet werden. Die indirekte Formulierung lässt dem Adressaten die Option offen abzulehnen.

4.1.2 *dürfen*

Das Modalverb *dürfen* wird in der Lektion neun im zweiten Band gelehrt. Vier Beispielsätze werden zuerst dargestellt:

Darf ich Sie etwas fragen?

Darf Leo auch mitkommen?

Dürfen wir fernsehen?

Darf man hier parken?

Lernende sollen Sätze und Bilder zuordnen.

Bei diesen Sätzen handelt es sich tatsächlich um indirekte Aufforderungen bzw. Bitten, die mit dem Modalverb *dürfen* und der Frageform formuliert werden. Alle diese Sätze sind also indirekte Sprechakte, die durch die Frageform mit *dürfen* höflich eine Erlaubnis, Genehmigung oder Auskunft einfordern. Sie gehören damit zur Kategorie der konventionell indirekten Aufforderungen nach der Kategorisierung von Warga (2004).

Dann wird ein Minidialog zwischen einem Vater und einer Tochter dargestellt:

: Papa, du musst das Handy ausmachen.

Wie bitte?

Na, das Handy. Du darfst hier nicht telefonieren.

Unter der Dialog werden zwei Varianten dargestellt:

Die Zigarette ausmachen- die Zigarette- rauchen;

langsam fahren- das Schild- nur 100 fahren

Lernende müssen den Dialog mit den Varianten nochmals üben.

Diese Sätze drückt also auf eine sehr direkte, bündige Art ein Verbot aus. Es handelt sich nicht um eine indirekte, abgemilderte Formulierung einer Aufforderung. Daher zählen diese Sätze nach der Kategorisierung von Wurga (2004) zu den direkten Realisierungen von Aufforderungen durch eine Verbotsform.

4.1.3 *müssen*

Das Modalverb *müssen* wird in der Lektion neun im zweiten Band gelehrt.

Vier Beispielsätze werden zuerst dargestellt:

Er muss ins Hofbräuhaus gehen!

Du musst unbedingt in die Allianz Arena gehen.

Da müssen wir mal hingehen.

Sie müssen unbedingt einen Ausflug nach Neuschwanstein machen.

Lernende sollen diese vier Beispielsätze und vier Bilder zuordnen.

Anschließend wird ein Minidialog in einem Reisebüro dargestellt:

: Ich möchte für heute Abend Theaterkarten kaufen.

: Da müssen Sie um 19 Uhr an die Abendkasse gehen.

Unter dem Dialog werden vier Variante dargestellt:

- Für heute Abend Theaterkarten kaufen
- Heute eine Stadtführung machen
- Heute Nachmittag das Fußballspiel in der Allianz Arena fahren
- Morgen im Hofbräuhaus essen

- Am Rathaus warten- die Führung beginnt in 10 Minuten
- Um 19 Uhr an die Abendkasse gehen
- Unbedingt einen Tisch reservieren- Freitag ist es dort sehr voll
- Direkt zur Allianz Arena fahren- dort gibt es noch Karten

Bei den Beispielsätzen im Kursbuch handelt es sich um direkte Aufforderungen oder Empfehlungen, die mit dem Modalverb *müssen* formuliert werden. Die Sätze zählen daher nach Wargas Kategorisierung (2004) zu den direkten Realisierungen von Aufforderungen. Das Modalverb *müssen* verleiht ihnen einen quasi-imperativen Charakter.

Im Arbeitsbuch werden die folgenden Beispielsätze mit *müssen* und Dialoge präsentiert. Lernende sollen diese Beispielsätze in einen passenden Dialog einordnen:

Ihr müsst bitte noch Milch kaufen.

Du musst aufstehen.

Ihr müsst noch Hausaufgaben machen.

Du musst langsam sprechen.

In allen vier Fällen wird mit *müssen* eine starke Notwendigkeit oder Verpflichtung ausgedrückt. Nach der Kategorisierung von Warga (2004) zählen diese Sätze daher allesamt zu den direkten Realisierungen von Aufforderungen. Lediglich in Satz 1 wird die Direktheit durch *bitte* etwas abgemildert.

4.1.4 Imperativ

Das Imperativ wird in der Lektion neun im zweiten Band gelehrt. Ein paar Beispielsätze werden zuerst angeboten. Jedoch sind sie nicht in der richtigen Reihenfolge. Lernende müssen die Sätze ordnen:

Gehen Sie *dort einen Stadtplan.*

Fragen Sie dort Tickets für eine Stadtrundfahrt.

Kaufen Sie zur Touristeninformation am Marienplatz.

Reservieren Sie dort bitte mal nach.

Ein paar Minidialoge mit Imperativsätze werden dargestellt. Lernende müssen in einer Aufgabe die Imperativsätze den passenden Antworten zuordnen:

a. Ist das Kalt! Immer müssen wir leise sein!

b. Kinder, seid leise. Dann esst Äpfel

c. Mama, ich habe Durst. Dann mach doch das Fenster zu.

d. Mama, wir haben Hunger. Warum? Ich fahre doch nur 90.

e. Fahr bitte nicht so schnell. Sieh doch im Korb nach.

f. Mama, ich finde den Gameboy nicht. Dann nimm eine Flasche Wasser.

Die Sätze „Kinder, seid leise“ und „Fahr bitte nicht so schnell“ sind direkte Aufforderungen. Bei den anderen handelt es sich um Anweisungen im Imperativ.

In einer anderen Aufgabe ersetzen Lernende die Befehle durch den Anderen, um den Imperativ zu üben:

a. So ein Mistwetter! Da kann man ja gar nichts unternehmen.

Schreib doch Postkarten.

Varianten: ein bisschen fernsehen; auch ein Buch lesen; ins Museum gehen

b. Macht bitte die Handys aus!

Och!

Variante: nicht so laut sein; zuhören; alle zusammenbleiben

Die Imperativsätze im Dialog a stellen eher Vorschläge dar, wohingegen die Imperativsätze im Dialog b als direkte Aufforderungen formuliert sind.

Diese Imperativsätze gehören nach der Kategorisierung von Warga (2004) klar zu den direkten Realisierungen von Aufforderungen. Es sind keine indirekten oder abgeschwächten Formulierungen. Durch die Verwendung des Imperativs wird dem Adressaten unmissverständlich und sehr direkt mitgeteilt, was er tun soll. Der Sprecher erwartet, dass die Aufforderung ausgeführt wird. Solche direkten Imperativsätze sind typisch für Instruktionen und Anweisungen, aber können je nach Kontext durchaus auch unhöflich oder barsch wirken.

Neben dem Imperativ und der Modalverben, die diskutiert werden, können die Modalverben *könnten* und *würden* ebenfalls zu indirekten Bitten oder Aufforderungen werden. Dennoch wurden die Modalverben *könnten* und *würden* im Unterricht noch nicht behandelt. In Lektion zwölf werden die gleichen Instruktionsmethoden wie in Lektion neun verwendet.

Es gibt keine impliziten oder expliziten Erklärungen zur Verwendung verschiedener sprachlicher Ausdrücke. Stattdessen werden nur wenige Minidialoge oder Beispielsätze ohne Kontext präsentiert.

4.2 Datenanalyse

4.2.1 Konversation I

Die Statistik wird in der folgenden Tabelle aufgezeigt:

Tabelle 1. Bitten an Dozenten/Dozentin um eine Verlängerung des Abgabetermins für eine Hausarbeit

die verwendeten linguistischen Ausdrücke	Kann ich erst nächste Woche meine Hausaufgabe abgeben?	Können Sie mir noch eine Chance geben?	Könnte ich erst nächste Woche meine Hausaufgabe abgeben?	Darf ich erst nächste Woche meine Hausaufgabe abgeben?
Anzahl	der 50	4	4	16
Probanden				
Anteil	50%	4%	4%	16%

die verwendeten linguistischen Ausdrücke	Andere Ausdrücke (korrekt) Ich wünsche, ich könnte nächste Woche meine Hausaufgabe	Andere Ausdrücke (inkorrekt) i.e. Geben Sie Ihre Hausaufgabe nächste Woche ab.
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abgeben

Anzahl Probanden	der 10	16
Anteil	10%	16%

Tabelle 1 zeigt, dass 50 Probanden (50%) den Ausdruck „kann ich“ verwenden, um eine Bitte an ihren Dozenten/ihre Dozentin um die Verlängerung des Abgabetermins zu formulieren. Die Anzahl der Probanden, die andere Ausdrucksformen verwenden, ist deutlich niedriger.

50% der Probanden übertragen den Ausdruck 我可不可以 (*wǒ kěbùkěyǐ*) aus dem Chinesischen und übersetzen ihn direkt ins Deutsche als *kann ich*. Wie Salazar (2003) in ihrer Studie herausfand, neigen Lernende dazu, die Modalverben *können* und *könnte* ohne Situationsbezug zu verwenden. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass die Probanden den sozialen Abstand zwischen einem Studenten und einem Dozenten nicht berücksichtigen. In diesem Szenario ist der Ausdruck *Darf ich* angemessener, da er für Bitten an Vorgesetzte und Fremde verwendet wird. Lediglich 16% der Probanden (16 Personen) verwenden diese höflichere Form.

Der Hauptgrund für die Unkenntnis der Probanden liegt darin, dass die Verwendungen verschiedener sprachlicher Ausdrücke im Lehrwerk nicht explizit erklärt werden. Die Darstellungen der Beispielsätze erweisen sich zudem als ineffektiv, da sie die Nuancen der verschiedenen Ausdrucksformen nicht ausreichend verdeutlichen. Das Ergebnis unterstützt die Forderung von Salazar (2003), dass die Bedeutung von Höflichkeit in Aufforderungen durch explizite Erläuterungen der verschiedenen sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen sensibilisiert werden kann.

4.2.2 Konversation II

Die Statistik wird in der folgenden Tabelle aufgezeigt

Tabelle 2: Bitte an einen Fremden um eine kurze Erklärung für ein deutsches Sprichwort

die	verwendeten	Kann ich Sie	Darf ich Sie	Fragen direkt	Können	Sie	mir
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Ausdrucksformen	etwas fragen?	etwas fragen?	etwas fragen?	sagen/erklären,...?
Anzahl der Probanden	14	18	40	7
Anteil	14%	18%	40%	7%

die verwendeten Ausdrucksformen	Imperativ Sagen mir...	Keine Antwort geschrieben Sie	Andere Ausdrucksformen (korrekt) Ich möchte fragen.	Andere Ausdrucksformen (inkorrekt) i.e. Fragen Sie bitte Deutschen
Anzahl der Probanden	3	4	4	10
Anteil	3%	4%	4%	10%

40 Probanden (40%) bitten direkt mit der Frage *Was heißt* um eine Klärung. In der chinesischen Kultur ist es üblich, sich zunächst mit der Floskel *不好意思 (bù hǎo yì si, Entschuldigung)* zu entschuldigen, bevor man eine direkte Frage stellt. Im Deutschen hingegen werden indirekte Fragen wie *Können Sie mir sagen* oder *Darf ich Sie fragen* empfohlen, wenn man einen Fremden um verbale Informationen bittet. Diese indirekten Fragen gelten als Modifikationsmittel, die aufgrund des sozialen Abstands Höflichkeit zeigen und die *Kraftgröße* der Bitte mildern.

Die 40 Probanden greifen in der deutschen Interaktion auf die in der chinesischen Kultur übliche Art zurück, eine Bitte an einen Fremden zu äußern. Ihre Unfähigkeit, indirekte Fragen zu verwenden, lässt sich auf fehlende Instruktionen im Umgang mit dieser Situation zurückführen. Laut Salazar (vgl. 2003) sensibilisieren explizite Erklärung die Lernenden für die Höflichkeit von

Aufforderungen. Außerdem nahmen die Lernenden den Gebrauch von Modifikationsmitteln in ihren Äußerungen zu.

4.2.3 Konversation III

Die Statistik wird in der folgenden Tabelle aufgezeigt

Tabelle III Bitte an einen Freund um Geld

die verwendeten Ausdrucksformen	Kannst du mir Geld leihen?	Könntest du mir Geld leihen?	Können mir ...?	Sie Imperative Leih mir bitte Geld !
Anzahl der Probanden	46	4	18	11
Anteil	46%	4%	18%	11%
die verwendeten Ausdrucksformen	Andere Ausdrucksformen (inkorrekt)	Andere Ausdrucksformen Ich brauche dein Geld	Andere Ausdrucksformen Hast du Geld? mit dir	
Anzahl der Probanden	7	11	3	
Anteil	7%	11%	3%	

46 Probanden verwenden *kannst du* und 18 Probanden *Können Sie* um einen Freund darum zu bitten, ihnen Geld zu leihen. Diese Probanden sind in der Lage, eine indirekte Bitte mit dem Modalverb *können* zu machen. Dieses Ergebnis spiegelt das Fazit der Studie von Salazar (vgl. 2003) wider: Deutschlernende bevorzugen die Verwendung von den Modifikationsmitteln *können Sie/könnten Sie/kannst du/könntest du*. Diejenigen, die das Pronomen *Sie* verwenden, wissen jedoch nicht, dass *Sie* in der deutschen Kultur nicht für Freunde verwendet wird. Andererseits verwenden 11 Probanden die Imperativform, um eine direkte Bitte

an einen Freund zu machen, was ebenfalls als passend in diesem Kontext angesehen wird. Da die Regeln für die Imperativformen eher kompliziert sind, neigen die meisten Lernenden dazu, Imperativformen zu vermeiden.

Ein weiteres interessantes Ergebnis ist, dass elf Probanden ihre Bedürfnisse ausdrücken, indem sie den Aussagesatz *Ich brauche dein Geld* verwenden, um eine indirekte und sprecherbasierte Bitte zu stellen. Drei Probanden stellen die Frage *Hast du Geld mit dir?*, um ihrem Ansprechpartner einen Hinweis zu geben, ihnen Geld zu leihen. Tatsächlich eignen sich diese zwei Ausdrucksformen nicht für die deutsche Sprache. Diese Probanden übertragen die Art und Weise, die einige Taiwaner verwenden würden.

4.2.4 Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend sind die meisten Probanden dazu fähig, eine indirekte Bitte oder Aufforderung mit der Ausdrucksform *können Sie/Kannst du* zu formulieren. Wie die Studie von Salazar (vgl. 2003) herausfand wird diese Ausdrucksform ebenfalls von den Probanden bevorzugt. Der Grund für ihre Fähigkeit und Bevorzugung ist vielleicht der Transfer aus ihrer Muttersprache Chinesisch. Im Chinesischen kann die Ausdrucksform *你/您/我可不可以 (ni/nin/wo kebukeyi, Kannst du/Können Sie/Kann ich)* zu einer indirekten Bitte um Hilfe und um Erlaubnisse verwendet werden. Allerdings eignet sich das Modalverb *können* leider nicht immer für eine Bitte um Erlaubnis. Die Interferenz kommt deshalb vor, wenn die chinesische Ausdrucksform *ni/wo kebukeyi* direkt ins Deutsche *Kannst du/Können Sie* übersetzt wird.

Eine direkte Frage wird zudem gestellt, wenn die Probanden einen Fremden um verbale Informationen bitten, ohne dass die Höflichkeit aufgrund des sozialen Abstands zu berücksichtigen. Die Studien von Salazar (2003) und Takahashi (2001) zeigen, dass explizite Erklärungen den Lernenden helfen, Strategien für die Formulierung passender Aufforderungen zu entwickeln. Darüber hinaus sensibilisieren sie die Lernenden für die Bedeutung von Höflichkeit in ihren sprachlichen Äußerungen.

Fehlende explizite Erklärungen führen hingegen dazu, dass die Lernenden

nicht in der Lage sind, angemessene Ausdrucksformen zu verwenden. Dementsprechend erweisen sich explizite Erklärungen als notwendig, um die sprachliche Kompetenz der Lernenden in Bezug auf höfliche Aufforderungen zu fördern.

Die Studie unterstreicht die Bedeutung expliziter Erklärungen zur Verwendung angemessener sprachlicher Formen für Bitten und Erlaubnisse im Deutschen. Ohne solche Erklärungen besteht die Gefahr, dass Lernende unangemessene Formen aus ihrer Muttersprache, dem Chinesischen, übertragen, was zu Missverständnissen und Kommunikationsproblemen führen kann.

4.3 Unterrichtspraktische Folgerung

Basierend auf den Ergebnissen wird eine explizite Vermittlung der verschiedenen sprachlichen Formen für Bitten und Erteilen von Erlaubnissen im Deutschen empfohlen. Dies beinhaltet sowohl die Einführung unterschiedlicher sprachlicher Mittel als auch die Erklärung der pragmatischen Normen und soziopragmatischen Variablen. Es sollten Diskussionen über die Höflichkeitsnormen in der deutschen Gesellschaft geführt werden, um die Lernenden für angemessene Kommunikation zu sensibilisieren.

Nach der theoretischen Vermittlung sollten authentische Materialien wie Videos und Audioaufnahmen eingesetzt werden, die diese Sprachhandlungen veranschaulichen. Anschließend sollten den Lernenden Übungsmöglichkeiten in realitätsnahen Situationen geboten werden, um die erlernten Formen praktisch anzuwenden.

Abschließend sollte eine Reflexion über die eigene Sprachverwendung der Lernenden stattfinden und ihnen ausführliches Feedback gegeben werden. Auf diese Weise können sie ihre Kompetenz im höflichen Bitten und Erteilen von Erlaubnissen im Deutschen kontinuierlich verbessern.

5. Schluss

In dieser Studie zeigen die meisten Probanden die Fähigkeit, indirekte Bitten und Aufforderungen mithilfe der Formulierung *Können Sie/Kannst du* zu formulieren. Diese Präferenz deckt sich mit den Ergebnissen der Studie von

Salazar (2003). Der Grund für diese Fähigkeit und Bevorzugung könnte im Transfer aus der Muttersprache Chinesisch liegen. Im Chinesischen ermöglicht die Ausdrucksform 你/您我可不可以 (*ni/nin/wo kebukeyi*) sowohl indirekte Bitten um Hilfe als auch um Erlaubnis.

Jedoch ist das Modalverb *können* nicht immer für Bitten um Erlaubnis geeignet. Interferenzen entstehen, wenn die chinesische Ausdrucksform *ni/wo kebukeyi* direkt ins Deutsche mit *Kannst du/Können Sie* übersetzt wird. Direkte Fragen werden außerdem verwendet, wenn Probanden Fremde um verbale Informationen bitten, ohne die Höflichkeit aufgrund des sozialen Abstands zu berücksichtigen.

Die Studien von Salazar (2003) und Takahashi (2001) zeigen, dass explizite Erklärungen den Lernenden helfen, Strategien für die Formulierung passender Aufforderungen zu entwickeln. Darüber hinaus sensibilisieren sie die Lernenden für die Bedeutung von Höflichkeit in ihren sprachlichen Äußerungen.

Die Ergebnisse verdeutlichen, dass der Einfluss der Muttersprache auf den Spracherwerb nicht nur auf lexikalische und grammatikalische Aspekte beschränkt ist, sondern auch pragmatische Ebenen umfasst. Fremdsprachenlernende neigen dazu, Ausdrucksmuster ihrer Muttersprache auf die Zielsprache zu übertragen. Dies beinhaltet sowohl die Wahl der sprachlichen Mittel als auch die Art und Weise ihrer Verwendung. Infolgedessen können Lernende Formulierungen produzieren, die für Muttersprachler der Zielsprache unnatürlich oder ungebräuchlich klingen.

Der Fokus der meisten Lehrwerke und Lehrkräfte liegt häufig auf der Vermittlung grammatischer Regeln und Strukturen der Zielsprache. Die pragmatische Verwendung sprachlicher Formen hingegen wird im Unterricht oft vernachlässigt. Anstatt explizite Erklärungen zu liefern, begnügen sich viele Lehrmaterialien mit der Darstellung von Beispielsätzen. Diese Untersuchung zeigt jedoch, dass die bloße Präsentation von Beispielen nicht ausreichend ist, um Lernenden die Feinheiten der pragmatischen Kompetenz zu vermitteln.

Es besteht ein dringender Bedarf an mehr Forschung im Bereich der

Sprechakte im DaF-Unterricht, da dieses Thema bislang relativ wenig Beachtung gefunden hat. Insbesondere sollten die Fähigkeiten von Lernenden untersucht werden, angemessene sprachliche Ausdrucksformen in verschiedenen Situationen zu produzieren. Die Ergebnisse solcher Studien können wertvolle Erkenntnisse für die Verbesserung von Lehrmaterialien und Unterrichtsmethoden liefern. Die Instruktionen hinsichtlich des Sprechakts werden aufgrund der Ergebnisse der Forschung verbessert, sodass das pragmatische Bewusstsein von Lernenden sensibilisiert wird.

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中国語母語話者の日本語作文コーパスにおける

「NP1 の NP2」の使用状況

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【摘要】

本研究以中文為母語的日語學習者為對象，對其“NP1 の NP2”的使用情況進行了縱向研究。研究目的是確定以中文為母語的日語學習者在使用“NP1 の NP2”時，是否有受到中文的“NP1 的 NP2”影響。研究方法是將日語學習者縱向語料庫 B-JAS 中使用的“NP1 の NP2”按照學習年數和 NP1 與 NP2 的語義關係進行分類。結果，從“NP1 の NP2”的使用狀況來看，“NP1 の NP2”使用時，“NP1 的 NP2”沒有明顯影響。然而，透過分析，我們認定了以中文為母語的日語學習者較晚掌握的“NP1 の NP2”的幾種語義關係。具體來說，即“位置識別（使用比率的變化 1 年級 6.9% → 2 年級 14.5%）”、“特徵・屬性（使用比率的變化 1 年級 0.9% → 2 年級 4.2% → 3 年級 12.2%）”、“數量表示（使用比率的變化 2 年級 4.2% → 3 年級 7.2%）”和“對象（使用比率的變化 3 年級 4.3% → 4 年級 8.9%）”這四個項目。研究表明，對於以中文為母語的日語學習者來說，這些項目是相對較難習得的表現。

【關鍵詞】

以中文為母語的日語學習者 日語作文語料庫 B-JAS “NP1 の NP2”
名詞之間的語義關係

Usage of “N1 no N2” in a corpus of Japanese compositions by native Chinese speakers

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【Abstract】

In this study, we conducted a longitudinal survey of the use of "NP1 no NP2" by Chinese Japanese Learner to determine whether the usage of "N1 no N2" by Chinese Japanese Learner is influenced by the use of "NP1 de NP2" in Chinese. We have categorized "NP1 no NP2" used in the Japanese learner longitudinal corpus (B-JAS), according to the grade level and the semantic relationships between NP1 and NP2. It was found that the usage of "NP1 no NP2" does not have a significant effect of "NP1 de NP2". However, through this analysis, we were able to identify several semantic relationships that tend to be delayed acquisition for Chinese Japanese Learner. In particular, "location identification", "features • attributes", "quantitative representation" and "object of an action". This study shows that these semantic relationships of "NP1 no NP2" are relatively difficult to learn for Chinese Japanese Learner.

【Keywords】

Chinese Japanese Learner, composition writing, Learner corpus (B-JAS), 「NP1 no NP2」, Semantic relation between NP1 and NP2

1. 研究の背景

現代日本語の修飾語には、連体修飾語と連用修飾語がある。体言を修飾する成分が連体修飾語である。連体修飾語には、「白い花」「大きな家」のような語が修飾するものと、「梅の花」「飛び回っている蝶」のような文節や連文節が修飾するものがある。前者は「連体修飾語」と呼ばれ、後者は「連体修飾節」や「連体修飾句」や「関係節」などと呼ばれる。両者を合わせて、「連体修飾成分」と呼ぶこともある。また、修飾される成分を「底の名詞」（寺村, 1992）や「主名詞」（大島, 2003）や「被修飾名詞句」などと呼ぶことがある。さらに、修飾する成分と修飾される成分とで、「連体修飾構造」を構成する。この「連体修飾構造」において、特に日本語学習者の誤用としてよく取り上げられるのは「の」の過剰生成である（奥野, 2005; 小山, 2003; 張, 2003, 2011）。

- (1) *「美しいの先生」 「漂亮的老師」
 *「昨日行ったの店」 「昨天去的店」

このような日本語学習者の「の」の過剰使用に関して多くの先行研究があるが、調査対象に中国を母語とする日本語学習者（以下 CJL）が含まれるものとして、迫田（1999）、奥野（2001）がある。

表 1. CJL の「の」の過剰使用に関する先行研究

	調査対象	調査資料
迫田久美子 (1999)	英語・中国語・韓国語を母語とする日本語学習者（4 レベル × 3 言語 × 5 名 = 60 名）	発話資料 (KY コーパス)
奥野由紀子 (2003)	英語・中国語・韓国語を母語とする日本語学習者（初級～上級）	発話資料（日本語コースにおける日本語開始時～終了時の 2 時点）

これらの研究に共通する点として①「の」の過剰使用は母語にかかわらず中級の学習者に多く見られること、②上級者において他の母語話者と比較して誤用が多く出現していること③修飾部の品詞にかかわらず、広範囲に「の」の過剰使用が見られる傾向があること、などが挙げられるが、これは中国語において日本語の「の」に相当する「的」の使用範囲が日本語の「の」よりも広いために（表 2 参照）、言語転移が起こっているという指摘がある（奥野, 2003, 2005）。

表 2. 名詞修飾構造に関する対照分析表 奥野（2005 : 98）

	「の」に相当するもの	修飾部と被修飾部の日本語との語順比較	形容詞と被修飾部間の「の」に相当するものの有無	動詞と被修飾部間の「の」に相当するものの有無	名詞と被修飾部間の「の」に相当するものの有無
日本語	の	名詞後方型	×	×	○
中国語	的	名詞後方型	○	○	△
韓国語	의	名詞後方型	×	×	△
英語	of/'s/with, to 他前置詞	名詞前方型 ・ 一部名詞後方型	× (語順同)	× (語順同)	○ (語順異) ×/'s (語順同)

しかしながら「の」の過剰使用に関していえば、日本語を第二言語として習得する過程の中で、学習者の第一言語が何かにかかわらず観察されており（奥野, 2003, 2005; 白畑・久野, 2005; Chan, 2014）、CJL に限って見られることではない。さらに、日本語を第一言語として獲得する際の言語発達においても「の」の過剰使用は取り上げられることが多くある（永野, 1959; 大久保, 1967; Clancy, 1985; 横山, 1990）。

- (2) ちっちゃいのブーブー
うさちゃんが食べたのニンジン
(いずれも Clancy 1985 : 459)

以上のことを考えると、CJL における「の」の過剰使用が、必ずしも母語である中国語の転移が原因であるとは断言できないように思われる。「の」の過剰使用の要因についても、学習者の第一言語からの負の転移であるとする説（奥野, 2003, 2005）、日本語を第二言語として習得する際

の名詞修飾構造の普遍的な発達順序であるとする説（白畑, 1993; 白畑・久野, 2005）があり、これまでの研究結果からみると、どちらの説もそれぞれ支持する結果を見つけることができる。つまり、「の」の過剰使用において母語の影響の有無が十分実証されているとはいいがたいということである。

一方、CLJ の日本語学習における「の」の誤用を考える上で、比較的使用が似ている名詞と被修飾部間の「の」（以下、NP¹のNP²）については見逃されがちである。この用法が中国語の「的」の用法と類似してい

ることがその原因であるが、しかしながら、後で述べる若干の相違点もあり、その相違点が CLJ の「の」の習得にどのような影響を及ぼすのか調査した研究は少ない。したがって本稿では、「NP¹の NP²」に焦点を絞って扱っていくことにする。

CLJ の「NP¹の NP²」の使用の実態を分析するうえで、その誤用だけではなく、正用も重要であると考え。それは、「の」が用いられた名詞修飾構造はほかの形式の名詞修飾構造に言い換えられる場合があるため、どのような場合に「の」が用いられ、どのような場合にほかの形式が用いられるかも考慮する必要があると思うからである。例えば、「高速の列車」は「高速で走る列車」とも「とても速い列車」とも表現することができる。したがって、「NP¹の NP²」の使用について日本語学習者がどのような形式を好んで使用するのかについて分析することが、CLJ の「の」の使用の実態を分析するうえで重要なことだと考える。また、「の」と「的」の対応を考える際には構造的な視点だけでなく、意味の違いにも着目すべきだと思われる。朱徳熙 (1982) が指摘するように、中国語において、NP¹と NP²の間に「的」があるかどうかによって意味が異なることがあるからである。

- (3) a. 他有很多中国朋友
彼はたくさんの中国人の友人がいる
- b. 巴基斯坦是中国的朋友
パキスタンは中国にとっての友人である
(朱徳熙 1982 : 143)

(3) a. は、「中国人の友人」という意味であり、修飾成分の「中国」は友人の属性について言及している。この場合は、「的」が必要ない。一方で、(3) b. では、「中国にとっての友人」という意味であり、「中国」は「友人」の属性を合わらすのではなく、「友人」との関係をあらわすものである。この場合は「的」が必要となる。このように、「NP¹的 NP²」における「的」の有無は、「NP¹」と「NP²」の意味関係に依存している場合があるため、次節では「NP¹の NP²」と「NP¹的 NP²」対応関係を「NP¹」と「NP²」の意味関係から整理することとする。

2. 「NP¹の NP²」の意味的關係

「NP¹の NP²」及び「NP¹的 NP²」の比較において、「NP¹」と「NP²」の意味的關係に着目した先行研究に張 (2019) がある。張 (2019) では日本語の「の」と中国語の「的」を中心に、名詞にかかる連語的修飾構造の日中対照研究を行い、「の」と「的」の対応・非対応関係を整理し、修飾部とヘッド (修飾部に対して被修飾部のことを指す) の意味関係を以下の 24 ケースに分けている¹。

¹ 張 (2019) での分類項目には全部で 29 項目あり、今回使用した 24 項目に加

- ① 修飾部と主要部が同格である場合 (例) 首都の北京
- ② 修飾部が主要部の持ち主である場合 (例) 彼女の財布
- ③ 修飾部が主要部の製作者である場合 (例) 庵先生の本
- ④ 修飾部が主要部の疑似の持ち主である場合 (例) 彼の妹
- ⑤ 修飾部が主要部の「全体と部分」という意味での「全体＝主」である場合 (例) 私の手
- ⑥ 修飾部が主要部の存在場所である場合 (例) 机の上の本
- ⑦ 修飾部が主要部の存在に関わる時間である場合 (例) 昭和初期の日本
- ⑧ 修飾部が主要部の属性である場合 (例) 紫の帽子
- ⑨ 修飾部が主要部の素材である場合 (例) 金のネックレス
- ⑩ 修飾部が主要部の用途である場合 (例) 出張用のカバン
- ⑪ 修飾部が主要部の原産地である場合 (例) 日本の車
- ⑫ 修飾部が主要部の出身地である場合 (例) ドイツの女性
- ⑬ 修飾部が主要部の公的身分である場合 (例) 弁護士の鈴木
- ⑭ 修飾部が主要部の内容である場合 (例) 英語の辞書
- ⑮ 修飾部が主要部のソースである場合 (例) 北京からの客
- ⑯ 修飾部が主要部のゴールである場合 (例) 福岡へのバス
- ⑰ 修飾部が主要部の主体である場合 (例) 田中君の演奏
- ⑱ 修飾部が主要部の対象である場合 (例) 犯罪の調査
- ⑲ 修飾部が主要部の相手である場合 (例) 鈴木君との約束
- ⑳ 修飾部が主要部の数量表示である場合 (例) 二人の学生
- ㉑ 修飾部が主要部の順序表示である場合 (例) 四番目の恋
- ㉒ 修飾部が主要部の具体例である場合 (例) 東京や大阪などの大都会
- ㉓ 主要部が空間を表す抽象名詞である場合 (例) 机の上
- ㉔ 主要部が時間を表す抽象名詞である場合 (例) 子供の時

以上 24 のケースに関しては、次の 9 つの種類が立てられるとしている。

① 日本語では「の」を、中国語では「的」を使うケース

えて、「北京、上海和广州 (北京、上海と広州)」のような 2 つ或いはそれ以上の名詞が並列的に、または選択的に並べられている場合、「坐在床上的田中 (ベッドに座っている田中さん)」のような修飾部が主要部の存在状態である場合、「这个书包 (このかばん)」のような修飾部が主要部の定指示である場合、「这张 (紙) (この (紙))」のように主要部が助数詞である場合、「剩下的 (残ったの、残ったやつ)」のような主要部が「的」のような代用表現だと考えられる場合があるが、これらはいずれも今回の分析対象である日本語「NP¹ の NP²」の構造に対応しないため、本稿の分類項目から除外した。

- ② 日本語では「の」を、中国語では「的」を使わないケース
- ③ 日本語では「の」を、中国語では「的」を使っても使わなくてもよいケース
- ④ 日本語では「の」を使うが、中国語では「的」を使わないケース
- ⑤ 日本語では「の」を使わないが、中国語では「的」を使うケース
- ⑥ 日本語では「の」を使うが、中国語では「的」を使っても使わなくてもよいケース
- ⑦ 日本語では「の」を使わないが、中国語では「的」を使っても使わなくてもよいケース
- ⑧ 日本語では「の」を使っても使わなくてもよいが、中国語では「的」を使うケース
- ⑨ 日本語では「の」を使っても使わなくてもよいが、中国語では「的」を使わないケース。

張 (2019) の分類による「NP¹のNP²」と「NP¹的NP²」の対応を以下表3にまとめる。「の」ないし「的」を使わなければならないケースには○、使っても使わなくてもよいケースは△、使わないケースは×で示している。

表3. NP¹のNP²意味的關係別「の」及び「的」の使用
(張 (2019 : 3-23) をもとに筆者が作成)

	NP ¹ のNP ² 意味的關係	日本語の例	中国語の例	「の」	「的」
1	同格	首都の北京／首都北京	首都北京	△	×
2	持ち主	彼女の財布	她的錢包	○	○
3	製作者	チャンイーモウの映画	張藝謀的電影	○	△
4	疑似の 持ち主	小林さんの妹、彼の妹	小林的妹妹、他妹妹	○	△
5	全体と 部分	瓶のふた 私の手	我的手、瓶蓋兒	○	△
6	場所の 特定	机の本	桌子(上)的書	○	○
7	時の特 定	昨日の旅行	昨天的旅行	○	○
8	特徴・ 属性	独特の(な)味	獨特的味道	△	○

9	素材	金のネックレス	金項鏈兒	○	×
10	用途	出張のカバン	出差用的皮包	○	△
11	原産地	日本の車	日本車, 日本的汽車	○	△
12	出身地	ドイツの女性	德國女性, 德國的女性	○	△
13	公的身分	総理の前田	總理前田	○	×
14	内容	英語の辞書／英語辞書	英語詞典	△	×
15	ソース	北京からの客	(從)北京來的客人	○	△
16	ゴール	福岡までの長距離バス	開往福岡的長途汽車	○	△
17	主体	田中さんの演奏	田中的演奏	○	○
18	対象	アメリカ研究, 稲の取り入れ	美國研究, 水稻的收割	△	△
19	相手	鈴木君との約束	和鈴木的約會	○	○
20	数量表示	二人の学生	兩個學生	○	×
21	順序表示	五人目の子ども	第五個孩子	○	×
22	具体例	東京などの大都会／東京など大都会	東京, 大阪等大城市／東京, 大阪之類的大城市	△	△
23	主要部が空間	机の上	桌子上, 桌子的上面	○	△
24	主要部が時間	中学の時	中學時, 中學的時候	○	△

3. 研究目的及び方法

3.1 目的

本研究では、CJL における「NP¹の NP²」の使用について、特に NP¹と NP²の意味的關係に着目して、その使用傾向の縦断的な変化を分析することによって、「NP¹の NP²」の使用において中国語の「的」の影響がどのように、またどの程度影響しているのかについて明らかにすることを目的としている。表 2 で示したように、「NP¹の NP²」及び「NP¹的 NP²」において「の」と「的」の対応にズレが見られる項目があるが、このような使用条件のズレに対して、学習者が無自覚であり、且つ母語である中国語のフィルターを通して日本語を生成しているならば、結果として「NP¹的 NP²」に対応していない「NP¹の NP²」の使用は少なくなったり、或いは比較的遅く習得されるのではないかという仮説を立てて調査及び考察を行う。

3.2 分析対象

本研究の分析対象となるデータは、国立国語研究所研究系日本語教育研究領域、北京外国語大学北京日本学研究中心、北京師範大学外国語文学学院で共同構築した B-JAS²のストーリーライティング³各 4 種

のテーマ（「ピクニック」、「鍵」、「お片付け」、「お手伝い」）を用いる。ストーリーライティングは同一の 4, 5 コマからなるイラストを見て、第三者の視点からそのストーリーを描写する（ライティング）課題（以下 SW）であり（図 1～図 4 参照⁴）、調査者立ち合いの元、PC に日本語で記入をしてもらったものである。タスク実施時期については表 4 を参照。

² 2015 年 9 月北京師範大学に入学した中国人学習者 17 名を対象とした 4 年間の縦断的データであり、1 年次から 4 年次までの前半・後半計 8 回調査を行った。調査協力者は 1 年次・16 名がゼロから日本語学習をスタートし、1 名が 1 年の学習歴があった。

³ ストーリーライティングのデータに関しては、I-JAS に準拠した形でデータが収集されている。

⁴ 漫画には、主人公の名前や日本語能力試験の旧 2 級以上の名詞語彙には日本語と英語 / 中国語を付与してある。

表 4. タスク実施時期

学年	1 年次		2 年次		3 年次		4 年次	
調査回	第 1 回	第 2 回	第 3 回	第 4 回	第 5 回	第 6 回	第 7 回	第 8 回
時期	1 月	5 月	10 月	4 月	9 月	4 月	10 月	4 月
タスク	SW1	SW3	SW1	SW3	SW1	SW3	SW1	SW3
	SW2	SW4	SW2	SW4	SW2	SW4	SW2	SW4

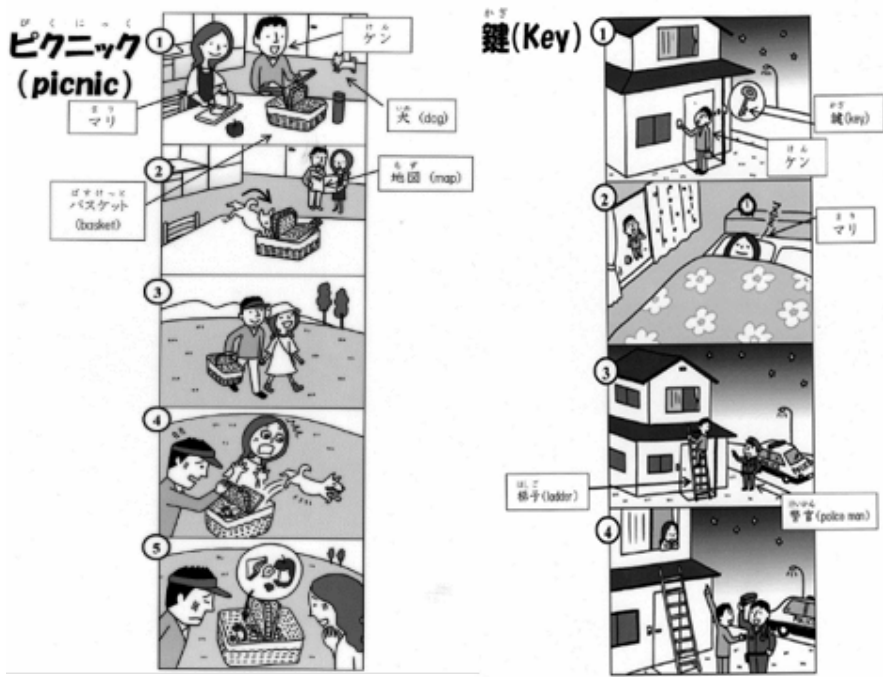


図 1 SW1

図 2 SW2

使用された「NP¹のNP²」に相当するもの⁶をすべて抽出し、NP¹とNP²の意味的關係について、張(2019)をもとに24項目に分類し、各項目について、作文内の「の」の使用率を比較する。

4. 結果

4.1 全体像

まずCLJにおける「NP¹のNP²」の使用の全体像を把握するために、B-JASのSWで使用された「NP¹のNP²」の使用総数、1文あたりで使用された「NP¹のNP²」の数の平均、名詞全体に対して「NP¹のNP²」が使用された割合(「NP¹のNP²」使用総数/総名詞数)について示す(表6.参照)。量的な変化を見ると、1年次から2年次にかけて「NP¹のNP²」の使用数は増加している(1年次116→2年次142)。これは、1文あたりの形態素数からみて、一文あたりの形態素数が15.2から17.65と1文が長くなり、結果として全体の文字数、使用される名詞数も増加したことも原因のひとつであろうが、名詞句が「NP¹のNP²」の構造で使用される割合にも伸びがみられる(1年次7.70%→2年次8.15%)ことを考えると、やはり1年次から2年次にかけて「NP¹のNP²」の使用が増加したと言える。2年次以降は「NP¹のNP²」の使用の増加は見られず、むしろ3年次から4年次にかけてやや減少した。

表6. SWで使用された「NP¹のNP²」の比較

	「NP ¹ のNP ² 」 の使用総数	1文あたりの 「NP ¹ のNP ² 」 使用数の平均	総名詞数	名詞全体に対して 「NP ¹ のNP ² 」が使用 された割合
1年次	116	0.24	1506	7.70%
2年次	142	0.29	1742	8.15%
3年次	139	0.34	1701	8.17%
4年次	135	0.34	1694	7.97%

4.2 「NP¹のNP²」におけるNP¹とNP²の意味關係別使用率の比較

⁶ 「NP¹のこと」や「NP¹のため」のような形式名詞は広い意味で「NP¹のNP²」に含めることができるかもしれないが、意味關係では規定できないこと、また、張(2019)の項目にも含まれていないため、今回の分析対象には含まない。

各項目に分類された「NP¹のNP²」の数とそれが「NP¹のNP²」全体に占める割合（以下、使用割合）を示す。各項目は、張（2019）をもとに設定したものがある。また、日本語母語話者の作文の中には、「食べたいの時」のような不適切な「NP¹のNP²」があったが、それらは除外した。

比較的顕著な変化（使用率で3%以上変化）が見られた項目について（表中の網掛けで示す）、1年次から2年次にかけては、6『場所の特定』、8『特徴・属性』で使用の増加が、2『持ち主』、23『主要部が空間』で使用の減少が見られた。2年次から3年次にかけては、2『持ち主』、8『特徴・属性』、20『数量表示』で使用の増加が、4『疑似の持ち主』、23『主要部が空間』で使用の減少が見られた。3年次から4年次にかけては、18『対象』で使用の増加が、2『持ち主』で使用の減少が見られた。

表7. 使用されたNP¹のNP²意味的關係別「の」及び「的」の使用数及び使用率の比較

	1年次	2年次	3年次	4年次
	(1, 2回目)	(3, 4回目)	(5, 6回目)	(7, 8回目)
NP ¹ のNP ² 意味關係	使用数(%)	使用数(%)	使用数(%)	使用数(%)
1:同格	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
2:持ち主	38 (32.8)	40 (28.2)	44 (31.7)	31 (23.0)
3:製作者	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
4:疑似の 持ち主	2 (1.7)	5 (3.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)
5:全体と 部分	2 (1.7)	1 (0.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)
6:場所の 特定	8 (6.9)	21 (14.5)	17 (12.2)	21 (15.4)
7:時の特 定	1 (0.9)	2 (1.4)	1 (0.7)	3 (2.2)
8:特徴・ 属性	1 (0.9)	6 (4.2)	17 (12.2)	18 (13.3)
9:素材	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
10:用途	5 (4.3)	6 (4.2)	8 (5.8)	10 (7.4)
11:原産地	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)

12:出身地	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
13:公的身分	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
14:内容	1 (0.9)	1 (0.7)	0 (0)	1 (0.7)
15:ソース	0 (0)	1 (0.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)
16:ゴール	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
17:主体	4 (3.4)	4 (2.8)	4 (2.8)	4 (2.9)
18:対象	3 (2.6)	4 (2.8)	6 (4.3)	12 (8.9)
19:相手	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
20:数量表示	3 (2.6)	6 (4.2)	10 (7.2)	6 (4.4)
21:順序表示	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
22:具体例	1 (0.9)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
23:主要部が空間	44 (37.9)	45 (31.7)	30 (21.6)	26 (19.3)
24:主要部が時間	3 (2.6)	1 (0.7)	0 (0)	2 (1.5)
合計	116	144	139	136

5. 考察

CLJの「NP¹のNP²」の習得における、中国語の類似の表現「NP¹的NP²」の影響を考察することを念頭に、CLJの「NP¹のNP²」使用実態を分析した。結果として、比較的顕著な変化が見られた以下のような項目を抽出することができた。これらの項目に中国語「的」の使用条件の影響があったかどうか考察するために、使用が減少した項目、増加した項目について、「の」及び「的」の使用対照（表3）を再掲する。

【学習が進み、使用が減少した項目】

2『持ち主』（1年次から2年次、3年次から4年次にかけて）

23『主要部が空間』（1年次から2年次、2年次から3年次にかけて）

4『疑似の持ち主』（2年次から3年次にかけて）

(再掲) 表 3. NP¹のNP²意味的關係別「の」

及び「的」の使用 (使用が減少した項目)

	NP ¹ のNP ² 意味關係	日本語の例	中国語の例	「の」	「的」
2	持ち主	彼女の財布	她的錢包	○	○
23	主要部が空間	机の上	桌子上 桌子的上面	○	△
4	疑似の持ち主	小林さんの妹, 彼の妹	小林的妹妹, 他妹妹	○	△

【学習が進み、使用が増加した項目】

6『場所の特定』(1年次から2年次にかけて)

8『特徴・属性』(1年次から2年次、2年次から3年次にかけて)

2『持ち主』(2年次から3年次にかけて)

20『数量表示』(2年次から3年次にかけて)

18『対象』(3年次から4年次にかけて)

(再掲) 表 3. NP¹のNP²意味的關係別「の」

及び「的」の使用 (使用が増加した項目)

	NP ¹ のNP ² 意味關係	日本語の例	中国語の例	「の」	「的」
6	場所の特定	机の本	桌子(上)的書	○	○
8	特徴・属性	独特の(な)味	獨特的味道	△	○
2	持ち主	彼女の財布	她的錢包	○	○
20	数量表示	二人の学生	兩個學生	○	×
18	対象	アメリカ研究, 稲の取り入れ	美國研究 水稻的收割	△	△

以上の結果を見ると、「NP¹のNP²」と「NP¹的NP²」が一对一で対応しているものが習得が早く、対応していないものが習得が早いということではないことが分かる。

次に今回の調査で変化が見られたいくつかの項目について、具体的使用例を見ながら、その変化の原因を考察する。まず、日本語学習が進むにつれてその使用が減少した項目として『持ち主』、『主要部が空間』、『疑似の持ちもの』を項目別に見ていく。

『持ち主』に分類される名詞句の具体的使用例について表8にまとめた。

『持ち主』に分類される「NP¹のNP²」の「の」は、中国語の「的」の使用とほぼ並行しており、中国語においても「的」の使用が必須である。例えば「彼の声」「他聲音」ではなく「他的聲音」とする方が自然である。その意味でCLJにとって最も使用しやすく、1年次では最も多用

表8. 『持ち主』に分類した
「NP¹のNP²」使用の具体例

1年次	2年次	3年次	4年次
二人のバスケット (SW1) ケンの犬 (SW1)	二人の家 (SW1) 二人の気持ち (SW1) ケンの犬 (SW1)	彼らの犬 (SW1) 自分のガーデン (SW1)	ケンとマリの犬 (SW1)
ケンの声 (SW2) マリの名前 (SW2) 自分の家 (SW2)	ケンの声 (SW2) マリの名前 (SW2)	ケンの声 (SW2) マリの名前 (SW2) ケンのうち (SW2)	ケンの声 (SW2) マリの名前 (SW2)
お母さんの携帯電話 (SW3) 自分の携帯電話 (SW3) ケンのおもちゃ箱 (SW3) ケンのおもちゃ (SW3) 自分の部屋 (SW3)	お母さんの携帯電話 (SW3) 自分の携帯電話 (SW3) ケンのおもちゃ箱 (SW3) ケンのおもちゃ (SW3) ケンのお部屋 (SW3)	お母さんの携帯電話 (SW3) 自分の携帯電話 (SW3) ケンのおもちゃ箱 (SW3) 自分のおもちゃ (SW3) 君の部屋 (SW3)	お母さんの携帯電話 (SW3) 自分の携帯電話 (SW3) ケンの玩具箱 (SW3) ケンのおもちゃ (SW3) 自分の部屋 (SW3)

ケンちゃんの ジュース (SW4) お母さんのエ プロン (SW4)	自分のジュース (SW4) お母さんの気持 ち (SW3) お母さんのエプ ロン (SW4) 自分のエプロン (SW4)	お母さんのエプ ロン (SW4) 自分のコップ (SW4) 自分の自立能力 (SW4)	お母さんのエプ ロン (SW4) 自分のエプロン (SW4)
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されるものの、その使用は徐々に減少していく。例えば、SW1 の「二人のバスケット」や SW4 の「ケンちゃんのジュース」は 1 年次、2 年次のみに見られる表現であった。ストーリーを説明するうえで、バスケットやジュースが誰のものかは必ずしも重要ではないため、そのような表現が使われなくなる代わりに、「ピクニックのバスケット (用途)」や「テーブルのジュース (場所の特定)」など、ストーリーを描写したり、展開するうえでより重要な情報を担った表現に置き換えられたのではないだろうか。

次に『主要部が空間』に分類される名詞句の具体的使用例について表 9 にまとめた。

表 9. 『主要部が空間』に分類した
「NP¹の NP²」使用の具体例

1 年次	2 年次	3 年次	4 年次
バスケットの中 (SW1) 準備の後 (SW1) 昼ごはんの前 (SW1)	バスケットの中 (SW1) 二人の気持ち (SW1)	バスケットの中 (SW1) バスケットの外 (SW1) テーブルの上 (SW1)	バスケットの中 (SW1) ケンとマリのそば (SW1)
家の外 (SW2) 説明の後 (SW2) ケンさんのところ (SW2)	部屋の上 (SW2) 部屋の中 (SW2)		窓のそば (SW2) 家の外 (SW2) 窓のところ (SW2)
片付けの後 (SW3) 玩具の中 (SW3) 箱の中 (SW3)	おもちゃ箱の中 (SW3) 部屋の中 (SW3) 部屋のあっちこっち (SW3)	おもちゃ箱の中 (SW3) 箱の外 (SW3) 床のあっちこっち (SW3)	おもちゃ箱の中 (SW3) 部屋のあちこち (SW3) 箱の外 (SW3)

部屋の上 (SW3) 自分の部屋 (SW3)	フロアの上 (SW3)	床のあっちこっ ち (SW3)	
椅子の上 (SW4) 机の上 (SW4) ケンちゃんの 手の中 (SW4) カップの中 (SW4)	椅子の上 (SW4) 机の上 (SW4) ケンの手の中 (SW4)	机と床の上 (SW4) 部屋の外 (SW4) 椅子の上 (SW4) 机の上 (SW4) 机の中 (SW4) 手の近く (SW4) 畳の上 (SW4)	コップの中 (SW4) 椅子の上 (SW4) 机の上 (SW4) テーブルの上 (SW4)

『主要部が空間』の表現について、中国語「的」との対照では、日本語の「机の上」は中国語「桌子上」「桌子的上面」とも表現され、完全には重なっていない。ただし「～に～があります/います」という文型が比較的早い段階で導入される中で、「～の（位置）」も同時に導入されることが多い⁷。このような学習の初期段階で、特定の文型とセットで導入さ

れることが、CLJ にとって比較的早期に多くの使用が見られる要因であるのかもしれないが、2 年次以降その使用は減少する。恐らく、学習初期の段階において学習者が学習済みの表現を多用する段階から、文章の結束性や展開に応じて、不必要な表現が減少したり、また、例えば「机の上のジュース」が「机のジュース」など別の方法で表現されるようになったからだと推測される。

また、NP²の特徴として、1 年次は「上」「下」「中」「外」のような比較的基本的な場所表現しか見られないのに対して、4 年次になると「そば」や「あちこち」などの難易度が比較的高い表現が見られるようになる。

1, 2 年次でのみ、その使用が目立った項目に『疑似の持ち主』があるが、この表現は「私の妹」などがそれにあたり、血縁関係や社会的関

⁷ 「～の～に～があります/います」文型の導入時期は、『みんなの日本語初級 I』10 課（全 25 課）、『初級日本語げんき』第 4 課（全 23 課）、『日本語初級 1 大地』8 課（全 22 課）である。

係をあらわす表現ともいえる。1年次では「うちの主人」⁸、2年次では「うちの夫」「彼の妻」「ケンのお母さん」の使用が見られた。この表現の NP¹ は NP² であらわされる人と一定の関係をあらわすものであるが、今回の4コマ漫画のように登場人物に限られている場合には使用しなくても読み手は理解できるため、必要な表現ではない。そのこともあり、3、4年次では使用が減ったのだと考えられる。

次に日本語学習が進むにつれてその使用が増加した項目として『場所の特定』、『特徴・特性』、『対象』、『数量表示』を項目別に見ていく。

『場所の特定』は「机の本」のように NP² の存在場所を NP¹ が規定するような名詞句であり、「机にある本」とも表現することができる表現であるが、特に1年次から2年次にかけてその使用が大幅に増加したため、1年次と2年次の具体的使用例について比較する（表10参照）。

1年次では、「中」「上」などの位置を表す語句と一緒に用いられるものがほとんどであったが、2年次になると、それらの位置を表す語句以外に、「二階」「テーブル」のような事物を表す名詞が NP¹ として使用

される例が見られるようになる。このことから、2年次になってから「の」の使用範囲が広がったことを示唆している。

表10. 『場所の特定』に分類した
「NP¹のNP²」使用の具体例（1、2年次）

1年次	2年次
中のサンドイッチ (SW1)	バスケットの中の食べ物 (SW1) 家の犬 (SW1)
家の窓 (SW2)	二階の窓 (SW2) 部屋の窓 (SW2) 二階の部屋 (SW2) 隣の梯子 (SW2) 周りの梯子 (SW2) 外の喧嘩 (SW2) 外の声 (SW2)
箱の中の玩具 (SW3)	箱の中のもの (SW3)
机の上のカップ (SW4)	ケンの手の中のもの (SW4)

⁸ この表現は「家にいる主人」といった6:場所の特定ともとれる表現ではあるが、使用された文を見ると、『「誤解ですよ、警官さん彼はうちの主人です。すみません」マリが起きて、警官にいました。』という文脈の中で使用されたものであり、この文脈では「私の主人」という読みしかできないため、4:疑似の持ち主としてカウントした。

地上のジュース (SW4)	テーブルのジュース (SW4)
椅子の上のエプロン (SW4)	机のジュース (SW4)
隣のエプロン (SW4)	地上のジュース (SW4)
カップの中のジュース (SW4)	椅子の上のエプロン (SW4)
	隣の部屋 (SW4)

『特徴・属性』は「独特の味」のように NP²の属性を NP¹があらわしているものであり、特に1年次から2年次、2年次から3年次にかけて使用数が増加する。その具体的使用例について比較する(表1 1 参照)

西山(2003)は、「NP¹のNP²」構造の名詞句を、NP¹とNP²の意味関係から以下の五つのタイプに大別した。

- 【タイプA】NP¹と関係Rを有するNP²
例：山回先生の本、洋子の蓄飾り、ピアノの音
- 【タイプB】NP¹であるNP²
例：コレラ患者の学生、看護婦の洋子、病気の父
- 【タイプC】時間領域NP¹におけるNP²の指示対象の断片の固定
例：着物を着た時の母、大正末期の東京
- 【タイプD】非飽和名詞NP²とそのパラメータの値NP¹
例：この芝居の主演、太郎の妹、この小説の作者
- 【タイプE】行為名詞NP²と項NP¹
例：物理学の研究、この町の破壊、田中先生の忠告

表1 1. 『特徴・属性』に分類した
「NP¹のNP²」使用の具体例

1年次	2年次	3年次	4年次
	ピクニックの日 (SW1)	1日の休み (SW1)	食べかけのサンドイッチとリンゴ (SW1)
	リンゴやサンドイッチの屑 (SW1)	ペットの犬 (SW1)	カップルのケンとマリ (SW1)
	ワンちゃんという名前の犬 (SW1)	犬のワンちゃん (SW1)	サンドイッチの匂い (SW1)
		公園の地図 (SW1)	
		お腹いっぱい犬 (SW1)	

		妻のマリさん (SW1)	
	奥さんのマリさん (SW2) 夜間の警察官 (SW2)	妻のマリさん (SW2) 二階の家 (SW2) 夜間の警察 (SW2)	妻のマリさん (SW2) 妻のマリ (SW2) サラリーマン のケン (SW2)
	車の玩具 (SW3)	電車の (プラ) モデル (SW3)	熊のおもちゃ (SW3) 飛行機のおも ちゃ (SW3) 車のおもちゃ (SW3)
タオルの形の もの (SW3)			

今回『特徴・属性』に分類したものは、西山 (2003) の分類のタイプ B に相当し、「奥さんのマリさん」は「マリさんは奥さんである」、「二階の家」は「家は二階 (建て) である」などのように「NP²は NP¹である」と言い換えることができる。その意味で他の項目と意味的に少々異なる表現である。また、中国語の「的」との対応関係を見てみると、「妻子瑪

麗 (妻のマリ)」「兩層樓 (二階 (建て) の家)」「汽車模型 (車のプラモデル) など「的」の使用を必要としないものと、「飛機 (的) 玩具」「公園 (的) 地圖」のように任意なもの、「名叫旺仔的狗 (ワンちゃんという名前の犬)」のように「的」の使用が必須なものとの混在している。以上のようなことが原因で『特徴・属性』の習得が遅くなっていると考えられる。

『対象』は、3年次から4年次の比較的遅い時期に増加する表現であるため、3年次と4年次の具体的使用例について比較する (表 1 2 参照)。

今回『対象』として分類したものは、西山 (2003) の分類ではタイプ B に相当するものであるが、この表現における NP²はいずれもサ変動詞形名詞であり、「ピクニックを準備する」「おもちゃを片付ける」「お母さんを手伝う」「床を清掃する」「エプロンを洗濯する」のような動詞句とも並行的である。このような行為を表す名詞は動詞と名詞の両方の特性を有していることもあり、影山 (1993) や三宅 (2000) のように、純粋な名詞とは区別する立場もある。また、今回使用された例に対応する中国語は「準備野餐」「收玩具」「幫助母親」「清潔地板」「清洗圍裙」となり、いずれも「的」の使用を必要とせず、日本語の「の」と中国語の「的」の対応にズレがある。このような意味で、CLJ が使用する際には比較的難易度が高い表現だと言え、結果として比較的遅い時期にその使用が見られるようになったのだと思われる。

『数量表示』は、2年次から3年次に増加する表現である。2年次か

ら 4 年次の具体的使用例について比較する（表 1 3 参照）。

表 1 2. 『対象』に分類した
「NP¹の NP²」使用の具体例（3 年次、4 年次）

3 年次	4 年次
ピクニックの準備 (SW1)	ピクニックの準備 (SW1) 食べ物の準備 (SW1)
おもちゃの片づけ (SW3)	おもちゃの片づけ (SW3)
お母さんのお手伝い (SW4)	お母さんのお手伝い (SW4) 床の清掃 (SW4) エプロンの洗濯 (SW4)

表 1 3. 『数量表示』に分類した
「NP¹の NP²」使用の具体例（2 年次、3 年次）

2 年次	3 年次	4 年次
1 つの犬 (SW1)		1 つの犬 (SW1)
1 つの梯子 (SW2) 1 つの警官さん (SW2)	1 つの梯子 (SW2) 1 つの警官 (SW2) 1 つのいい方法 (SW2)	1 つの梯子 (SW2) 1 人の警官 (SW2) 1 つのアイデア (SW2)
	1 つの列車玩具 (SW3)	1 つの列車 (SW3)
		1 人のケン (SW4)

『数量表示』は「数字＋助数詞＋の＋名詞」で構成され、日本語では「の」を使用するが、中国語では「的」を使用せず「数字＋助数詞⁹＋名詞」で表現される。日本語でも中国語でも、数えるものが何であるかによって、またどのような性質を持っているかによって、どの助数詞を使うかが決まっている。今回使用された数量表示を見てみると、「一つの」が多く使用されていた。中でも「一つの犬」「一つの梯子」「一つの警官」は、誤った日本語であり、正しい日本語としては、「一匹の犬」「1 台の梯子」「一人（名）の警官」と表現すべきである。3 年次から使用が増え

⁹ 中国語学では「量詞」と呼ばれ、特に名詞を数える単位として用いられるものは「名量詞」と呼ばれる。

る『数量表示』であるが、正しい使用には至っておらず、4年次になっても誤用が見られた。あくまでも助数詞の使用において、難易度が高い表現であると言える。

6. まとめ

今回、CLJにおける「NP¹のNP²」の使用において、L1である中国語の影響があるかどうか確かめるべく検証したが、CLJの「NP¹のNP²」の作文における使用実態を見る限りにおいて、日本語の「の」の習得に中国語の「的」の明らかな影響は見られなかった。このことから考えられることは、CLJが「NP¹のNP²」を使用する際には、「NP¹的NP²」をそのまま変換して「NP¹のNP²」を産出しているわけではないのではな

いかということである。ただし、分析を通して、CLJにおいて習得が遅れるいくつかの項目を抽出することができた。具体的には『場所の特定』『特徴・属性』『数量表示』『対象』の4項目であるが、これらの項目はCLJにとって、比較的難易度が高い表現であると言えよう。「NP¹のNP²」をまとめてとらえるのではなく、名詞間の意味関係にも留意し、その難易度によって、その導入時期なども考慮する必要があると思われる。

今後は日本語母語話者の使用状況などと比較することで、CLJに特徴的な使用傾向をより浮き彫りにしていきたい。

本研究では、「北京日本語学習者横断コーパス：B-JAS」

(<https://www2.ninjal.ac.jp/jl1/bjas/bjasindex.html>) 及び、「まとめて検索『KOTONOHA』」(<https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp>) を利用した。

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