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Drodzy Czytelnicy.

Niniejszy specjalny zeszyt *Silva laponicarum* 日林 zawiera artykuły powstałe po Międzynarodowych Studenckich Warsztatach Japonistycznych, które odbyły się w Murzasichlu w dniach 17-22 kwietnia 2012 roku. Organizacją tego wydarzenia zajęli się tym razem studenci oraz kadra japonistyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Pragniemy ponadto ogłosić, że poczynając od roku 2014, roku, w którym nasz kwartalnik obchodzi 10-lecie istnienia, czyli od niniejszego zeszytu, artykuły ukazujące się w *Silva laponicarum* otrzymywać będą unikalny identyfikator elektroniczny DOI (Digital Object Identifier). Wyrażamy zatem niniejszym serdeczne podziękowania dla wszystkim osobom i instytucji stale wspierających naszą inicjatywę.

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Dear Readers,

This special issue of *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 contains the contributions delivered after the Students' International Japanese Studies Workshop held in Murzasichle on April 17-22, 2012. The workshop was organized by the students' circle and the staff from the Japanese Studies Department of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

We would also like to announce that beginning from the year 2014, in which our quarterly is going to celebrate its 10th anniversary, that is, from this fascicle, the papers published in *Silva Iaponicarum* are going to receive DOI (Digital Object Identifier). Herewith we would also like to thank all persons and institutions involved in this process for their continuous support for *Silva*.

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Cracow – Poznań – Toruń – Warsaw – Kuki
March 2014

読者のみなさまへ

季刊誌「*Silva lapponicarum* 日林」の本特別号は、2012年4月17-22日にポーランドのムルザシフレで実施された国際日本学科合同合宿中に行われた会議の発表論文集です。合宿の運営を担当したのは、ヤギェロン大学（クラクフ）の研究・教育スタッフです。

なお、本四半期創刊10周年が祝われる2014年より、即ち本号より、「*Silva lapponicarum* 日林」に掲載される論文には、デジタルオブジェクト識別子（DOI-Digital Object Identifier）が付せられることになりました。この折に、私たちの企図をご支援くださった、諸氏・諸機関に心よりお礼申し上げます。

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Arkadiusz Jabłoński

On Japanese Adverbs and Quasi-Adverbs

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ABSTRACT

Adverbs are undoubtedly the most disputable class of Japanese lexicon, which may be recognized mainly to the fact there are not too many specialized (regular, pure, strong) adverbs in Japanese, as this author puts it. In this paper, the semantics, morphology and syntax of Japanese adverbial elements have been analysed, along with their tentative classification into regular adverbs and quasi-adverbs, the latter including the instances of adverbial forms and usage of other elements. Special emphasis was put on the group of Japanese onomatopoeia, which often tend to be, probably not quite correctly, recognized as adverbs. While they may often be found in the adverbial position in Japanese sentences, they reveal surprisingly many similarities to nouns.

KEYWORDS: Japanese grammar, parts of speech, adverbs, *onomatopoeia*.

The Most Disputable Class of Lexicon

Adverbs may be considered the most disputable class of Japanese lexicon. Also in a minimalistic approach to the Japanese parts of speech, which distinguishes four basic categories of lexicon, adverbs are listed on an optional basis, as the last class of Japanese lexicon.

NOUNS (with their sub-classes),
VERBS (with their sub-classes),
ADJECTIVES (with their sub-classes),
ADVERBS (if any) (cf. Jabłoński 2013).

It should be noted that the elements not belonging to the four groups listed above are categorized by the quoted source as sub-classes of nouns and adjectives or grammatical markers, acting as auxiliary elements and not bearing any independent meaning (being *ji* 辞, not *shi* 詞, that is).

Semantics, Morphology, Syntax

From the point of view of methodology, the following three approaches to parts of speech may be considered most common in linguistics.

1. SEMANTIC (*imiteki kijun* 意味的基準) – related to meaning(s).
2. MORPHOLOGICAL (*keishikiteki kijun* 形式的基準) – related to inflection paradigm(s).
3. SYNTACTIC (*ronriteki/ tōgoteki kijun* 論理的・統語的基準) – related to role(s) in text and co-text (cf. Lyons 1989 Vol. 2: 52, Polański 1995: 92-94, Tanaka et al. 1988: 469-471).

Selected elements of the above set may be more or less useful for the purposes of actual description of a certain code. For the very same reason it is probably not possible to achieve a complete and satisfactory classification of a code lexicon with only one classification technique. As a consequence, a mixed approach to the parts of speech has been proposed, in order to minimize the disadvantages of each approach and maximize their possible advantages (Jabłoński *ibid.*)

Adverbs as a Grammatical Notion

A simple review of adverb properties reveals their basic semantic, morphological and syntactic features, respectively.

On the SEMANTIC level adverbs may be recognized as providing answers to a question: *How?* Such question is usually asked only after the more basic questions of *Who?* and *What?* have been asked. Moreover, it is possible that the question may not be asked and answered at all in many cases

On the MORPHOLOGICAL level adverbs may reveal comparative and superlative forms, although they are usually considered uninflected (revealing one-element paradigms).

On the SYNTACTIC level adverbs serve to modify verbs and adjectives (actions and states), not tangible objects. From the point of view of ontology it may be regarded a second –probably also more sophisticated, but at the same time less used than nouns, verbs and adjectives – level of signification.

Adverbs in Polish and European Grammar

Despite the relatively simple properties of adverbs mentioned in the previous section, further insight into the adverb definition may expose major inconsistencies. Some grammatical sources point out at the diversity of adverbs, stating that „the so-called traditional adverbs include many sub-classes” and list their different functions, such as modifying whole sentences (cf. Lyons 1989 Vol. 2: 75-77). One of Polish lexicographical sources confirms an important relation between adverbs and adjectives

stating that „adverbs are created from adjectives in a regular and serial manner” (Tokarski 1971: 70-76). While this feature of adverbs is going to be analyzed further below, it should also be noted that the same author mentions the existence of „compound” Polish adverbs (accidentally, their English counterparts may also be recognized as “compound”): *na dobre* ‘for good’, *po dawnemu* ‘as it was [in the past]’, *po francusku* ‘in [a] French [manner]’, *bez mała* ‘just less than’, *z pańska* ‘like a lord’ (ibid.) The interesting feature of elements belonging to the latter group (both Polish and English), along with their analytical (multi-element) character, is the fact that at least most of their components are not adverbial units.

Adverbs in the Grammars of Japanese

Japanese adverbs are relatively often recognized as parts of speech by the grammarians of Japanese. Adverbs have been recognized, among others, by Chamberlain (1898: 231-236) and Yoshida (1927: 123-126). They are present also in the Japanese school grammar (Hashimoto, after Kindaichi et al. 1988: 144) and have been listed in the most recent and comprehensive Polish approach to Japanese grammar (Huszczka et al. 2003: 190-265). Some sources mention that adverbs express ideas (*gainengo* 概念語), but function as supplementary elements (*fukuyōgo* 副用語) (after Tanaka 1988: 470). While there seems to be no controversy about the facts that adverbs may link with verbs and adjectives and that they may be coined from non-conjugable adjectives, further classification of this category reveals certain incompatibilities. Huszczka et al. for example (ibid.) distinguish between regular adverbs (intensifiers, quantifiers, modal, temporal, conditional) and sound symbolisms (one-word and reduplicated).

Japanese Adverbs as a Class of Lexicon

The main difficulty seems to be related to the two-layered character of Japanese (and not only Japanese) adverb definition. In such approach, the semantic and syntactic definitions of adverbs are often confused, which is a side effect far from desirable in an effective classification of lexicon.

In a description of the adverb category proposed below the (Japanese) adverb sub-classes include the following two groups: REGULAR (strong, specialized) adverbs (Adv) and QUASI-ADVERBS (weak, adapted adverbs), of which the latter group includes several sub-groups:

- adverbial forms/usage of conjugable adjectives (A),
- adverbial forms/usage of non-conjugable adjectives (NA),
- verbal forms/usage of other elements.

Such sub-division of the adverb category may significantly facilitate proper distinction between the actual adverb units (adverbs) and the adverbial usage of other units (non-adverbs). More detailed properties of groups and sub-groups listed above are described in the following sections.

Regular Adverbs (Adv)

Regular adverbs reveal relatively few representatives. This feature has already been rightly pointed out by Chamberlain, who explicitly mentioned that: “Japanese has few if any true adverbs” (Chamberlain 1898: 231). Also in the following paragraphs and sections it seems to be instructive to rely on the interesting conclusion that Chamberlain himself draws from this fact: “Almost all the words corresponding to our adverbs prove, on examination, to be stragglers from the other parts of speech. It will, however, afford some insight into the nature of the language, and be practically useful to students, to glance at the various expedients by which the necessity for adverbs is obviated” (ibid.)

It is, at the first place, necessary to direct the reader’s attention to the trivial though important feature, that is, that Japanese adverbs are in general semantically close to regular adverbs of other languages. While this property alone may not necessarily constitute a crucial reason to recognize the category of adverbs in Japanese, it is related to more universal need for dedicated verbal phrase modifiers, such as intensifiers and quantifiers (*totemo* とても ‘very’, *hotondo* ほとんど ‘mostly’, *zuibun* 随分 ‘extremely’, *nakanaka* なかなか ‘fairly’) as well as carrying aspectual and modal meanings (*chōdo* ちょうど ‘exactly’, *zehi* 是非 ‘by all means’, *kitto* きっと ‘surely’, *tabun* 多分 ‘perhaps’, *moshi* もし ‘if’, *mō* もう ‘already’, *mada* まだ ‘yet’) etc. Such elements, should they all be classified as regular adverbs, may reveal more or less typical actual usage (as local and direct verbal phrase modifiers or as global utterance content modifiers), as shown in the three examples below.

Totemo tanoshikatta. とても楽しかった。’I enjoyed it **very much.**’ (a typical usage)

Chōdo maniatta. ちょうど間に合った。’[We] arrived **exactly** on time.’ (a typical usage)

Zehi kuwashiku shirabete hoshii. 是非詳しく調べてほしい。’I **insist that** it is checked thoroughly.’ (a less typical usage)

From the syntax perspective the regular adverbs reveal specialized and strong adverbial character (they never or almost never occur with a copula and do not reveal any declensional or conjugational properties – quite contrary to the quasi-adverb units). In other words, such occurrences as *Mada desu*. まだです。'Not **yet**.' are obviously examples of elaborate mental shortcuts rather than of systematic usage of an adverbial element with copula. As such, they should be referred rather to the properties of Japanese copula than to Japanese adverbs.

Adverbial Forms of Conjugable Adjectives (A)

The most regular technique of coining adverbial forms in Japanese is the one with the use of connective forms of conjugable adjectives *Aku*, as in the examples below:

takai 高い 'high, expensive' → *takaku* 高く 'at a high price',
hageshii 激しい 'severe' → *hageshiku* 激しく 'severely' etc.

Ame ga hageshiku furidashita. 雨が激しく降り出した。'It started to rain **heavily**.'

Adverbial forms of conjugable adjectives revealing adverbial usage may also be used in their connective function, as shown in two examples below.

Bukka ga takaku natta. 物価が高くなった。'The prices got **high**.'

Bukka ga takaku, nichiyōhin ga kaenai hodo datta. 物価が高く、日用品が買えないほどだった。'The prices **were so high** that it was impossible to buy daily necessities.'

The most basic difference between the *Aku* forms and regular adjectives connective forms is the existence of their regular comparative and superlative forms coined with the use of auxiliary adverbs of comparative (*motto* もっと, *issō* 一層, *yorī* より, all meaning 'more') or auxiliary numeral noun *ichiban* 一番 'most', as in the example below. This feature, at the same time, at least partly denies the commonly recognized fact that adjectives are uninflected (their paradigm consists only of one element).

Sono sukāto o haku to ashi ga motto futoku mieru yo. そのスカートをはくと足がもっと太く見えるよ。'And in this skirt your legs are going to look even **thicker**, you know.'

Adverbial Forms of Non-Conjugable Adjectives (NA)

The non-conjugable adjective forms are in fact copula forms, some of them dedicated for such use. The most regular and popular technique of coining adverbial forms of non-conjugable adjectives requires the use of the dedicated copula form *NA ni*, as in the examples below:

kirei きれい ‘nice’ → *kirei ni* きれいに ‘nicely’,
arata 新た ‘new’ → *arata ni* 新たに ‘newly’ etc.

Shinsetsu ni oshiete kureta. 親切に教えてくれた。 ‘[He] **kindly** explained [it] to me.’

Such adverbial units, along with their purely adverbial usage, tend also to be used in their connective function, but never function as phrase connectors (for this purpose, a standard copula form *de* で is used).

Kantan ni natte kita. 簡単になってきた。 ‘[Things] got **simple.**’
(connective usage: not as a phrase connector)

Kantan de tsukaiyasui. 簡単で使いやすい。 ‘[It is] **simple and** easy to use.’
(connective usage: as a phrase connector)

The non-conjugable adjectives also coin their regular comparative and superlative forms with the use of auxiliary units listed above.

Yori kantan ni setsumei suru no wa fukanō ni chikai. より簡単に説明するのは不可能に近い。 ‘It is almost impossible to explain it in a more simple manner.’

Adverbial Usage of Other Elements

Numerous non-conjugable adjectives, verbs and nouns are lexicalized in their adverbial usage. Such usage (initially secondary) does not prevent them from revealing certain (primary) adjectival, verbal or nominal properties.

In order to investigate the properties of such quasi-adverbs, it is necessary to focus on their primary morphological properties, usually (and rightly) considered non-existent for regular members of the adverb category. It may hence be effective to shift from ADVERBIAL FORMS to ADVERBIAL USAGE of certain elements traditionally defined as adverbs.

Adverbs and Adverbial Position

A brief look at (Japanese) syntax reveals several possible positions a part of speech may take within a sentence. These are, among others: SUBJECT position, OBJECT position, PREDICATE position, ATTRIBUTE position, ADVERBIAL position, MODAL position (cf. Jabłoński 2013).

However, when a part of speech takes the adverbial position, this very fact does not change it automatically into an adverb.

Adverbial Usage of Verbs

Numerous verbs tend to occur frequently in adverbial position. This does not automatically exclude their regular verbal usage (incl. verbs: *omoikitte* 思い切って ‘bravely’, *yorokonde* 喜んで ‘with pleasure’, *hatashite* はたして ‘really; actually’ etc.), as in the following two examples.

Taihen yorokonde imashita. 大変喜んでいました。 ‘[They] were very happy.’ (regular verbal usage)

Yorokonde ikimasu. 喜んで行きます。 ‘[I] will be happy to come.’ (adverbial usage)

Conjugational paradigm of Japanese verbs may consider the above forms rather as regular adjectival forms of verbs than as actual adverbs. Such forms function as regular modifiers (*hashitte kuru* 走ってくる ‘come running’, *katte kuru* 買ってくる ‘buy and bring’, *tabete dekakeru* 食べて出かける ‘go out after a meal’) or be subjects to lexicalization (*motte kuru/iku/kaeru* もってくる・いく・かえる ‘bring/take/take home’).

Adverbial Usage of Adjectives

Numerous quasi-adverbs (especially those ending with *ni*) are actually non-conjugable adjectives lexicalized in their adverbial usage. Still, they may function also as non-conjugable adjectives (with the dedicated *na* form of the copula) and even as nouns in certain contexts. This applies especially to the numerous quasi-adverbs of Chinese origin, which originally function as limited nouns, including the ones listed below and many others. Their respective properties may vary significantly in their actual usage.

zettai 絶対 ‘absolute’, *taihen* 大変 ‘serious’, *kantan* 簡単 ‘simple’, *roku* 碌 ‘decent’, *zuibun* 随分 ‘extremely’, *gūzen* 偶然 ‘accidental’, *sekkaku* 折角 ‘rare’, *man’ichi* (*man ga ichi*) 万一 (万が一) ‘by chance’, *daitai* 大体 ‘almost’, *taitei* たいてい ‘general(ly)’, *totsuzen* 突然 ‘sudden’ etc.

Adverbial Usage of Nouns – The Iconic Nouns as Specialized Quotations

Japanese iconic nouns are traditionally considered important in the process of learning Japanese as a foreign language, although similar elements exist also in other languages (cf. Bańko 2008 for Polish iconic nouns). They are mentioned and described with adverbs in this text, as one of recent Polish sources on Japanese grammar lists them as adverbs (Huszczka et al. 2003: 190-265).

At first it should be mentioned that the iconic nouns should not be mistaken with onomatopoeia. Unfortunately, the traditional Japanese semantic sub-classification of this lexicon group into *giseigo* 擬声語 lit. ‘imitating voices’, *giongo* 擬音語 lit. ‘imitating sounds’, *gitaigo* 擬態語 lit. ‘imitating states’ seems to be rather useless for their classification as parts of lexicon, as neglecting their basically similar ontological status.

The same ontological status may entitle to recognize the Japanese iconic units as the most intuitive category of nouns, in which the SYMBOL (word) and the REFERENT (designate) of the semantic triangle merge (Ogden&Richards 1923). In other words, while „onomatopoeia is not an exact copy” (Bańko 2008: 72-73) of a phenomenon (actually, it cannot be), more or less onomatopoeic expressions in their most typical usage serve not as conventionalized references, but rather as intended quotations to certain sound phenomena (which are again not necessarily related to actual sounds).

In this case, the SEMANTIC classification seems more effective than the MORPHOLOGICAL. The latter, however, should also be taken into account. In other words, it could be said that the iconic nouns are made with the use of nouns – and the nominal traces may remain. The representative examples are provided in two subsections below, while the third subsection serves to provide that many usages of such elements in their adverbial function show the tendency to lexicalize. The examples of live Japanese were gathered mostly on the basis of simple Internet search.

Nominal Traces – Declension Markers

Case markers have been implemented below according to the declension pattern by Jabłoński 2012. There is nothing to prevent the reader from considering the respective case markers as Japanese *kakujoshi* 格助詞 ‘case particles’ of a non-existent pattern of Japanese declension.

Various case markers may appear with Japanese iconic nouns in a systematic manner, confirming thus at least the high (and not typical for adverbial units) level of their connectivity with grammatical elements

traditionally modifying nouns. In the examples below they include the RHEmative, the ENUmerative and the ACCusative case markers.

RHE *sōsu tappuriga suki* ソースたっぷりが好き ‘I like [it with a] **plenty of** sauce.’

RHE *pachipachiga dekiru* ぱちぱちができる ‘[A child] can **clap its hands**.’

ENU *iyoiyoto nareba* いよいよとなれば ‘when **the time** comes.’

ACC *pachipachi'o kanjiru* ぱちぱちを感じる ‘feel the **sparks**’

At least a high (not typical for adverbial units) level of iconic unit connectivity with grammatical elements traditionally modifying nouns is further confirmed by instances of double or repeated case marking (below with the use of the ALLative, GENetive and LOCative case markers).

ALL+GEN *eikaiwaperapera'eno michi* 英会話ペレペラへの道 ‘How to achieve **fluency** in English conversation.’

GEN+LOC *bechabechano tempura'o sakusakuni suru hōhō* ベちゃベちゃの天ぷらをさくさくにする方法 ‘A way to get a **crunchy tempura** instead of **muddy** a one.’

Numerous occurrences of Japanese iconic units require the obligatory ENUmerative case marker, typical for quotations, as in the examples below. This phenomenon is also not typical for the Japanese units of adverbial character.

ENU *patto* ぱっと ‘sudden(ly)’

ENU *chiratto* ちらっと ‘by chance’

ENU *gutto* ぐっと ‘powerful(ly)’

ENU *kichinto* きちんと ‘neat(ly)’

ENU *betanto* べたんと ‘firm(ly)’

ENU *fuwatto* ふわっと ‘gently’

ENU *sukatto* すかっと ‘in a refreshing manner’

ENU *sassato* さっさと ‘instant(ly)’

ENU *shinshinto* しんしんと ‘steadily’

Elements of another sub-group of Japanese iconic units may easily occur with the GENetive case marker. This phenomenon is probably least typical

for the Japanese units of adverbial character.

GEN *yasaitappurino okazu* 野菜たっぷりのおかず ‘a lunch box **full of** vegetables’

GEN *boryūmutappurino hige* ボリュームたっぷりの髭 ‘an **impressive** mustache’

GEN *eigoperaperano kodomo* 英語ぺらぺらの子供 ‘[a] child[ren] who can speak **fluent** English’

GEN *pasapasano kamino ke* ぱさぱさの髪の毛 ‘overly dry hair’

GEN *hokahokano obentō* ほかほかのお弁当 ‘a **warm** lunch box’

GEN *hoiirugatagatano shūri* ホイールがたがたの修理 ‘repairing aluminium rim **dents**’

GEN *gatagatano michi* がたがたの道 ‘a road full of holes’

GEN *chakichakino kansaijin* ちゃきちゃきの関西人 ‘a **trueborn** guy from Kansai region’

GEN *buruburuno kikai* ぶるぶるの機会 ‘a trembling machine’

GEN *bon'yarino jikan* ぼんやりの時間 ‘an **idle** time’

Nominal Traces – Verbal Usage

Numerous Japanese iconic elements tend to be utilized frequently within verbal units formed with the usage of auxiliary verb *suru* する – another modifier typical for Japanese nominal elements. In the English translations below mainly adjectival target elements were used, although it is not impossible to use solely verbal elements in order to mark this kind of transition also in translation.

chakichaki suru/shite iru ちゃきちゃきする・している ‘to be genuine [representative of a group]’

dabudabu suru だぶだぶする ‘to be loose’

dokidoki suru どきどきする ‘to be nervous’

gasshiri suru がっしりする ‘to be solid’

gutari suru ぐたりする ‘to be wilted’

tekateka suru てかてかする ‘to be shiny’

wakuwaku suru わくわくする ‘to be excited’

mojimoji suru もじもじする ‘to hesitate’

magomago suru まごまごする ‘to be disorganized’

pasapasa suru ぱさぱさする ‘to be overly dry’

herahera suru へらへらする ‘to behave foolishly’
nikoniko suru にこにこする ‘to smile; have a smile on one’s face’
buyobuyo suru/ni naru ぶよぶよする・になる ‘to be/get flabby;

Lexicalized Instances – With Fixed Verb Units

At least significant number of iconic Japanese elements tend to appear in fixed collocations. In such instances, they can no longer be identified as adverbial modifiers. Instead, they function as components of lexicalized instances, which is also shown in most of their respective English translations below.

niyaniya suru/warau にやにやする・笑う ‘to smirk’
kasakasa suru/ni naru かさかさする・になる ‘to be/get dry’
(haraga) pekopeko da / suru (はらが) ペこペこだ・する ‘to be hungry’
yoroyoro aruku よろよろ歩く ‘to stagger’
fūfū iu ふうふう言う ‘to be out of breath’
gabugabu nomu がぶがぶ飲む ‘to drink in one gulp’
gayagaya sawagu/kikoeru がやがや騒ぐ・聞こえる ‘to make/hear noise’
gussuri(to) neru ぐっすりと寝る ‘sleep soundly’
geragera warau げらげら笑う ‘to give a horse laugh’
kusukusu warau くすくす笑う ‘to giggle’
pikapika hikaru ピカピカ光る ‘to shine’

Adverb Boundaries

It may be interesting to note that numerous nouns happen to be recognized as functioning most often as limited nouns. A Japanese set of such nouns includes *nao* 尚 ‘still’, *moshi* もし ‘if’, *mukashi* 昔 ‘the past; the old days’, *kyō* 今日 ‘today’. Also such units may not necessarily be identified with adverbs.

A main argument against such identification would be a different syntactic function of the above listed units, which are attached to whole clauses, not to single predicates. As such, they do not occur on an adverbial position, functioning instead on a clause modifier position (modal position, cf. Jabłoński 2013).

Although limited nouns may be used most frequently in their nominative case (with morphological zero), they may reveal declensional traces of origin in multiple usages, such as (GENitive case) *mukashino koto* 昔のこ

と ‘old tales’, (ABLative case) *mukashikara aru basho* 昔からある場所 ‘the place that have existed **from the old times**’ and many others.

On the other hand, the following elements (as well as numerous others) may be recognized as compound Japanese adverbs, lexicalized and occurring rather than not in their adverbial usage: *V hodo* ほど ‘such... that...’, *kubi o nagaku shite* 首を長くして ‘impatiently’, [*hito no*] *me o nusunde* (人の) 目を盗んで ‘secretly’ and many others). Despite a definitely non-adverbial character of their components, for adequate description purposes it may be considered more effective to recognize their regular adverbial occurrence in actual units of texts than to neglect it.

(Instead of) Conclusions

There is probably no perfect solution for adequate and consistent description of adverbs. This observation is valid not only for Japanese adverbs. The main reason of this is probably that while (relatively few) regular adverbs fulfill their literal and only function of modifying verbal elements, they are not the sole elements to occur with verbs in a regular and frequent actual usage. A satisfying solution could probably be achieved with the SYNTACTIC recognition of adverbial position of parts of speech other than adverbs. MORPHOLOGICAL traces revealing the origin of numerous instances of such usage of nouns, verbs and non-conjugable adjectives should at the same time not be neglected.

In a general perspective, regular, systematic phenomena of the language, be they SEMANTIC, MORPHOLOGICAL or SYNTACTIC in a given code and with respect to a given part of speech, whenever present and observable, should be preferred in a manner of effective grammatical description. And, since the language may also be viewed as a process in progress, irregularities, whenever possible, should be recognized and described on the basis or regularities.

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Retrieving Miyako-Ryukyuan of the 1920s: a Tentative Grammar Sketch

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to describe Miyako-Ryukyuan, an endangered Japonic language, in its pre-endangerment 1920s shape. The source for the study have been the handwritten lexicographic fieldnotes compiled by Nikolay Nevskiy, called the *Materials for studying the language of the Miyako islands* (originally in Russian *Матерьялы для изучения говора островов Мияко*). First, the profile of the language is introduced, providing among others information on its genetic affiliation, the area where it is spoken, or an estimated number of speakers. The actual grammar sketch consists of sections on phonology, morphology and syntax. The phonology system has been described separately for each of the four regional varieties best represented in the Materials (Hirara, Irabu, Ikema and Tarama). Concerning morphology, aspects such as classification of lexical categories, nominal inflection patterns and case markers, verbal inflection groups, or syntactic characteristics of adjectives have been discussed. For syntax, simple (basic word order) and complex (coordination, subordination, clause-chaining) sentence as well as the behavior of the copula have been explained. The morphology and syntax sections have been reinforced with example sentences from the source material, analyzed, glossed and translated by this author.

KEYWORDS: Miyako-Ryukyuan, endangered languages, Japonic languages, Nevskiy.

This paper is a preliminary attempt to describe the system of the Miyako-Ryukyuan language as it was reportedly used around the 1920s. The source for this reconstruction was the handwritten draft of a Miyako-Ryukyuan dictionary compiled during the 1920s by an eminent Russian linguist and ethnographer, Nikolai Nevskiy (1882 – 1937). The draft is known in Russian as *Матерьялы для изучения говора островов Мияко*, which can be roughly translated as *Materials for studying the language of the Miyako islands*¹. With its almost 1,200 pages filled with an estimated 6,000 entries, hundreds of example sentences and detailed IPA-based phonetic notation, the *Materials* are indeed a precious source for figuring out the whereabouts

¹ For the purpose of this study, the facsimile not-for-sale edition issued in Japan under the title of *Miyako hōgen nōto* 宮古方言ノ一ト ‘Notes on the Miyako dialects’ has been used.

of a now severely endangered language. The Miyako-Ryukyuan of the *Materials* was supposedly still used on an everyday basis as a first language by the majority of community members regardless of their age group, while the influence of mainland Japanese was not yet as heavy as it later became in the post-war period.

The methodology applied in this paper has generally been inspired by the requirements for a grammar sketch proposed by Michinori Shimoji (Shimoji 2010: 184 – 185), albeit it has also been tailored so that it matches the current phase of this study with its limited possibilities. Along with the progress of the *Material's* transcription and research project, a more precise and accurate report on the Taishō-era Miyako-Ryukyuan language system may be expected. For the sake of the readers' convenience and to enhance the paper's legibility, Nevskiy's notation of Miyako-Ryukyuan has been converted to fit the modern IPA transcription, with the exception of the non-standard symbol for the apical vowel [ɿ], the reasons for which are explained in the Phonology section.

Basic Information about the Language

Miyako-Ryukyuan is a language from the Southern Ryukyuan (Sakishima) group of the Japonic family. It is spoken on the Miyako islands in Okinawa Prefecture, an eight-island cluster surrounded by the Philippine Sea to the south-east and the East China Sea to the north-west. While plenty of doubts and multiple suggestions still seem to remain concerning the precise classification of Ryukyuan languages (cp. Hokama 1971, Uemura 2003, Miyara 2010), there seems to be a general agreement that Miyako-Ryukyuan, along with its closest relatives of Yaeyama-Ryukyuan and Yonaguni-Ryukyuan, belong with the Southern Ryukyuan group, which is genetically and typologically distinct from the Northern Ryukyuan languages.

Traditionally, the whole Miyako island cluster area has been regarded as equal to the Miyako-Ryukyuan speaking area (Hokama 1971, Hokama 1977, Uemura 2001), which includes the Miyako main island and the islands of Ikema, Kurima, Ōgami, Irabu², Tarama and Minna. The latter two islands are located halfway between the Miyakos and Japan's southernmost archipelago of Yaeyamas, albeit slightly closer to the Yaeyamas - located 35 kilometers north of Ishigaki island and 67 kilometers south of the Miyako main island, according to the official

² The island of Shimoji is adjacent to Irabu and is clearly geographically a part of the Miyakos, though it is not actually inhabited, nor was it in Nevskiy's times (Nevskiy 2005b:200). No mention of any local Shimoji ethnolect has been found so far, either.

homepage of the Tarama Village). Even though geographically they are closer to the Yaeyama islands, they have usually been regarded as linguistically representative of Miyako-Ryukyuan. However, there are some characteristics in the Tarama-Minna regiolect, such as the productive occurrence of the mid-open front vowel /ɛ:/ or adjective-final suffix of origins which are seemingly different from all the other Miyako ethnolects and might as well suggest their affiliation within Yaeyama-Ryukyuan (for Shigehisa Karimata's theory on this topic see Pellard 2009:279). On the other hand, as there also exist numerous features seemingly testifying the Tarama-Minna affiliation with the Miyako-Ryukyuan language, and since Nevskiy also included a large amount of data on the Tamara ethnolect in his *Materials* manuscript, one may conclude that following the traditional way and describing the language of Tarama within the Miyako-Ryukyuan framework would be the correct thing to do³.

A common sub-classification of the Miyako language, more often than not based seemingly on purely geographical criterion, used to divide Miyako-Ryukyuan into the three following branches: actual Miyako (featuring the main island and adjacent Kurima, Ikema and Ōgami), Irabu and Tarama (with Minna). The classification suggested by Thomas Pellard (Pellard 2009: 294 – 295) seems more innovative and linguistically accurate. Pellard divides Miyako-Ryukyuan first into the “common Miyako” (*Miyako commun*) and Tarama, and then common Miyako is subsequently divided into Ikema-Irabu and Miyako central, both branches still divided into numerous smaller units representing a total of 24 ethnolects of the archipelago's islands and settlements. This author has not yet conducted in-depth studies allowing her to contribute in any way to the discussion on the complex linguistic reality of the Miyakos; however, the aforementioned classification seems to me sufficiently convincing to apply it in this paper. The demographics of Miyako-Ryukyuan are not very clear, with the only overall data available coming from a local census. According to the data provided by the homepages of the respective administrative units, the population of Miyakojima city (2011) counts 55,052 inhabitants, with 36,346 inhabitants in Hirara district (among these 309 people live on Ikema and 33 on Ōgami), 2,892 inhabitants of Irabu district and 177 inhabitants of Kurima island, while the population of Tarama village (2009) counts 1,359 people. It remains uncertain, however, what

³ Present-day sources on the sub-classification of Miyako-Ryukyuan, while considering the strong influence of Yaeyama-Ryukyuan exerted over the Tarama-Minna ethnolect, also choose to incorporate this dialect into Miyako-Ryukyuan on a comparative-genetical basis; see Pellard 2009: 279.

percentage of this population may be actually regarded as speakers of Miyako-Ryukyuan. Miyako-Ryukyuan has been recognized by the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010) as “definitely endangered”, meaning roughly that the generation in their sixties and older retains their relative speaking abilities while younger people in general may or may not be passive bilinguals. Based on the administration's statistics (citing again the homepage of Miyakojima city), one could assume that the number of fluent Miyako-Ryukyuan speakers should be something around the lines of 12,046, which is the number of Miyakojima city citizens over the age of 65 and stands for approximately 22% of the total population of the area⁴. Nevertheless, one should also take note of the fact that this estimate is both purely hypothetical and rather optimistic (a language shift in the Ryukyus began even before the war, and so it may well be that there were Japanese monolinguals even among people born in the 1940s and earlier; furthermore, as standard Japanese has been steadily sneaking into every area of daily life over the decades, it is also possible that some of the native Miyako-Ryukyuan speakers underwent their first language atrophy due to the lack of opportunities and motivation to use it rather than standard Japanese).

In this paper, four out of the numerous sub-variants (dialects, if one prefers) of Miyako-Ryukyuan will be described and discussed, in accordance with the extent to which they are represented in Nevskiy's *Materials*. These are: Hirara (representing the central branch of Miyako-Ryukyuan), Tarama, Sawada (representing the Irabu variant of the Irabu-Ikema branch) and Sarahama (representing the Ikema variant of the Irabu-Ikema branch). Obviously, entries and examples from many more of the Miyako-Ryukyuan ethnolects have been recorded in the *Materials*, albeit in too scarce a number to enable a present-day student to generalize upon their systemic features. Nevertheless, when applicable, some feedback from ethnolects different from the above-mentioned four may also be provided.

Phonology

From what has been so far observed, the phonemic inventory of the **Hirara** ethnolect used to consist of eight vowels and forty-five consonants if one considers “double” consonants as separate long phonemes, as well as palatalized consonants as separate phonemic units rather than /Cj/ sequences, which is the approach adopted in this paper⁵. These numbers

⁴ No such data for Tarama village has been found so far.

⁵ Such a “maximalistic approach”, as one may well label it, has been chosen because of

give a total of **53** phonemes. The details are listed below (long consonants have been placed in brackets due to the aforementioned reservations on how to classify them).

Table 1. Hirara (central Miyako-Ryukyuan) vowels

	Front	Back
close	i (realized as [ɨ] ⁶ after sibilants) i:	u u:
mid	e: (rare)	o:
open	a a:	

phonotactic considerations which cannot be explained here at length, but also because of the author's personal descriptive preferences.

⁶This is the so-called apical front vowel, a peculiar Miyako-Ryukyuan sound which causes a lot of terminological and descriptive problems. In its “bare” vocalic form this phoneme is auditory-wise close to the central front vowel [i], as Nevskiy himself observed and reflected in his notation; however, its articulatory manner is that of the tongue blade lifted upwards towards the alveolar ridge, on the borderline of causing a friction characteristic of sibilant [z], or [s] after voiceless stops. This fricative characteristic of [ɨ] has some major consequences such as the pervasiveness of moraic [s] and [z] sounds, as well as the special “vocalic-fricative” quality of [z] in some environments. For these reasons, it seems appropriate to retain the definition of a front apical vowel in this case; since IPA does not provide a satisfying and unanimous symbol for such a sound, the author decided to apply a symbol widely used in the field of Ryukyuan studies, namely [ɨ]. For further details and discussion see Uemura 2003, Pellard 2007, Karimata 2006, Karimata 2010 and others. In most descriptions, the “apical vowel” is treated as a separate vocalic phoneme. This author, however, prefers to interpret this sound heterogeneously – as an allophonic realization of /i/ after sibilants, which are then always non-palatal, and as allophones of /s/ and /z/ after stops, in non-onset syllables or in the coda position.

Table 2. Hirara (central Miyako-Ryukyuan) consonants

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	/p/ /b/ /pj/ /bj/		/t/ /d/ /tj/ /dj/ /t:/ /d: /		/k/ /g/ /kj/ /gj/ /k:/	
fricative		/f/ /v/ /f:/ /v:/ /vj:/	/s/ /z/ /s:/ /z:/ /ɕ/ /ʑ/ /ɕ:/ /ʑ:/			/h/
affricate			/ts/ /ts:/ /tɕ/ /tɕ:/			
nasal	/m/ /mj/ /m:/ /mj:/		/n/ /nj/ /n:/ /nj:/			
flap			/ɾ/ /ɾj/			
approximant	/β/			/j/		

Note: the bilabial approximant /β/ seems rather rare, occurring either in mainland Japanese loanwords or in order to resolve a prohibited vowel sequence, such as /ua/ or /uui/ (realized as [uwa], [uwi]). Glottal fricative /h/ is also uncommon and not inherited, mostly limited to the Sino-Japanese lexicon of the mainland loanwords.

The **Tarama** variety of Miyako-Ryukyuan counts eight vowels and thirty-two consonants, giving a total of **40** phonemes. One has to take note of the fact that out of the four ethnolects rather extensively recorded in the *Materials*, the Tarama is by far the most scarcely recorded. Consequently, a lack of some sounds otherwise present in a typical Miyako-Ryukyuan variety may not mean that Tarama underwent such a different linguistic development, rather it points to the fact that Nevskiy simply did not record enough data to embrace all the relevant phonemes in his study.

The noteworthy phenomena in the Tarama ethnolect include a productive (unlike Hirara and absent from other varieties) long vowel /ɛ:/, which in some cases can be explained as a merger of diphthongs such as /ai/ or /ia/,

⁷ Following the tradition of Japanese studies, in example lexemes or sentences, the bilabial approximant is represented in this paper by the symbol <w>.

a retroflex lateral flap /ɺ/ (also with a phonemic long counterpart) and a palatal flap /ʎ:/. These lateral consonants often correspond with the moraic /z/ and /z:/ in the Hirara dialect and to some extent they can also be observed in the Sawada sub-variety of the Irabu dialect.

Table 3. Tarama vowels

	front	back
close	/i/ /i:/	/u/ /u:/
mid-open	/ɛ:/	/ɔ:/
open	/a/ /a:/	

Table 4. Tarama consonants

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	retroflex	velar
stop	/p/ /b/		/t/ /d/ /t:/			/k/ /g/ /kj/
fricative		/f/ /v/ /f:/ /v:/	/s/ /z/ /sj/ /s:/ /z:/			
affricate			/tʃ/ /tʃ:/			
nasal	/m/ /mj/ /m:/ /mj:/		/n/ /nj/ /n:/ /nj:/			
flap			/ɾj/			
lateral approximant				/ʎ:/	/ɺ/ /ɺ:/	
approximant				/j/		

The language of the settlement of **Sawada** on the island of Irabu seems to some extent a “halfway ethnolect” between the Tarama and Hirara dialects, sharing some phonemic characteristics typical of either the former or the

latter dialect. Sawada ethnolect has no mid-open vowels, not even the long ones; the merger of the /au/ diphthong, which resulted in the appearance of the long vowel /o:/ in some other Miyako-Ryukyuan varieties, did not occur in the Irabu dialect. To this end, the Sawada variety has six vowels and thirty-nine consonants, resulting in a total of **45** phonemes.

Table 5. Sawada vowels

	front	Back
close	/i/ /i:/	/u/ /u:/
open	/a/ /a:/	

Table 6. Sawada consonants

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	retroflex	velar
stop	/p/ /b/ /pj/ /bj/		/t/ /d/ /tj/ /dj/ /t:/			/k/ /g/ /kj/ /gj/
fricative		/f/ /v/ /f:/ /v:/ /fj:/	/s/ /z/ /s:/ /z:/ /ɕ/ /ʑ/			
affricate			/t͡s/ /t͡ɕ/			
nasal	/m/ /mj/ /m:/ /mj:/		/n/ /nj/ /n:/ /nj:/			
flap			/ɾj/			
lateral approximant					/l/ /l:/	
approximant	/β/			/j/		

The **Sarahama** ethnolect represents the Ikema dialect in a settlement on the island of Irabu. As it is a language of a community that moved from their home island, Ikema, to Irabu, this variety also shows some unusual features due to the combination of the initial language substratum with the clear influence exerted by the neighboring Irabu ethnolects. Two phonemic

features can be considered very specific to the Sarahama (and presumably also Ikema in general) variety of Miyako-Ryukyuan: the occurrence of the glottal fricative /h/ corresponding regularly to the bilabial stop /p/ in other ethnolects, as well as the the long flap /r:/, which seems to occur both word-initially and word-medially. This ethnolect has six vowels (identical to those of Sawada, compare Table 5 for the reference) and forty-one consonants, giving a total of 51 phonemes.

Table 6. Sarahama vowels

	front	Back
close	/i/ /i:/	/u/ /u:/
open	/a/ /a:/	

Table 7. Sarahama consonants

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	/p/ /b/ /bj/		/t/ /d/ /dj/		/k/ /g/ /kj/ /gj/	
fricative		/f/ /v/ /f:/ /v:/ /fj:/ /vj:/	/s/ /z/ /s:/ /z:/ /s/ /z/ /z:/	/ç/		/h/
affricate			/ts/ /tɕ/ /tɕ:/			
nasal	/m/ /mj/ /m:/ /mj:/		/n/ /nj/ /n:/ /nj:/			
flap			/r/ /r:/ /rj/ /rj:/			
lateral approximant						
approximant	/β/			/j/		

Not much can be reported yet about the suprasegmental phonology, nor the phonotactics of Miyako-Ryukyuan, partly because of the early stage of this study and partly because of the difficulty in recognizing the syllable structure within purely written material (detailed phonetically as it may be). No uniform syllabic notation applied by Nevskiy has been discovered as of yet (which is certainly not to say that such a notation does not exist). However, Nevskiy occasionally did mark syllabic consonants (for now interpreted as moraic rather than syllabic), and in different cases the moraic quality of consonants can be deduced from their position in a word when basing the observations upon the so-called minimality constraint⁸. In this light, the following consonants in Miyako-Ryukyuan may be regarded as having a moraic quality when in the syllable coda position and in the initial position of onset consonant clusters: fricatives /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, nasals /m/, /n/ and flap /l/. Apart from that, long or geminated consonants also seem to be functioning as a separate mora (also in the syllable onset position). According to Shigehisa Karimata (see Karimata 2013), those consonants which are moraic in their short form become syllabic when lengthened. This results in the occurrence of lexical items consisting of a long consonant alone, such as *z*: ‘to speak’ (Tarama), *m*: ‘to draw (water)’ (Ikema, Sarahama), *ɣ* ‘to sell’ (Hirara) etc., which strikes one as a rather rare morphophonemic feature peculiar to Miyako-Ryukyuan. The very existence of syllabic fricatives also seems a relatively original characteristic (syllabic consonants, while not that uncommon among languages across the globe, are usually limited to the sonorants, as in Czech *vrba* ‘willow tree’ or English *fidlle* /*fidl*/).

Morphology

Lexical categories in Miyako-Ryukyuan have been defined according to the following criteria:

- inflection for TAM (time, aspect, mood)
- inflection for case
- ability to head an NP
- ability to fill the modifier slot of an NP directly
- ability to fill the modifier slot of an NP non-directly (e.g. via affixation or function words)

⁸ The minimality constraint means that a word cannot function as an independent morphosyntactic unit unless it is constructed from at least two morae. Thus, a Miyako-Ryukyuan word cannot have a (C)V structure, while a structure of (C)VC or (C)VV is permitted. Minimality constraint seems common among various Ryukyuan languages; see Pellard 2007, Pellard 2010 or Niinaga 2010.

- ability to fill the modifier slot of a VP.

Nouns

The category of nouns includes those lexical units that may both head an NP as well as modify a VP, and are inflected for case. They may also fill the modifier slot of an NP, albeit only when connected with the head by the nominative-genitive marker *-ga* or *-nu* (choice of the marker depends on the noun's position in the animacy hierarchy: *-ga* is assigned to personal pronouns and kinship terms; for demonstrative pronouns there is a split wherein *-ga* indicates the nominative and *-nu* the genitive; the remaining nouns take on *-nu* in both functions).

A list of case-marking suffixes is shown in Table 8 below; unless noted otherwise, they were marked by Nevskiy as common to all Miyako-Ryukyuan varieties.

Table 8. Miyako-Ryukyuan case-markers

marker	function	Remarks
<i>-ga/ -nu</i>	Nominative-Genitive	
<i>-ju</i>	Accusative	
<i>-n</i>	Dative-Locative	
<i>-nkai</i>	Directive	<i>-nke</i> : in Tarama-Minna Ikema form not specified
<i>-ei</i>	Explicative	
<i>-kara</i>	Ablative-Instrumental	
<i>-gami</i>	Limitative	
<i>-juzsa</i>	Comparative	Hirara
<i>-tu</i>	Commitative	Hirara and Sawada

The ablative case-marker also functions as an instrumentalis, which is a notable difference from the functions assigned to the Japanese ablative marker *-kara*. Cp. the following examples (note: square brackets indicate the volume and page number of Nevskiy 2005 where the given example originally comes from).

mtsi-kara alfu-m
road-ABL walk-RLS.NPST
‘To walk down the road.’ (Sawada) [1:363]

nu:ma-kara-du ks-taz
 horse-ABL-FOC come-PST
 ‘I came [here] by horse.’ (Hirara) [1:363]

By contrast, the explicative case marker *-ei* (possibly a cognate with Old Japanese *-shite*) is used to explain the manner (way, fashion, style) in which an action is conducted. It therefore covers only partially the usage of the Japanese marker *-de* – which has neither locative nor instrumental meanings.

no:-nu psa-ei-ga ik-adi
 what-GEN price-EXP-FOC go-OPT
 ‘For what price will you let me buy it?’ (Hirara) [2:112]

u-nu ps-nu ivsa: ui-ei: simai-taz
 that-GEN day-GEN war.TOP that-EXP end.MED-PST
 ‘The war of that day ended that way.’ (Hirara) [2:299]

Information structure (pragmatic case) markers include suffixes *-ja* (topic, replacing the nominative like in mainland Japanese, for the accusative it may either eliminate the accusative marker *-ju* altogether or appear in an allomorphic shape of *-juba*, otherwise combinable with all the other case-markers), *-mai* (inclusion, cannot be combined with the nominative but can with the accusative: *-jumai*), and threefold focus-markers sensitive to the sentence function: *-du* (for declarative sentences), *-nu* in central Miyako or *-ru* in Irabu (for Yes-No questions), and *-ga* (for Wh-questions; all focus-markers are fully combinable with syntactic case markers).

Miyakoan is a language that “prefers” to avoid syllables with an onset-initial palatal approximant /j/, especially on the morpheme borders, and this fact is reflected in a handful of morphophonemic rules observable under certain circumstances. A set of such rules is activated also in the nominal inflection: case-marking suffixes with an initial palatal approximant, i.e. *-ja* and *-ju* (but not the comparative *-juzsa*), may alter the stem of the inflected noun in a way that can hardly be thought of as agglutinative. These rules have been presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Inflectional patterns for various nominal roots when the suffix is -ja or -ju

root	rule	examples
final long vowel	no changes whatsoever, markers attached as they are	<i>na:-ja</i> 'name-TOP', <i>fa:-ju</i> 'a child-ACC' <i>kju:-ja</i> 'today-TOP'
final short vowel homogenous with the vowel of the marker (/a/ for -ja, /u/ for -ju)	lengthening of the final vowel	<i>tabaku:</i> 'cigarettes.ACC', <i>ata:</i> 'tomorrow.TOP'
final short vowel heterogenous against the vowel of the marker, but different from /i/ (/u/ for -ja, /a/ for -ju)	alternation of the final vowel for the long /o:/ ⁹	<i>psto:</i> (<i>pstu+ja</i>) 'people.TOP' <i>umo:</i> (<i>uma+ju</i>) 'there.ACC'
final /i/	/i/ is dropped and the preceding consonant palatalized, followed by /a/ or /u/ depending on the marker	<i>karju:</i> (<i>kari+ju</i>) 'he.ACC' <i>tukja</i> (<i>tuki+ja</i> , Ikema variety) 'time.TOP'
final /s/, /z/, /m/, /n/	lengthening of the consonant followed by /a/ or /u/ depending on the marker	<i>cikssa</i> (<i>ciks+ja</i>) 'the moon.TOP' <i>tigabzzu</i> (<i>tigabz+ju</i>) 'a letter.ACC' <i>hunnu</i> (<i>hun+ju</i>) 'a book.ACC' <i>midumma</i> (<i>midum+ja</i>) 'a woman.TOP'
final /si/, /zi/, /tsi/	dropping of the /i/ and lengthening of the consonant followed by /a/ or /u/ depending on the marker	<i>tussa</i> (<i>tusi+ja</i>) 'a year.TOP' <i>mizzu</i> (<i>mizi+ju</i>) 'water.ACC' <i>nimuttsa</i> (<i>nimutsi+ja</i>) 'luggage.TOP'.

⁹ In varieties which do not have a long /o:/ in their inventory, such as Irabu or central Miyakoan Uechi, as well as in the song language, the respective vowels are instead sequenced as a diphthong /ua/ and /au/, so *munu + ja = mun-ua* 'a thing-TOP', *uica + ju = uic-au* 'clothes-ACC'.

Nominal morphology in Miyako-Ryukyuan also includes a handful of word-formation suffixes: diminutive *-gama*, plural *-ta* (in Hirara) or *-ti* (in Sawada), *-kja* (-kɛ in Tarama) or *-mmi* (Sawada, Sarahama) alias *-mmɛ*: (Tarama).

Verbs

The lexical category of verbs consists of lexical items which are inflected for TAM and can directly modify an NP. The category of time is two-dimensional: non-past and past, while the aspect seems to be indicated in an analytical way by the addition of auxiliary verbs (e.g. *uz* ‘to be (animated)’ used to mark the progressive meaning). Modality is expressed by a wide range of suffixes and clitics whose systematic description will most likely be a major future challenge; these are the markers such as the desiderative *-pusi* (itself inflecting like an adjective), debitive *-dakara naran*, prohibitive *-ja naran*, hortative *-da* or *-ra*, to name but a few.

As for valency changing operations, passive and causative voice forms have been recorded in Nevskiy’s *Materials* in large numbers. Verbal honorification can be expressed by suppletive verbs or by the honorific auxiliary verb *ma:z*.

In Table 10 a proposal of six verbal inflection groups has been presented, along with a few inflection (time and aspect-oriented) categories whose representations have been found in Nevskiy’s manuscript dictionary. By no means is this, however, a result of a complete study of the data on verbs recorded in *Materials*. The contents of this table should be considered a tentative hypothesis rather than a descriptive statement. Examples and inflection patterns come from central Miyako varieties (excluding Irabu).

Table 10. Verbal inflection

	non-past	past	negative non-past	medial
I	<i>mi:-z</i> 'to see'	<i>mi:-taz</i>	<i>mi:-n</i>	<i>mi:</i>
II	<i>um-u:</i> 'to think'	<i>um-u:taz</i>	<i>um-a:n</i>	<i>um-ui:</i>
III	<i>num</i> 'to drink'	<i>num-taz</i>	<i>num-an</i>	<i>num-i</i>
IV	<i>muts-i</i> 'to have, to carry'	<i>*muts-itaz</i> ¹⁰	<i>*mut-an</i>	<i>mute-i</i>
V	<i>uz</i> 'to be (animate)'	<i>u-taz</i>	<i>ur-an</i>	<i>ur-i</i>
VI	<i>az</i> 'to speak'	<i>az-taz</i>	<i>azz-an</i>	<i>azz-i</i>

Two verbs have been found to display some inflectional characteristics unlike any of the aforementioned groups. These are verbs *kss* 'to come' and *si* 'to do'. For a large part, however, their inflection resembles that of Group IV.

Adjectives

Adjectives can modify an NP directly with their basic (root) form. They may also function as predicates with the suffixes *-kaz* or *-kal* (the latter found in Irabu; both suffixes are cognates to the mainland Japanese *-ku aru*, i.e. the medial ending of an adjective plus the 'to be (inanimate)' verb; *-kaz* inflects like the group V verbs) attached to the root. Therefore, one could also classify adjectives as a sub-class of verbs which has retained the distinction between the finite and attributive form. This author chose to describe adjectives as a separate category, since the attachment of the *-kaz* suffix can be regarded as a kind of derivational (class-changing) morphology. Moreover, the predicative forms themselves can also function as NP modifiers, and like in the case of verbs, their attributive form is no different from the finite form (compare *akakaz=pazi=Ø* red.NPST=DED=COP.NPST 'must be red').

¹⁰ Asterisk-marked items have not been found in the *Materials*, but are estimated upon the inflectional data found in this source.

Also, adjectives display a rather productive feature of reduplication: doubling the stem serves as a means to intensify the meaning¹¹. Examples below illustrate the Hirara usage of adjectives in their attributive and predicative functions.

pusi ‘wanting’
pusi-ka-z
 wanting-VRB-NPST
 ‘to want’ [2:113]

pusi munu
 wanting thing
 ‘something wanted’ [2:113]

kagi ‘good’ ‘beautiful’
kagi gi:
 beautiful tree
 ‘a beautiful tree’ [1:323]

kagi kukuru
 good heart
 ‘a good heart’ [1:323]

kunu pana o: munu=∅
 this flower blue thing=NPST.COP¹²
 ‘This flower is blue’ [2:1]

Note: Tarama adjectives in their predicative function take on a cognate of *-sa aru* instead of *-ku aru*. The *Materials* do not confirm this observation due to the lack of relevant data.

Other

Apart from nouns, Miyakoan displays a large class of other nominals, i.e. lexemes which have a defective case inflection paradigm when compared to nouns proper, and which at the same time can directly – without the mediation of any case marker – modify a VP. One such class is numerals,

¹¹ Although reduplicated adjectives were listed by Nevskiy in separate entries, no example sentences featuring this item have been found so far. Hence the syntactic position of reduplicated forms on the basis of the *Materials* cannot be identified for now.

¹² On nouns in the predicative position see the section Syntax.

distinct not only semantically, but also by their paradigm: they can inflect for genitive, explicative, ablative-instrumental (for the instrument meaning), topic, inclusion and focus. Nominals that are neither nouns nor numerals inflect for genitive, topic, inclusion, focus, and also – if the semantics of the given nominal allows for it – ablative and limitative. Semantically they often resemble adverbs, with representatives such as *nnama* ‘now’, *ati* ‘too much’ or *kaneï* ‘like this’.

Non-nominal classes, apart from verbs and adjectives, still require more careful scrutiny for any conclusions to be drawn. There seems to exist a distinct class of *proper adverbs* (not inflected for any syntactic or pragmatic case), at least some of which are installed in a VP by the mediation of the suffix *-ti*.

Syntax

The basic word order in Miyako-Ryukyuan is SOV, with the modifier-head basic clause order, both characteristics not unlike most other Japonic languages. Verbs and (verbalized) adjectives can become predicates, while nominals in order to take on the predicate role need the assistance of the copula, whose equivalent in Miyako-Ryukyuan is *ja(:)z* (inflecting in accordance with the group V verbal pattern). However, in declarative non-past sentences (not modified for non-declarative modality and not followed by any conjunctive clitics) a nominal appears in the finite position without the copula.

ba:-ja mjaku=pstu=∅

I-TOP Miyako=man=NPST.COP

‘I am Miyakoan.’ [1:85]

Compare:

kaneï=ja:r-an

this=COP-NEG.NPST

‘It is not like that.’ [1:361]

Complex sentences are formed by means of coordination (which is a relatively rare strategy), subordination and clause-chaining, the latter using medial forms of the first clause predicate. Relative adnominal clauses are actually formed by directly filling the modifier slot of the modified noun, a pattern visible throughout all the Japonic-language speaking areas.

Coordination:

ftsi-n sa:r-an munu=ja-z=suga nkjagi-sa:-tei
mouth-DAT please-NEG.NPST thing=COP-NPST=but eat.HON.MED-
HON.MED-PREC

‘It’s nothing tasty, but please enjoy your meal’ (An equivalent of Japanese *okuchi-ni au ka dō ka wakarimasen ga, omeshiagari kudasai*, which means roughly the same thing.) [2:163]

Subordination (verbal):

ba-ga tigabzzu kak-aba mutei: ki fi:-ra
I-NOM letter.ACC write-COND have.MED come.MED give.MED-HOR
‘When I have written the letter, please do carry it (out there) for me.’
[1:86]

Clause-chaining:

na pstun azzi: ksk-aei: fi:-sa:-tei
now one time say.MED listen=CAUS.MED give.MED-HON.MED-
PREC

‘Would you please say it once more and let me listen?’ (i.e. ‘Please say it again.’) [1:554]

Questions regarding agreement between separate particular elements of a sentence in Miyako-Ryukyuan, as well as sentence functions, require further investigation.

End Note

Since this study is in an early developing phase, and since each newly discovered answer brings forward a handful of new questions, one has to bear in mind that most of the points stated or suggested in this paper are going to require further verification and correction. Many elements obligatory in even the most concise grammar sketch have not been touched upon here due to the lack of data and insufficient research. Nevertheless, this author hopes that at least the basic goal of this paper, which was to assess the descriptive potential immersed in the manuscript of Nevskiy’s *Materials*, was successfully completed.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	HOR	hortative
ACC	accusative	IND	indicative
BEN	benefactive	MED	medial
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative
CON	conative	NOM	nominative
COND	conditional	NPST	non-past
COP	copula	OPT	optative
DAT	dative	PREC	precative
DED	deductive	PST	past
EXP	explicative	RLS	realis
FOC	focus	TOP	topic
HON	honorific	VRB	verbalizer

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Coping with Modernity: The Hazards of Westernisation and Comic Spirit in Meiji Literature¹

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ABSTRACT

The article investigates the manners in which the discourse of modernity in the 19th century Japan was derided and satirised. It begins by referring to the satirical poems *senryū* which offer an insight into the aspects of the Japanese modernisation which were frequently ridiculed. Then it focuses on the uses of humour in Meiji literature in relation to the previously existing literary tradition and to the new media introduced in Japan at the time, which were simultaneously a sign and an object of the ongoing modernisation. The main areas of investigation are the representations of the West and the images of foreigners in the early Meiji literary texts. The article ends with indicating how the change in literary expression concurred with the change in satirised subject in later Meiji works, in which – as Natsume Sōseki's *Wagahai wa neko de aru* illustrates – the satire is not targeted at the foreigners but at the Japanese themselves.

KEYWORDS: *bunmei kaika*, *senryū*, media in Meiji Japan, westernization, Kanagaki Robun, Futabatei Shimei, Natsume Sōseki.

*This world of civilisation
Where we observe our own mistakes
How enjoyable it is!*²

Introduction

The Meiji period (1868-1912) in Japan is distinguished by the rapid changes which occurred in the country's social and political life, and also in the field of literature. The postulates to follow the so-called Western models of technological, social and cultural development, neatly labelled *bunmei kaika* 文明開化 (Civilisation and Enlightenment), were simultaneously the main theme of public debate at the time and a source of ridicule. The term “Enlightenment” in Japan was strongly associated with

¹ This article is a rewritten version of a presentation delivered to students participating in the International Workshop on Japanese Studies in Murzasichle in 2012.

² 己が非を見る文明の世は楽し (Yamamoto 1983: 86). Unless otherwise indicated, translations are made by the author. The *senryū* poems referred to in this paper are also quoted and translated into English in: Brink 2001.

modernity. This association is also emphasised when the meaning and development of Enlightenment is discussed in the European context: “the concept of Enlightenment dates back to the fifteenth century in Europe but was given a decisive formulation by classical social thinkers in the eighteenth century, who then gave it the name Modernity” (Lushaba 2009: 10). Enlightenment is considered a consequence of social progress and as such may be associated with modernity. Moreover, as Timothy Mitchell notices, there is a strong interdependence between the discourse of modernisation and that of westernisation.³ These two discourses intermingled in Meiji Japan, generating public debates on Japanese modernity.

he ferment over the changes postulated in Japan inspired a number of critical voices. From the perspective of a writer and a critic, Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1859-1935) in *Shōsetsu shinzui* 小説真髓 (The Essence of the Novel, 1886) focused on the role of humour or comic wit in Japanese novels and also in theatre. Natsume Sōseki, on the other hand, used his knowledge of English eighteenth century literature to write about different motives leading to satirical expression, which he considered *callous* (*reikoku* 冷酷) due to its detached way of depicting reality (Wells 2006: 196). The problem of Japanese humour interpreted in a social and cultural context has been extensively researched inside and outside Japan (Nakamura 中村 1953; Yanagita 柳田 1967; Wells 1997; Hibbett 2002), including a wide spectrum of approaches and methodologies. There is, however, still a place for a more detailed and focused analysis of the relations between humour in early Meiji literature and the introduction or perception of foreign ideas.

The aim of this article, being merely an introduction to more extensive studies, is to analyse a number of examples in which the discourse of westernisation in Meiji Japan is questioned and ridiculed. The uses of humour and satire are interpreted in relation to the previously existing literary tradition, as well as to the new media introduced in Japan in the nineteenth century which themselves were also a powerful sign of modernisation.

³ “One of the characteristics of modernity has always been its autocentric picture of itself as the expression of a universal certainty, whether the certainty of human reason freed from particular traditions, or of technological power freed from the constraints of the natural world. So its history has always claimed to be a universal one, in fact the only universal history. For this reason, however, it has also depended on assigning a different and lesser significance to things deemed purely local, non-Western, and lacking a universal expression.” (Mitchell 2000: 12).

Ridiculing *bummei kaika*

The Japanese term *bummei kaika*, commonly translated as “Civilisation and Enlightenment,” is a late Tokugawa/early Meiji neologism (Ōkubo 2007: 272–275) and was used by Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1834–1901) to denote the highest stage of human advance (Notehelfer 2005: 697). The term reflects the dual tendency of the European Enlightenment, in which social development and progress (*bummei*) is juxtaposed with the “public cultivation of civilisation through government policy” or the “civilizing process” (*kaika*).⁴

There were many proponents of westernisation in nineteenth-century Japan. Some even believed that, “since Caucasians were observably superior to the people of all other races, the Japanese should intermarry with them as quickly as possible in order to acquire their higher ethnic qualities” (Varley 2000: 241). However, not everybody was entirely enthusiastic about the reforms and changes resulting from the decision to follow foreign patterns of development. Some were slightly sceptical, others openly criticized the new fashions. Professional raconteurs (*rakugoka* 落語家), among others, started to incorporate allusions to the process of westernisation in their stage performances. For example, San’yūtei Enchō 三遊亭円朝 (1839–1900), a famous *rakugoka* who also influenced the prosaic diction in Meiji Japan, was known for his so-called *nyūsu banashi* ニューズ話. These were summaries of Western novels adapted by his assistants “who could barely read the original” versions but who were most eager to ridicule the content.⁵

The public discourse of modernity was frequently ridiculed in short satirical poems called *senryū* 川柳.⁶ Sometimes the importance of the *bummei kaika* movement was belittled by being compared to something ephemeral and fleeting as in the verse: “in perfume one can smell a hint of Enlightenment.”⁷ Frequently, however, the authors expressed their frustration with the widespread presence of foreign ideas in public discourse. To what extent the label *bummei kaika* was used and reused in Meiji Japan may be exemplified by one *senryū* poem: “enlightenment and progress are always present in the mouths of newspaper sellers.”⁸ The poem is self-explanatory: it emphasises the frequency with which the

⁴ See: Howland 2002: 42–43.

⁵ The role that new developments in politics and culture in Meiji Japan played in *rakugo* performances is brilliantly rendered in Hibbett 2002: 172–175.

⁶ For the history and development of *senryū*, see: Kobayashi 2006: 153–178.

⁷ 香水で一寸開化が匂はせる Yamamoto 1983: 86.

⁸ 新聞屋、開化進歩が口に馴れ Yamamoto 1983: 86.

coined phrase *bummei kaika* reappeared in newspaper titles, also shouted aloud by the newspaper vendors. The uncritical atmosphere surrounding the introduction of foreign ideas is thus symbolically rendered by the chattering sound of the street sellers and the famous phrase is shown as a mere slogan devoid of substantial meaning.

Another satirical poem took as its target the careless and perfunctory attitude to adopting the Western ideas of modernisation: “all the more parrots laugh imitating the crude *kaika*.”⁹ The poem uses a hyperbole: a parrot – an animal famous, or rather infamous, for its mindless repetitions – is laughing at the Japanese, presented as copy cats who do not understand the words and acts they aspire to imitate. The term *bummei kaika* is satirically transformed into *nama kaika*, *nama* 生 meaning “crude,” “inexperienced,” “unripe.” Therefore, it may be argued that it is not only the lack of criticism in following foreign ideals but also the lack of required knowledge and inexperience that are the objects of ridicule in Meiji *senryū* poems.

New Target of Satire and New Media

The need to satirize the so-called modern or Western fashions is also present in Meiji newspapers. Being a new medium in modernising Japan, newspapers, as might be predicted, were often used to advocate new Western ideas. However, apart from the mainstream press, which included both *ōshinbun* 大新聞 or large newspapers focusing on politics and *koshinbun* 小新聞, and small newspapers, devoted mostly to gossip, a number of satirical journals also emerged. Although they were frequently critical of the West, their style was greatly influenced by the English-language *Japan Punch*, issued from 1862 to 1887 in Yokohama, one of main foreign settlements in Japan at the time. One example of the Japanese language satirical magazine was *Marumaru Chinbun* 团团珍聞 founded in 1877 by Nomura Fumio 野村文夫 (1836-1891). The title is very telling of the content: “chinbun” designate “things bizarre” and “maru maru,” or two circles, refer to the procedures of censorship in the Japanese press where, from 1875, the so-called taboo words or *kinku* 禁句 were replaced by two circles. The magazine commented on current affairs and also lampooned the slavish acceptance of foreign models.¹⁰ Its enormous popularity was

⁹ オウムも笑ふ口真似の生開化 Yamamoto 1983: 86.

¹⁰ The broad specter of the magazine may be inferred from the first volume of the *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* series. See: Shimizu 1 1986-1987.

not entirely unrelated to its price: it cost around 5 *sen* (the price of less than one kilogram of rice) (Huffman 1997: 94).

Another important satirical magazine during the Meiji period was *Tokyo Puck*, launched in full-colour in 1905 by Kitazawa Rakuten 北沢楽天 (1876-1955). The span of themes it ridiculed was vast: from politics, economics through social or ethical issues to everyday life and customs. One of the recurring characters in the magazine was Haikara Kidorō 灰殻木戸郎 who was deliberately depicted as someone taking pride in all things Western.¹¹ His zeal to adopt foreign ways was accompanied by a very superficial knowledge of the West. His very name Haikara – written with two ideograms signifying ashes (*hai* 灰) and shell (*kara/gara* 殻) in a homonymic way refers to a “high-collar”, the outer symbol of westernisation instantly recognizable in Meiji Japan. Kidorō, on the other hand, may be a reference to Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允, one of the advocates of westernisation who will be referred to later in the article. The name of the character may be read as a meta-comment to his behaviour: it associates modernity with vanity or emptiness symbolised by the “ashes” encoded in the Japanese signs.

Tokyo Puck presents, by means of witty pictures and dialogues, a number of satirical comments on Meiji society. One was of revealing the hypocrisy underpinning the attitude of fervent proponents of modernisation by juxtaposing it with a *chame* 茶目 or mischievous boy. In one episode, for example, one proponent of the West starts ranting and raving about Western rationalism whilst severely criticising the traditional belief in ghosts and apparitions which defy reason and are in stark opposition with the modernising spirit of Meiji Japan.¹² At that very moment, however, he is suddenly frightened by the sight of his own hat jumping away, as if cursed. The haunted hat thus reveals the incongruity between what the admirer of the West preaches and how he naturally reacts. He does not realise that it was not a ghost but a physically present chicken that had moved the hat. In this manner, his attitude is ridiculed by a teenage boy who had hidden the animal under his hat. A childish trick discloses his hypocrisy or ignorance, and the boy is rewarded with pocket money by his

¹¹ Volumes 5 and 6 of *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* provide ample examples of the satirical expression by Kitazawa Rakuten 北沢楽天. See: Shimizu 5,6 1986-1987.

¹² „Tōkyō Puck” 3.18, 1 July 1907.

See also: <http://www.city.saitama.jp/www/contents/1216625557467/index.html>.

father who is apparently far from fervently and single-mindedly supporting the hackneyed postulates of modernisation.

Kanagaki Robun's Representations of the West

What *Tokyo Puck* and other magazines ridiculed in pictures and dialogues, Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文 (1829-1894) already criticised in his novels strongly rooted in Edo *gesaku* 戯作 or popular fiction. The title of his *Seiyō dōchū hizakurige* 西洋道中膝栗毛 (*By Shanks Mare to the West*, 1870-1876) is a direct reference to the famous *gesaku* work by Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831) *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* 東海道中膝栗毛 (*By Shank's Mare along the Tokaidō Tract*, 1802-1814). Ikku depicted in a picaresque fashion a journey of two men of Edo, Yajirobei 彌次郎兵衛 and Kitahachi 喜多八. As they travel to the West of Edo, they encounter different characters and unknown customs they ridicule. However, one cannot escape the conclusion that the ultimate target of the satire are Yaji and Kita (as the names are swiftly shortened) themselves. They truly may be considered “the prototypes for the characters of many *rakugo tabibanashi*” (or *rakugo* storytellers' travel stories) (Shores 2008: 103-104). It is worth noting that the name “Kanagaki Robun” itself reflects the writer's ridiculing strategy. Kanagaki 仮名垣 may be homonymically read as “written in the kana syllabary”; and Robun 魯文 designates “foolish letters.” Therefore, the author's name itself (“foolish words written in kana”) is ironic and self-deprecating. We may argue that Robun literally took foolishness as his own signifier. By representing himself as foolish, Robun thus subverted the civilized/foolish opposition (Reitan 2009: 19). Robun's westernised or internationalised version of Jippensha Ikku's idea also uses the narrative technique Jippensha so successfully employed to capture the imagination (and to trigger the laughter) of his readers for years to come. In a patchwork manner, the plot gathers loose episodes that are only unified by the presence of the main characters. The technique is even more visible in Robun's work as the travelling space is significantly broadened and the destinations tend to change in a kaleidoscopic fashion. It should be emphasised that Robun had no direct experience of the topic he satirized. He never set foot on the so-called Western land and whatever knowledge he had regarding the West was drawn from books such as Fukuzawa Yukichi's 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901) *Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情 (*Conditions in the West*) published in three volumes in 1866, 1868 and 1870 or *Seiyō tabi annai* 西洋旅案内 (A Guide to Travel in the Western World) published after Fukuzawa's trip to the USA in 1867. It is not

surprising then that Robun's narration of the West is permeated with a sense of unfamiliarity and outlandishness.

The tendency, which we may refer to today as occidentalising, mirrors the process of orientalising based on the presentation of the "other" as "absolutely different from the West" (Said 1978: 96). The West in Robun's work is strongly contrasted with what is inner, common (also commonsensical from the author's point of view) or well-known.

Kanagaki Robun's attitude to the West may be said to resemble Oscar Wilde's view of Japan, if we are venturesome enough to identify Wilde's witticisms with his point of view. Wilde insisted in one of his works that visiting Japan may only be an obstacle to knowing it, and that Japan is perfectly approachable from the comfortable space of the British Library where books on things Japanese are gathered and stored for avid readers. Wilde put the criticism of the first-hand experience of Japan in Vivien's mouth and it is worthwhile quoting it as it possibly mirrors Robun's efforts and literary strategy.

"There is no such country, there are no such people. One of our most charming painters went recently to the Land of the Chrysanthemum in the foolish hope of seeing the Japanese. All he saw, all he had the chance of painting, were a few lanterns and some fans (...) He did not know that the Japanese people are, as I have said, simply a mode of style, an exquisite fancy of art. And so, if you desire to see a Japanese effect, you will not behave like a tourist and go to Tokio. On the contrary, you will stay at home, and steep yourself in the work of certain Japanese artists, and then, when you have absorbed the spirit of their style, and caught their imaginative manner of vision, you will go some afternoon and sit in the Park or stroll down Piccadilly and if you cannot see an absolutely Japanese effect there, you will not see it anywhere." (Wilde 1982: 315)

Wilde's paradoxical expression exposes the process of viewing Japan as something foreign and oriental. Robun – having no opportunity (and judging from his works even less eagerness) to visit Europe or the USA – also resorted to building as much a stereotypical as a bizarre image of the West, which itself became a signifier of all things strange and foreign.

Kanagaki Robun, who used the works of Fukuzawa Yukichi, a proponent of modernisation, did not refrain from ridiculing the style and message of the works his own imagination had been fed on. In fact, the very act of

exposing or emphasising Fukuzawa's absurdity seems an important goal of Robun's literary endeavours. Although zealous to fight with Fukuzawa's claims, Robun hardly believed that his opponent's fame would be long lasting. He compared it, in a typical rough and robust way, to the fart of a kappa, a kind of water sprite. "Like a kappa's fart, though it momentarily resounds within the water, it soon floats to the surface as a bubble and disappears" (Reitan 2009: 18) – Robun stated with his usual self-confidence. His statement was not prophetic, however, and Fukuzawa Yukichi remained the main figure of the Meiji times, a true Enlightenment man.

The target of Robun's satire in *Seiyō dōchū hizakurige* is aimed both at the bizarre customs of the West and at the Japanese followers of foreign ways as epitomised by Fukuzawa. The process of modernisation also becomes an important theme. In Book V, Robun thus refers to the on-going changes in Meiji Japan:

"The mountain spice *sanshō* has tiny flakes, but its flavor is pungent. Our country, too, is small, but its imperial line is unchanging. We have never been defeated by a foreign country: the three Korean kingdoms grovel like dogs before us; the Ryukyu's come curled up like little potato-grubs. Their people bask happily in the incomparable virtues and treasures offered to them by the scholars, royalty, military and government of another country. And it is because we too tread the path of civilisation that we can be thankful for each piece of beef that we eat. On this path we will compare the circumstances of others to ourselves, picking and choosing that which will enrich our country, while keeping our expectations small."¹³

The "kaika no tabiaruki" 開化の旅進歩 or the "path of civilisation" is defined by Robun in terms of military and economic power. The first part of the quote emphasises pride in Japan's invincibility. The political strength is spotlighted by means of references to Japan's past conquests as seen from a distinctly Japanese perspective. This pride is accompanied by

¹³ 山椒ハ小粒でもびりゝと辛く我神州は小国なれども皇統萬古不易にして。大むかしから今日まで。けちりんほども外国に。敗を取たるためしなく。三韓も犬つくばいに額づき。琉球も芋虫の転げてまいるハ。智仁武威の御宝他国のおよばぬ徳沢に。潤ふ民の仕合せにて。実にありがたき御国恩。九牛肉の一斤をも。報ふハ開化の旅進歩。彼と我との事情を。てらし合して利益を得。国を富ますが専要と。胸勘定の桁をつばめて。(Robun 2002: 108-109). The English translation is quoted after Mertz 1997: 223.

contempt towards the conquered people: the Koreans and the Ryūkyūans. The elevated tone describing the “incomparable virtues and treasures” brought by the Japanese to the conquered lands is contrasted with the ironic tone describing the effects *bummei kaika* postulates have on the Japanese. What was brought from the West is rendered in one image of beef. “We can be thankful for each piece of beef we eat” – the hyperbole serves to show the ludicrousness of the proponents of the West, who are ready to make beef the symbol of modernity and progress. Robun also ridiculed this attitude in his other work, *Ushiya zōdan agura nabe* 牛店雑談安愚楽鍋 (*Sitting around the Stewpot*, 1871–72).

The phrase “picking and choosing that which will enrich our country” (“*terashiawashite rieki wo e, kuni wo tomasu ga sen’yō to*” てらし合して利益を得。国を富ますが専要と), which closes the passage on modernisation in Book V, may be considered a reference to the fifth postulate of *Go kajō no goseimon* 五箇条の御誓文 or the Charter Oath declaring that “Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule.”¹⁴ The reference may be regarded as ironic in the context of *Seiyō dochū hizakurige*, throughout which Robun vividly illustrates how little there is to be learnt from the West.

The picaresque protagonists of *Seiyō dochū hizakurige* – Yaji and Kita from Yokohama – travel through unknown lands merely finding strange habits, incomprehensible languages, gestures and barbaric customs. When they approach Suez, they notice with disappointment: “It has no grass or trees; the houses are few and far between, made of mud and small stones.”¹⁵ Near Aden they observe that the foreigners live in tents and their lifestyle is very much nomadic. If any of the encountered people interact with Yaji and Kita – and such interactions are rare – they are shown as rascals, thieves or – at best – utter idiots. The readers presented with such descriptions are left in astonishment as to how it is possible to even think of imitating those foreign patterns. Moreover, they are invited to accompany the protagonists in venting their anger on the foreigners. “Foreigners are always looking down on us and reviling us; now it’s time

¹⁴ 知識を世界に求め、大に皇基を振起すべし。 <http://www.japanpen.or.jp/e-bungeikan/guest/pdf/meiji&syowa.pdf>. The translation is given after: Notehelfer 2005: 672.

¹⁵ スエスの地ハ草木を見ずところどころに泥土細石を以て造築土人は黒質にして、不潔こと云んかたなし。 Robun 2002: 211. The English translation is quoted after Mertz 1997: 223.

to show them their mettle” – cries Kita while fighting with the people living in Ceylon.¹⁶

In Book IX, Yaji additionally comments on the effects of *bummei kaika*. “In this world, where everyone is vying to be enlightened and westernised, it is the night districts of Edo (*kuruwa* 廓) that retain their taste without modernisation (*kaika*).”¹⁷ There is a strong juxtaposition between what is proclaimed as enlightened (foreign) and what is traditional (domestic) and it is in the red light district, according to Yaji and Kanagaki Robun himself, that the traditional values of old Japan had found their shelter. Both the picaresque protagonist and the author, however, do not notice that *kuruwa* in the nineteenth century was also a subject of modernisation. In this sense, *Seiyō dochū hizakurige* is not only a satirical but also a nostalgic text, trying to capture what is soon to disappear or what has already started disappearing. Whilst ridiculing the other (the West, the foreign), Kanagaki Robun also attempts to define the self (Japan, the domestic).

Deriding Foreign Fashions

On the one hand, the postulates of *bummei kaika* were repeatedly explored in public discourse and ridiculed in some satirical magazines and novels. On the other hand, the way westerners looked was both glorified and derided. In 1871, Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允 (1833-1877), a Japanese statesman and imperial advisor, wrote a popular poem or *zokka* 俗歌 exploring the parallels between one’s hairstyle and their political views.

“Strike a half-cut head – here comes the sound of temporary conservatism.

Strike a full-cut head – there is the sound of the restoration of imperial rule.

Strike a head cut short – you will hear the sound of civilisation and enlightenment.”¹⁸

The poem brings together three hairstyles symbolizing three different attitudes to modernisation. A top-knot, traditional samurai hairstyle with shaved part of the forehead, represents a conservative attitude promoting

¹⁶ 総体外国のやつらは、日本人を何でもねへやうに、見くだしてけつかるから、こゝらが勇氣を見せる処だ。Robun 2002: 211. The English translation is quoted after Mertz 1997: 223.

¹⁷ 追々開化の進む世の中に、ひらけねへで味のある物は、遊廓だヨ。Robun 2002: 211. The English translation is quoted after Mertz 1997: 226.

¹⁸ 半髪頭をたたいてみれば因循姑息の音がする総髪頭をたたいてみれば王政復古の音がするジャンگری頭をたたいてみれば文明開化の音がする。Akatsuka 2005: 26.

the chivalric values of old Japan. However, the expression *injun kosoku* 因循姑息 is slightly derogatory, meaning dilly-dallying, slow, passive, idle, which sheds light on the standpoint of the person speaking in the poem, and in fact on the author's political views as well. The expression *sōhatsu atama* 総髪頭 evokes the image of long knotted hair, often swept-back and tied up at the back of the head. This hairstyle is associated with people advocating the restoration of imperial rule – *ōsei fukko* 王政復古. Finally, *jangiri atama* ジャンギリ頭 (the *katakana* version is used rather than *kanji* 散切り and the pronunciation is also made to sound more Western), or hair cropped short, represents the proponents of ideas ideologically labelled *bummei kaika*. The poem was a direct response to the Dampsurei Edict 断髮令 issued in 1871, forcing samurai to cut their top-knots and wear their hair in the Western manner. Kido Takayoshi – in order to set a good example for everybody else – cut off his top-knot as one of the first. However, the introduction of new styles and fashions was not unanimously welcome. It was not uncommon to see caricatures of long-nosed strangers whose foreign customs, such as drinking milk, eating meat or wearing leather shoes and high collars were a very convenient object of ridicule (Hibbett 2002: 166). The criticism may be traced in the picture *The Stages of Civilisation* by Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋曉齋 (1831-1889) which appeared as an illustration in Kanagaki Robun's *Seiyō dōchū hizakurige*. The picture is a satirical representation of social progress identified with westernisation. Here, from right to left, the progress of civilisation is represented by the “uncivilized man” (*mikai no hito* 未開の人) with swords, topknot, and clothes of the samurai, then the “semi-civilized man” (*hankai no hito* 半開の人) wearing a Western-style hat and shoes and holding an umbrella, and finally the “fully civilized man” (*kaika no hito* 開化の人) dressed entirely in a foreign manner (Reitan 2009: 8).

The foreign look, symbolised by new hairstyles and clothing, is used for comic purpose by many Meiji writers, including Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷 (1864-1909) known as the writer of the first modern novel (Ryan 1967: xvi). In his famous *Ukigumo* 浮雲 or *Floating Clouds*, published in 1887, Futabatei opens the narrative with a description of the crowd in Tokyo.

“It is three o'clock on the afternoon of a late October day. A swirling mass of men stream out of the Kanda gate, marching first in ant-like formation, then scuttling busily off in every

direction. Each and every one of the fine gentlemen is primarily interested in getting enough to eat. Look carefully and you will see what an enormous variety of individual types are represented in the huge crowd. Start by examining the hair bristling on their faces: moustaches, side whiskers, Vandykes, and even extravagant imperial beards, Bismarck beards reminiscent of a Pekinese, bantam beards, badger's beards, meager beards that are barely visible, thick and thin they sprout in every conceivable way.”¹⁹

This passage from Futabatei's *Ukigumo* is further developed, focusing on the strange clothes of the people near Kanda gate:

“Now see how differently they are dressed. Here is a dandy in a fashionable black suit purchased at Shirokiya set off by shoes of French calfskin. And now confident men oblivious of the ill-fit of their tweeds worn with stiff leather shoes - trousers that trail in the mud like the tail of a tortoise; suits bearing the indelible stamp of the ready-made clothes rack.”²⁰

These passages ridicule all those who follow foreign modes regardless of their inadequacy or even despite the lack of comfort they undoubtedly cause. “I have a beard, fine clothing, what more do I need”²¹ – the nameless crowd seems to be a vivid illustration of the attitude valuing appearances above truthfulness and authenticity. Futabatei builds a narrative distance towards the object described: his narrator views a crowd of people epitomising the tendencies of modernisation in Meiji Japan. His style is brisk and evocative, reminiscent of Ihara Saikaku's 井原西鶴

¹⁹ 千早振神無月ももはや跡二日の余波となつた二十八日の午後三時頃に、神田見附の内より、塗渡とわたる蟻、散る蜘蛛の子とうようよぞよぞ沸出て来るのは、孰も顛を気にし給う方々。しかし熟々見て篤と点検すると、これにも種々種類のあるもので、まず髭から書立てれば、口髭、頬髭、顛の鬚、暴やけに興起した拿破崙髭に、狎チンの口めいた比斯馬克髭、そのほか矮鷄髭、貉髭、ありやなしやの幻の髭と、濃くも淡うすくもいろいろに生分 Futabatei 2010: 11. English translation quoted after: Ryan 1967: 197.

²⁰ 髭に続いて差いのあるのは服飾。白木屋仕込みの黒物づくめには仏蘭西皮の靴の配偶はありうち、これを召す方様の鼻毛は延びて蜻蛉をも釣べしという。これより降つては、背皺よると枕詞の付く「スコッチ」の背広にゴリゴリするほどの牛の毛皮靴、そこで踵にお飾を絶さぬところから泥に尾を曳亀甲洋袴、いずれも釣しんぼうの苦患を今に脱せぬ貌付。 Futabatei 2010: 11-12. English translation quoted after: Ryan 1967: 197.

²¹ 持主は得意なもので、髭あり服あり我また奚をかもとめん Futabatei 2010: 12. English translation quoted after: Ryan 1967: 198.

(1642-1693) novels, and it highlights the content described. What appears to everybody's eyes as fashionable and high-brow, is depicted in a mocking fashion by Futabatei.

The narrator in *Ukigumo* enumerates foreign hairstyles, beards, moustaches - a technique commonly used in Japanese *gesaku* novels - and thus both emphasizes and ridicules the excessive imitation of Western fashions. The discrepancy between the hyperbolic style and mundane content serves to highlight the problematic effects of modernisation in Japan and its influence on human character and social relations.

In this sense, the passage by Futabatei may be regarded as a realisation of the concept of humour as explained by Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui*. Tsubouchi, on the one hand, criticises the association between humour and vulgarity as expressed in Jippensha Ikku's *Hizakurige* (Wells 1997: 50). On the other, he notes that the sense of discrepancy between the high content and the low language (or vice versa) has an undeniably comic effect:

“Generally speaking, humour, especially when discussed from the perspective of the works of literature, is generated when the words that are used are inappropriate to the subject matter. To put things differently, humour is born when things indecent are depicted in rigorous words, or when things refined are depicted in what is a rustic language.”²²

In his theoretical work exploring the mechanisms of Japanese narratives in the context of the English literary tradition, Tsubouchi focuses on humour as being, together with beauty and pathos, indispensable to fine writing. He tries to define the essence of humour by referring to the long tradition of *gesaku bungaku* 戯作文学, highlighting the incongruity between the manner of description and the object described as one of the sources of humour stemming from the breach of decorum. Wells (1997) recognises Tsubouchi's idea of humour as being close to burlesque (50).

Futabatei, in his depiction of foreign looks, uses humour stemming from incongruity - a technique also used by Japanese *gesaku* writers. Natsume Souseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916), on the other hand, moves from mere observation of incongruity to irony. His *Wagahai wa neko de aru* 吾輩は猫

²²総じて滑稽といふものは、専ら文字上より論ずるときには、詞の品位の其主意の品位に適せざるときに生ずるものにて、語をかへて之れをいへば、鄙猥の事物を写しいだすにいと厳なる文字を以てし、高尚の題目を論ずるにいと俚びたる言語を以てするに於て生ずべきなり。Tsubouchi 2011: 100.

である (*I am a Cat*), a satirical novel serialised between 1905–1906 includes a passage in which Meitei 迷亭, or Mr Waverhouse, describes the ways of his uncle. “He lives with a top-knot still on his head. Can you beat it?” – he appeals to the readers’ idea of a conservative look. Then he adds with mockery: “And when he goes out, he always carries an iron fan.”²³ When Kushami 苦沙弥, or Mr Sneeze, asks about the justification of the old man’s behaviour, Meitei replies: “I haven’t the faintest idea. He just carries it. Perhaps he prefers a fan to a walking stick. As a matter of fact an odd thing”²⁴ Both the top-knot and the fan are symbols of a by-gone era, the latter juxtaposed with a Western walking cane. Meitei’s attitude may be used to highlight the generation gap and ongoing renouncement of old values.

However, the obstinacy of Meitei’s uncle in cherishing the symbols is also questioned:

“In the spring this year he wrote to me out of the blue with a request that I should send him a bowler hat and a frock-coat. I was somewhat surprised and wrote back asking for further clarification. I received an answer stating that the old man himself intended to wear both items on the occasion of the Shizuoka celebration of the war victory, and that I should therefore send them quickly.”²⁵

The combination of the occasion, i.e. the celebration of the military victory, and the old man’s outfit is highly ironic. Meitei’s uncle does not seem to see any incongruity in wearing both the bowler hat and the frock-coat, symbols of westernisation, together with the fan and the traditional hairstyle. As a consequence, his appearance creates a sensation due to the fact that his use of symbols is superficial. The readers are led to assume that the top-knot and the fan are, for him, merely embellishments devoid of true meaning. He, thus, may be said to represent the tendency to assign too

²³ 頭にちょん髷を頂いて生きてるんだから恐縮しまさあ (...) それで外出する時には、きつと鉄扇をもって出るんですがね。English translation quoted after: Wilson 1972: 187.

²⁴ 何にするんだか分らない、ただ持って出るんだね。まあステッキの代りくらいに考えてるかも知れんよ。English translation quoted after: Wilson 1972: 187.

²⁵ 此年の春突然手紙を寄こして山高帽子とフロックコートに至急送れと云うんです。ちょっと驚ろいたから、郵便で問い返したところが老人自身が着ると云う返事が来ました。二十三日に静岡で祝捷会があるからそれまでに間まに合うように、至急調達しろと云う命令なんです。English translation quoted after: Wilson 1972: 188.

much value to surface manners and appearances, which resulted from the Meiji shift to the ideology of the self-made man.

Conclusion

An attempt to juxtapose the public discourse of *bummei kaika* and the writings of the early Meiji era leads to the conclusion that the process of modernisation and its main proponents were an important object of ridicule and satire at the time. Moreover, as shown in the article, satire was frequently targeted at what was regarded as foreign and substantially different from traditional customs. In the case of Kanagaki Robun, the main objects of ridicule are Westerners and the most fervent Japanese advocates of foreign fashions. The narrator uses situational humour and appeals to the expected dissatisfaction among readers with the postulates of *bummei kaika*.

With the works of Futabatei and Sōseki, however, the target of comic description is shifted from Westerners to the Japanese themselves. To distance his narrator from the rest of Japanese society, Futabatei uses incongruity and hyperbole. Sōseki achieves this distance by means of complex irony. His characters in *Wagahai wa neko de aru* are shown as bizarre and unnatural; and the narrative perspective of an unnamed cat additionally strengthens the effect of strangeness. It is worth noting here that after the serialised publication of *Wagahai wa neko de aru*, Sōseki's tone became gloomier, denser and far from frivolous. The change in Sōseki's style did not go unnoticed by critics who referred to it with the key phrase: “the loss of laughter” (*warai no sōshitsu 笑いの喪失*).²⁶ It may be argued that the change in Sōseki's tone occurred when he stopped focusing on the problem of superficial imitation of foreign manners in Japanese society and started considering the consequences, felt by an individual, of being uprooted from one's own culture. It may, therefore, be assumed that the change in the subject matter influenced the style of writing and also required a different expression or realisation of humour. The distance to the other, so clearly visible in the satirical works focusing on the mechanism of modernisation, was lost when texts started to focus on the Japanese self.

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²⁶ Hiroharu Ayame 広治綾目 analyses the term introduced by Nakamura Mitsuo 中村光夫 in the context of the works of Futabatei Shimei and Hanada Kiyoteru. See: Hiroharu 2006: 85-106.

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