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Drodzy Czytelnicy,

oto czwarty zeszyt *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林, zamykający pierwszy roczny cykl publikacji kwartalnika. Tym razem proponujemy Państwu zestaw artykułów z językoznawstwa i medioznawstwa.

Zeszyt zredagowaliśmy w nowym składzie kolegium, rozszerzonym o przedstawiciela Zakładu Japonistyki i Sinologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Witamy nowego członka kolegium. W obecnym składzie kolegium nasz kwartalnik będzie mógł lepiej reprezentować polskie ośrodki japonistyczne.

Zgodnie z naszymi zapowiedziami ogłoszonymi w zeszycie wiosennym, *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 posiada już stronę internetową, która znajduje się pod adresem:

<http://www.silvajp.amu.edu.pl>.

Na stronie znajdziecie Państwo także archiwalne zeszyty periodyku. Chcemy, aby zawartość naszego pisma była w ten sposób łatwiej dostępna dla badaczy działających na całym świecie.

Niezmiennie staramy się o to, aby *Silva* była coraz bardziej atrakcyjnym medium dla publikacji wyników badań japonistycznych. Na początku września br. zeszyt ten pojawi się na 11 Konferencji European Association for Japanese Studies organizowanej w Wiedniu. Stale rozszerzamy zakres dystrybucji o biblioteki kolejnych ośrodków japonistycznych oraz organizacji wspierających studia japonistyczne. Jeśli organizacja, którą Państwo reprezentujecie, zainteresowana jest posiadaniem w swych zbiorach bibliotecznych naszego periodyku, prosimy o kontakt z kolegium redakcyjnym.

Oczekujemy na zgłoszenia nowych materiałów do publikacji. Otrzymywane od Państwa komentarze pomagają nam lepiej dostosowywać periodyk do oczekiwań naszych czytelników.

Jesienny zeszyt ukaże się we wrześniu 2005.

Kolegium redakcyjne

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Poznań-Tokio-Kraków-Warszawa, czerwiec 2005

Dear Readers,

here is the fourth fascicle of *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林, completing the first year publication circle of our quarterly. This time we serve you a set of articles on linguistics and mass media science.

This fascicle was edited by the editorial board in its new makeup, with our new member from the Department of Japanese and Chinese Studies of the Jagiellonian University. We would like to welcome the new member and express our hope that now we can better represent the Japanese studies institutions in Poland.

In accordance with our spring announcements, *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 Internet home page has become accessible at the address:

<http://silvajp.amu.edu.pl>.

The page also contains the back numbers of our periodical. We would like to make the contents of the periodical more open to the Japanese studies researchers working in different countries.

We are continuously striving to make *Silva* a more attractive medium to publish the results of research on Japanese studies. In the beginning of September, this fascicle of our periodical will be presented at the 11th International Conference of the European Association of Japanese Studies in Vienna. We also broaden the scope of *Silva* distribution with successive Japanese studies institutions as well as organizations supporting Japanese studies and their libraries. Should the organization you represent like to include our quarterly into its library collection, please contact the editorial board.

We are still looking forward to new contributions to *Silva*. Thanks to your comments and suggestions we can suit our quarterly better to our reader's expectations.

The autumn fascicle will appear in September 2005.

The editorial board

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Poznań-Tōkyō-Cracow-Warsaw, June 2005

読者のみなさまへ

***Silva laponicarum*** 日林第四号をお届けいたします。これで、季刊誌刊行が一巡目の四季をめぐり終えたこととなります。今回みなさまにお読みいただくのは、言語学とマス・メディア研究の論文です。本号は、ヤギエウォ大学日本・中国学科の代表者を加えた、新しいメンバーの編集委員会が編集しました。編集会の新メンバーを歓迎いたします。編集委員会の現在の構成によって、私たちの季刊誌が、ポーランドの日本学研究諸機関をよりよく代表できるものとなることを希望しています。

春号に予告したとおり、***Silva laponicarum*** 日林はすでに自らのホームページを持っており、それは以下のアドレスにあります。

<http://www.silvajp.amu.edu.pl>

みなさまはそこで、季刊誌のバックナンバーを読むことができますでしょう。こうした方法で、私たちの雑誌の内容が全世界で活動する日本学者により容易に届くよう、望んでいます。

私たちは、***Silva*** が日本学研究の結果を発表するメディアとしてより魅力的なものになるよう、変わらぬ努力を続けています。本年9月上旬に、本冊子は、ウィーンで開催される第11回ヨーロッパ日本研究協会 (EAJS) 会議に登場します。私たちは本誌の配布先を、さらに新しい日本学研究機関や日本研究を支援する組織の図書館へと、着実に増やしています。読者のみなさまの代表される機関が、その蔵書中に私たちの季刊誌を加えることにご関心をお持ちの際は、編集委員会にご連絡ください。

私たちは常に、未刊行論文の投稿を待ち望んでいます。みなさまからいただいたご意見は、私たちの季刊誌を読者の期待によりよくそうよう改める助けとなります。

秋号は、2005年9月に刊行されます。

編集委員会

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2005年6月 ポズナニ・東京・クラクフ・ワルシャワ

## ***Silva Iaponicarum* 日林**

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## **Degree modification of verbal forms: scalarity of *totemo* and *bardzo* from a contrastive perspective**

### **1. Introduction**

The selectional behavior of degree modifiers (mainly intensifying degree adverbials) has been treated in several studies (Bolinger 1972, Janus 1981, Węgiel 1995, Kennedy & McNally 1999, Tsujimura 2000 and others) from the viewpoint of the properties of the modified gradable expressions. Such analyses consist in examining what semantic classes of predicates can be modified by a given intensifier. The theory proposed by Kennedy & McNally (1999, 2004) arises from observations of the distribution of degree adverbs, and subsequently attempts to establish a connection between the types of scales underlying the properties denoted by predicates, and the modification by different intensifiers (the analysis is centered on *very*, *well*, and *much*). In this study, it is claimed that in the case of de-verbal adjectives in addition to the inherent properties of the modified predicates such as gradability, type of scale and event structure, other factors, such as aspectual form, negation, whether the form is a participle, and whether it occurs in the interrogative mode or in a phrase expressing an excessive degree, are all of importance when defining the conditions of modification by degree words.

This paper is organized as follows. It starts with an overview of the semantic theory of gradable predicates, their degree modification and scale structure proposed in Kennedy & McNally (1999). Subsequently, the analysis of Japanese degree intensifier *totemo* ‘very’ presented in Tsujimura (2000) will be confronted with the facts of Polish, in particular, distributional properties of the corresponding degree adverb *bardzo*. The argument is focused on modification of verbal forms and de-verbal adjectives with a brief reference to adjectives and nouns.

### **2. Scalarity and degree modification**

In this paper the theoretical framework proposed by Kennedy & McNally (1999) is applied to the linguistic facts of Japanese and Polish. As has been shown by these authors, degree modifiers are sensitive to the type of standard of comparison (trivial or non-trivial; see later in this section) and scale structure (i.e. whether the scale has maximum and/or minimum values), therefore these two factors speak for including them in the semantics of gradable expressions. Such compositional semantics, based

on the scalar properties of gradable predicates, is capable of predicting the selectional behavior of degree adverbs such as *very*, *totemo* and *bardzo*.

The scalar properties of lexical adjectives are encoded in their lexical entries, therefore using morphology to explain why certain adjectives have the lexical structures they do would be possible only if there was a complete (or at least highly regular) correlation between the lexical meaning and morphology, which is rarely the case. A closer look at the typology of Polish verbs, such as proposed by Młynarczyk (2004), taking their morphological properties into account, shows that even if the linguistic form overlaps with the lexical meanings to some extent, the degree of this interdependence is too low to make it possible to establish a clear link between classifications based on the two criteria.

Different encodings of the respective predicates have to be considered before the scalar structure is looked at. For example, (1) below is an instance of degree modification that is not cross-linguistically uniform, for example:

- (1)
- a. a very pregnant woman
  - b. \*kobieta bardzo ciężarna  
woman very pregnant
  - c. \*totemo ninsin siteiru josei  
very pregnancy do-PROG female
  - c'. \*totemo ninnsintyuu no josei  
very pregnant GEN female

As can be seen, the above triple of examples brings up a very salient problem. Unlike a relatively small and to a high extent cross-linguistically universal (with respect to semantic characteristics) set of dimensional adjectives<sup>1</sup>, other lexical entries (e.g. *pregnant*) can have various realizations in different languages. Moreover, the English phrase *very pregnant* is acceptable, unlike the Polish and Japanese equivalents. This factor, in conjunction with the fact that scalarity is encoded in the lexical meaning, presents quite a challenge for any attempt of contrastive analysis. Such an account would have to be very complex, consisting of two stages. The first step would consist of defining the selectional properties of each gradable lexical item (i.e. whether it can be modified by *very*, *much*, *well*, or some other intensifier) and vice versa as was attempted in the aforesaid accounts of Polish (Janus 1981, Węgiel 1995). Only then would the next

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<sup>1</sup> Such as *long*, *short*, *high*, *low* and about ten other antonymic pairs, cf. Bierwisch (1987).

step be possible, i.e. defining the relations between the lexical entries of the two languages being contrasted. As argued in Kennedy (2004), the part of scalar meaning that is bound with the lexical content should be a subject of future investigation.

The most fundamental condition of degree modification, shared by virtually any theoretical framework, is that the modified expression has to be gradable. In addition, in Kennedy & McNally (1999: 168) the following two types of comparison standards that apply to adjectives (including the group of de-verbal adjectives<sup>2</sup>) have been differentiated:

- (2) a. An adjective has a trivial standard iff its standard defaults to an endpoint of the scale.
- b. An adjective has a nontrivial standard iff its standard is context dependent.

According to Kennedy & McNally (1999) the role of the degree intensifier *very* is to increase the standard of comparison: ‘the difference between e.g. *expensive* and *very expensive* is that the latter denotes a property whose meaning is just like the former, except that the standard value is “boosted” by some amount’ (ibidem: 7). The following examples are presented in support of this claim:

- (3) a. The international space station is very expensive.  
(for space projects; *large increase in the standard*)
- b. The coffee at the airport is very expensive.  
(for coffee; *smaller increase in the standard*)

However, this formulation raises two questions. Firstly, what is actually being boosted here: is it the standard of comparison, or the particular degree (value) ascribed to an object? If the standard (not the degree itself) was boosted, then even an ‘objectively’ big increase would become less noticeable since the standard had been set high. For example, the coffee at the airport that costs 20 dollars is considered very expensive exactly because the standard (non-boosted) price is 5 dollars. If the standard were higher (for example in a five-star hotel in Tokyo), this price would not be outrageous at all. Secondly, the above examples of large and smaller increase in the standard seem to treat the increase in an absolute manner,

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<sup>2</sup> The precise distinction between participles and de-verbal adjectives is the subject of an unresolved dispute in Polish, for relevant discussion see Bartnicka (1967), Pasternak-Cetnarowska (1986), or Grannes (1992).

but are the standards not set relatively to other members of a given set? For example let us assume that a ‘normal’ space station costs 4 billion dollars, but the station in question has cost 16 billion dollars. On the other hand, let us consider a situation where a cup of coffee in an ordinary establishment costs 5 dollars, but the same cup of coffee at the airport costs 20 dollars. If we follow the lines of the above argument, a ‘large increase in the standard’ would have to mean  $16-4=12$  billion dollars, and the ‘smaller increase’  $20-5=15$  dollars, even though the increase was proportional, i.e. the expensive item had a four times higher price in both cases. Proportions and percents seem to be more suitable for capturing this phenomenon. In addition to gradability, another condition imposed on the modification by *very* is that the adjective modified by it has to have a non-trivial standard. The semantic analysis proposed by Kennedy & McNally avails itself of a function  $G$  from objects to degrees (with a standard  $d$ ) where a context-dependent function LARGE identifies the amount by which the standard value should be increased. The semantics of *very* is formulated as (ibid.: 8):

$$(4) \quad \llbracket \textit{very} \rrbracket = \{ \langle G, \langle d_{s(G)}, x \rangle \rangle \mid \exists d [G(x) \geq d_{s(G)} + d \wedge \text{LARGE}(d)] \}$$

CONDITION:  $d_{s(G)}$  is nontrivial

By adding the non-triviality caveat, Kennedy excludes the infelicitous cases like *very able* or *very awake*, restricting the connection between *very* and the standard value.

In summary, the modification by *very* is definitely possible when the scale is totally open<sup>3</sup> (has neither lower nor upper end) and the standard applicable for a given adjective is nontrivial. If the scale is partially or totally closed and the standard is trivial, *very* yields phrases that might be perceived as odd.

### 3. Tsujimura’s account on *totemo* in view of the material of Polish

The analysis presented in Tsujimura (2001) is based on the semantic classification of verbs proposed by Vendler (1967) and Dowty (1979)<sup>4</sup>. Importantly, it also adopts Kennedy’s notion of the trivial and non-trivial standard associated with a given adjective that was discussed in the preceding section. Departing from Bolinger’s (1972) opposition of

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<sup>3</sup> Unlike in the case of proportional modifiers where both ends of the scale have to be known in order to enable proper calculation (e.g. *half full – half empty*).

<sup>4</sup> See also Sano (1998).

intensification for extensibility versus intensification of events denoted by degree verbs, Tsujimura argues that, as far as the former is concerned, the Japanese adverb *totemo* modifies mostly adjectives and verbs<sup>5</sup>. Subsequently the author claims that the former type of modification by *totemo* (intensification of extensibility) is present in Japanese, as in the following examples (acceptability markers as in op. cit.), but this assertion and the analysis of example material raises some doubts. In the remaining part of this section, all example sentences that were considered acceptable (i.e. had no asterisks or question marks) in Tsujimura, but raised some doubts in the author and his informants, have the acceptability markers added in brackets. Markers without brackets are as in the cited paper.

- (5) (\*) Taroo wa (gengogaku no hon o) totemo yonda.  
Taroo TOP (linguistics GEN book ACC) very read  
'Taro read a lot of (of linguistics books).'
- (6) (\*) Taroo wa (susi o) totemo tabeta.  
Taro TOP (sushi ACC) very ate  
'Taro ate a lot of sushi'
- (7) (\*)? Taroo wa (kane o) totemo karita.  
Taro TOP (money ACC) very borrowed  
'Taro borrowed a lot (of money)'
- (8) (\*)? Taroo wa (huruhon o) totemo utta.  
Taro TOP (used book ACC) very sold  
'Taro sold a lot (of used books)'
- (9) (??) Taroo wa (tango o) totemo oboeta.  
Taro TOP (vocabulary ACC) very memorized  
'Taro memorized a lot (of vocabulary).'

(Tsujimura 2000: 32-33)

*Totemo* in the above sentences is supposed to refer to a large quantity of the entities denoted by direct object (books, sushi, and so on) where the subsequent adverb *takusan* is deleted. According to my judgments confirmed by several informants, all these sentences deserve, at least a question mark or two ((7) and (8) should actually be marked with asterisks). Some of them, e.g. (9) could be barely acceptable, but *totemo* would refer to the depth of memorization rather than to a large quantity of the

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<sup>5</sup> Adverbs and cases like *totemo ikitai* are not treated by Tsujimura.

memorized vocabulary. Structures of this kind would definitely not be accepted in the case of Polish degree adverb *bardzo*<sup>6</sup>:

- (5') \*Taro bardzo czytał książki językoznawcze.  
Taro very read books linguistic
- (6') \*Taro bardzo jadł sushi.  
Taro very ate sushi
- (7') \*Taro bardzo pożyczył pieniądze.  
Taro very borrowed money
- (8') \*Taro bardzo sprzedał stare książki.  
Taro very sold old books
- (9') \*Taro bardzo zapamiętał słówka.  
Taro very memorized vocabulary

*Bardzo* in these examples, incapable of modifying quantities of countable objects, can only take in its scope the verb it directly precedes, which renders the above sentences unacceptable. As in the case of English translations of (5) – (9), *dużo* ‘a lot’, explicitly referring to the amount of entities denoted by the direct object (books, sushi, money, etc.), or some other adverb pertinent to the given verb must be used (*Taro czytał bardzo dużo książek*, and so on).

A fourfold semantic classification of event structures of aspectual types of verbs serves as a departure point for defining the class of verbs that can take the modification by *totemo* in Japanese: states, activities, achievements, accomplishments (ibidem: 35). Except for the activities, all of them have the STATE component in the event structures. Subsequently, using the example presented above to support her claim, Tsujimura (2001: 45) enumerates the following conditions of *totemo* modification of verbs:

- a. A verb must have a STATE component in its event structure.
- b. The STATE component must refer to a gradable property.
- c. The gradable property defined over scalar structure must be with nontrivial standard.

The second half of condition (b), i.e. the requirement that the property be gradable is a commonly accepted view in the semantics of degrees.

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<sup>6</sup> As far as the examples presented in this paper are concerned, English *very*, when modifying verbal forms, seems to exhibit selectional properties very similar to *bardzo*, but no claims about their relation can be made without an exhaustive comparative analysis.

Condition (c) is an application of the account provided by Kennedy & McNally that was presented in the preceding section. However, several counterexamples to the condition (a), that essentially excludes the activity verbs, will be presented further in this section.

The verbs that allow the *totemo* modification in Japanese have been divided by Tsujimura into the following classes (acceptability markers as in op. cit.):

*Psych verbs*

- (10) a. Taro wa totemo kurusinda.  
Taro TOP very suffered  
'Taro suffered very much'  
b. Taro wa totemo odoroiita.  
Taro TOP very was surprised  
'Taro was very surprised'

*Verbs of emission*

- (11) a. Hosi ga totemo (?)hikatta/(?)kagayaita/(?)kirameita.  
star NOM very shone/ glittered/ sparkled  
'The star shone/glittered/sparkled very much'  
b. Gomi ga totemo niotta.  
garbage NOM very stunk  
'The garbage stunk very badly'

*Change of state verbs (de-adjectival verbs)*

- (12) a. Miti ga totemo hirogatta/sebamatta.  
Road NOM very widened / narrowed  
'The street widened very much'  
b. Suupu ga totemo atatamatta.  
Soup NOM very got warm  
'The soup got very warm'

*Change of state verbs (inchoative, with no adjectival counterparts)*

- (13) a. Naiyoo ga totemo kawatta.  
content NOM very changed  
'The content got changed very much'  
b. Seetaa ga totemo tizimatta.  
Sweater NOM very shrunk  
'The sweater changed very much'

(Tsujimura 2000: 34)

In general terms, Polish equivalents of each of the above group (examples (10)-(13)) are acceptable to a similar extent, but there are some problematic cases. For example, *bardzo* can modify many psych (mental) verbs in Polish as in the examples below:

- (14) Taro bardzo cierpiał/ się zakłopotał/ się ucieszył/ się zdziwił  
 Taro very suffered / was distressed / was happy / was surprised

However, there are some other mental verbs in the case of which the *totemo/bardzo* modification is not obvious in either of the languages (examples from (15) to (18) are mine). Crucially, the following examples show that negation and interrogative mode can facilitate degree modification.

- (15) a. ?totemo siru / totemo sitteiru  
 very know / very know-PROG  
 ‘know very well’  
 b. totemo siranai  
 very know-NEG  
 ‘don’t know at all’

- (15’) a. \*bardzo wiem  
 very know-1.sg.  
 ‘I know very well’  
 b. \*bardzo nie wiem  
 very not know-1.sg  
 ‘I don’t know at all’  
 c. nie bardzo wiem  
 not very know-1.sg  
 ‘I don’t really know’  
 d. \*jak bardzo wiem  
 how very know-1.sg  
 ‘how much do I know’

- (16) a. totemo wakarū  
 very understand/know  
 ‘understand very well’  
 b. totemo wakaranai  
 very understand/know-NEG  
 ‘don’t understand at all’



- (16') a. \*bardzo rozumiem  
 very understand  
 'I understand very well'  
 b. \*bardzo nie rozumiem  
 very not understand  
 'I don't understand at all'  
 c. nie bardzo rozumiem  
 not very understand  
 'I don't really understand'
- (17) a. totemo sinziru / sinziteiru  
 very believe / believe-PROG  
 'strongly believe'  
 b. totemo sinzinai  
 very believe-NEG  
 'don't believe at all'
- (17') a. bardzo wierzę  
 very believe-1.sg  
 'I strongly believe'  
 b. \*bardzo nie wierzę  
 very not believe  
 'I don't believe it at all'  
 c. nie bardzo wierzę  
 not very believe-1.sg  
 'I don't really believe'

Modal verbs in Polish and modal verbal forms in Japanese can undergo the intensification, as in the following examples:

- (18) a. \*bardzo mogę, (but: nie bardzo mogę, jak bardzo mogę?)  
 b. bardzo chcę (pić)
- (18') a. totemo dekiru  
 very can  
 b. totemo nomitai  
 very want-to-drink

The above examples show that there are four factors that can facilitate *totemo* and/or *bardzo* modification: (i) negation of the intensifier (as in examples c. above), (ii) occurring in phrases expressing excessive degrees (*za bardzo* ‘too much’, lit. ‘too very’), (iii) morphologically marked progressive/stative<sup>7</sup> form in Japanese, (iv) occurring in interrogative sentences. Particularly in Polish, an opposition can be seen between ‘bare’ *bardzo*, incapable of modification, and its negative, progressive, interrogative and other forms where this modification is often facilitated. The assessment of naturalness in emission verbs is not uniform, as can be seen in the following example from Tsujimura:

- (19) a. (?) *Hosi ga totemo hikatta*  
 star NOM very shone  
 ‘The star shone very much’  
 b. *Hosi ga tuyoku/mabusiku hikatta.*  
 star NOM strongly/glaringly shone  
 ‘The star shone strongly/glaringly’

Despite Tsujimura, sentences like (19a) should be marked as odd. In the above case direct modification with *totemo* is not possible, and some other expression (adverb) has to be present as a direct modifier as in (19b), e.g. *totemo tuyoku hikatta* ‘shone very strongly’, *totemo mabusiku hikatta* ‘shone very dazzlingly’. The same regularity holds for Polish:

- (19’) a. \**Gwiazda bardzo świeciła.*  
 star very shone  
 b. *Gwiazda bardzo mocno świeciła.*  
 star very strongly shone

Tsujimura (2000: 37) argues that in the cases where a verb cannot be modified by *totemo*, transforming it into the progressive form can facilitate *totemo* modification, for example as in the case of the following sentence:

- (20) a. \**Kodomo ga totemo sakenda*  
 child NOM very screamed  
 ‘The child screamed very much’

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<sup>7</sup> *Siru* is not a very compelling example here, due to the fact that its stative/progressive form is more common in Japanese even without any degree modification, but the other examples in the section prove this claim.

- b. Kodomo ga totemo sakende iru.  
 child NOM very scream-PROG  
 ‘The child is screaming very much’ (Tsujimura 2000: 37)

In the case of Polish, where verbs do not have morphologically distinct progressive forms, imperfectivization seems to be a factor facilitating modification with *bardzo*. For example, ‘a single shout’ cannot be intensified by *bardzo* in (20’a). However, the Polish present and past imperfective forms can be assessed as much more natural ((20’b) and (20’c)).

- (20’) a. \*Dziecko bardzo krzyknęło.  
 child very screamed  
 ‘The child screamed very [loudly]’  
 b. Dziecko bardzo krzyczy  
 child very scream-3sg  
 ‘The child screams/is screaming very much’  
 c. Dziecko bardzo krzyczało.  
 child very was screaming  
 ‘The child was screaming very much’

As far as two other groups of change of state verbs ((12)-(13)) are concerned, Polish exhibits the same properties with respect to modification with *bardzo*. In the case of de-adjectival verbs, this fact can be accounted for by referring to the scalar structure of the adjectives motivating their meaning. All of them have open scales and nontrivial standards, and as such can undergo the degree modification by *bardzo* and *totemo* (this claim is with the lines of argument of Kennedy & McNally outlined in the preceding section).

The analysis proposed by Tsujimura is focused mostly on the modification of verbs by *totemo*. The main difference between adjectives and verbs with respect to their scalar structures is that the property denoted by an adjective can be figured out directly from its lexical meaning (e.g. *long*). In the case of verbs, it is less apparent which part of their meaning contains the gradable property.

Color adjectives display different properties than other adjectives with trivial standards. For example:

- (21) \*Kono isu wa totemo aoi  
 this chair TOP very blue

- ‘This chair is very blue’  
 (21’) To krzesło jest bardzo niebieskie.  
       this chair is very blue  
 (22) Kao ga totemo aoi.  
       face NOM very blue (pale)  
       ‘Your face is very pale’ (Tsujimura 2000: 40)

Modification of color adjectives with *totemo* is evaluated as odd by Tsujimura (except for metaphorical cases, where modification with *totemo* is facilitated with other predicates as well), but phrases like *totemo aoi/akai* and so on can be considered acceptable according to my informants and numerous examples that can be found in the Internet search engines. Such phrases are perfectly natural in Polish: *bardzo niebieski* ‘very blue’, *bardzo biały* ‘very white’, etc. There is a fundamental difference in scalar properties ascribed to color names. While in the case of properties like length the whole scale is reserved for one property, all colors are located on one scale. A high degree of one color ultimately leads to another, denoted by a different linguistic expression. In physical terms, such intensification most frequently refers to the depth or brightness of a color. In such cases, one can propose the existence of a scale, extracted from the whole spectrum, on which only the intensity of one color is marked. Similarly:

- (22’) Masz bardzo bladą twarz.  
       have2sg very pale face  
       ‘Your face is very pale’

*Bardzo* modification of nouns, as in (23a) below, is not possible in Polish, but, interestingly, is perfectly acceptable in the case of phrases denoting excessive degrees (24b) and in questions (24c), as was the case with verbal forms above.

- (23) a. \*Kore wa totemo tukue da.  
       this TOP very desk COP  
       ‘This is a very desk’  
 (24) a. \*Ten człowiek jest bardzo wieśniakiem.  
       b. Byłem za bardzo sobą. Byłem za bardzo nauczycielem.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In the case of excessive degrees, such as *Kare wa amari ni mo kyoosi deatta* is acceptable as a sentence of Japanese as well.

c. Jak bardzo jesteś człowiekiem?

As has been said above, another important observation made by Tsujimura (2000: 40) is that the introduction of the state-expressing *-te iru* facilitates *totemo* modification in the change of state verbs. This claim is substantiated by the following pairs:

- (25) a. \*Harigane ga totemo magatta.  
wire NOM very bent  
'The wire bent very much'  
b. Harigane ga totemo magatteiru.  
wire NOM very is bent  
'The wire is very bent' (Tsujimura 2000: 40)

Similar regularity holds for Polish where the resulting state expressed by a de-verbal adjective (participle)<sup>9</sup> in (25'c) can be modified by *bardzo*, unlike the verbal form in (25'b). Example (25'a) could be marginally accepted.

- (25') a. ?Drut bardzo się zgiął.  
'The wire bent a lot'  
b. \*Drut bardzo się zgina.  
'The wire bends/is bending a lot'  
c. Drut jest bardzo zgięty.  
'The wire is very bent'

Below are some other instances presented as evidence validating Tsujimura's claims with author's reservation to the naturalness of the results of this transformation.

- (26) a. \*Toosuto ga totemo kogeta  
toast NOM very burned  
'The toast burned very much'  
b. (?)Toosuto ga totemo kogete iru.  
toast NOM very is burned  
'The toast is very burned' (Tsujimura 2000: 40)

- (26') a. Tost bardzo się przypalił.

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<sup>9</sup> With the reservation from footnote 3.

- toast very burned
- b. Tost bardzo mocno się przypalił.  
toast very strongly burned
- c. Tost jest bardzo przypalony.  
toast is very burned

The facilitation of *totemo* and *bardzo* modification, essentially achieved by transforming the sentences that express processes to ones that express resultative states, does not mean that the latter structures are unconditionally acceptable. Other examples would be the verbs *kooru* ‘freeze’ and *kawaku* ‘dry’. Tsujimura argues that the morphological transformation occurring in the above examples can change the nature of the standard value from trivial to nontrivial. While this claim sounds convincing, the reservation should be reiterated that it is not clear how significant the increase in acceptability actually is for different verbs.

#### 4. Summary

In this paper, it has been shown that an analysis that defines the possibility of modification by *totemo* in Japanese and *bardzo* in Polish in terms of presence or absence of the aspectual component STATE in conjunction with the scalar properties of the semantic structure can be complemented by taking into account other factors, such as negation, aspect, occurrence in the interrogative mode or in a phrase expressing an excessive degree. More generally, it has been presented that an analysis referring to the presence or absence of an event structure component has to rely on its extended interpretation, as in the case of stativity where *the star is shining* had to be interpreted as ‘the star is in the state of shining’.

The question about the nature of the factors that can induce classifications of predicates with respect to degree modification or, in a broader sense, the relation between aspect/Aktionsart and scalarity leads ultimately to the issue of homogeneity of these factors and, whether or not crossing them can be of relevance for semantic research. Some components of the verbal meaning, such as intensity (e.g. *machać* ‘to wave’ vs. *wymachiwać* ‘wave (energetically) around’) can be given scalar interpretations, but in most cases Aktionsart, for example inchoativity, semelfactivity, or iterativity is based on different criteria (roughly speaking, the distribution of a given event over a temporal axis) and as such do not have a scalar nature in a model where scales are considered ordered sets of degrees.

One of the possible approaches, when comparing the selectional behavior of degree modifiers in different languages, would consist of defining a

relation linking aspectual and scalar classification and then comparing such crossed classifications in a contrastive analysis. Alternatively, it might be necessary to come up with an entirely new classification based on scalar properties before the cross-linguistic analysis is performed. It seems that theoretical devices that employ the idea of growing or decreasing, such as incremental theme (Dowty 1991), can be very useful in this type of study. The argument contained in this study was confined to only one of the degree modifiers, i.e. *totemo* – *bardzo* ‘very’. However, a more comprehensive analysis of degree intensifiers should treat at least the following triples of adverbs in each of the languages: *bardzo* – *dużo* – *dobrze*, and *totemo* – *takusan* – *yoku*, ‘very – much – well’. The elucidation of their semantic properties from a contrastive perspective remains a task for future investigation.

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## The Role of Media in Bringing Aid to Victims of Natural Disasters: a Few Cases from Postwar Japan

High newspaper readership rate, huge circulations of magazines and a complex, multi-channel system of broadcast media enjoying high audience ratings are the characteristics which make Japan one of the most media saturated societies of the world<sup>1</sup>. Japan's five national dailies (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* and *Sankei Shimbun*<sup>2</sup>) are among the world's ten largest newspapers, with circulations ranging from three to fourteen million<sup>3</sup>. While the role of television in news reporting has been growing and the Internet use rate has reached the world's top levels, the newspapers, especially national dailies, still remain the core of Japan's media industry. The sources of their strength can be traced back to the 1860s, when the first modern newspapers started to appear in Japan<sup>4</sup>. Western-style press was supposed to be essential for the modernization of the country and since the advent of Meiji Restoration<sup>5</sup>, the newspapers enjoyed considerable interest and

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<sup>1</sup> See Susan J. Pharr, Ellis S. Kraus (ed.) 1996. *Media and Politics in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Shimbun* 新聞 means “newspaper” and *yomiuri* 読売 is a combination of characters meaning “to read and sell”. The titles of other biggest Japanese newspapers literally mean: *Asahi Shimbun* 朝日新聞 – ‘the morning sun newspaper’, *Mainichi Shimbun* 毎日新聞 – ‘the daily newspaper’, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* 日本経済新聞 – the Japanese economist newspaper’. *Sankei Shimbun* サンケイ新聞 is an abbreviation of ‘the Japanese industry and economy newspaper’ (*Sangyō Keizai Shimbun* 産業経済新聞).

<sup>3</sup> See Laurie Anne Freeman 2000. *Closing the Shop. Information Cartels and Japan's Mass Media*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 17. All national dailies in Japan publish morning and evening editions. The figures mentioned above refer to total circulations, morning and evening editions combined.

<sup>4</sup> The first modern newspaper to appear in Japan was *Kampan Batavia Shimbun* 官版バタビヤ新聞 (the official newspaper of Batavia) (1863) - a compilation of translations from a Dutch newspaper *Javasche Courant* published in Indonesia. The first originally Japanese newspaper published on a regular basis was *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* 横浜毎日新聞 (the Yokohama daily) founded in 1870. See Uchikawa Yoshimi, “Shimbun no ryakushi (2) – Nihon” 内川芳美, 「新聞の略史—日本(2)」 in: Inaba Michio, Arai Naoyuki, Katsura Keiichi, (ed.) 1995. *Shimbungaku*. Tōkyō: Nihon Hyōronsha (稲葉三千男、新井直之、桂敬一編 1995「新聞学」東京、日本評論社) p. 36-37.

<sup>5</sup> During the reign of Meiji emperor (1868-1912), the Japanese government, claiming the restoration of the emperor's true authority, introduced numerous reforms aimed at

support of the government. The three biggest national dailies: *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* and *Mainichi* started publication in the Meiji era<sup>6</sup> and their circulations have been continuously growing until late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It is no exaggeration to say that Japan, being one of the most media saturated societies of the world, is also one of the areas most affected by natural disasters. Due to geographical conditions, calamities such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and typhoons have always been an unavoidable part of life in Japan. Because of the tectonic plates, constantly moving under the Archipelago, Japan is supposed to be one of the most quake-prone areas of the world. In the Shōwa era (1926-1989) there were 33 major earthquakes which caused deaths of more than 16 000 people<sup>7</sup>. The biggest postwar earthquake, known as Hanshin-Awaji Daishinsai 阪神・淡路大震災, hit Ōsaka and Kōbe region in 1995 and killed more than 6400 people, leaving about 200 000 homeless<sup>8</sup>. In October 2004, Chūetsu region of Niigata prefecture was hit by an earthquake which took the death toll of 46 people and destroyed more than 3000 homes<sup>9</sup>. The quake known as Niigata-Chūetsu Jishin 新潟中越地震 knocked a bullet train from its rails and rattled buildings as far away as Tokyo.

Japanese islands are also an area of high volcanic activity. In the beginning of 2003, there were 108 active volcanoes in Japan, though this number is constantly changing. The statistics of Shōwa period mentioned 55 volcanic eruptions which caused deaths of more than 140 people. Both earthquakes and volcano eruptions often cause huge fires, spreading easily to traditional, wooden Japanese houses.

Japan has been constantly affected by typhoons defined as cyclonic storms, devastating parts of the country in late summer and early autumn. The typhoons bring heavy rainfalls that often cause floods. They happen also in early summer because of the monsoon – a wind bringing heavy rainfall and sweeping through southern and eastern Asia every year. When mentioning

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modernization and westernization of the country. The whole process is known as Meiji Restoration (Meiji Ishin 明治維新).

<sup>6</sup> Beginning with the Meiji emperor, the official Japanese calendar was organized according to the rule “one reign – one era”. Hence the Meiji era started in 1868 and ended in 1912. *Mainichi* was founded in 1872, *Yomiuri* in 1874 and *Asahi* in 1879.

<sup>7</sup> Kobayashi Osamu 1989. *Shōwa no jiken jiko shi*. Ōsaka: Tōhō Shuppan, (小林修、「昭和の事件・事故史」、大阪・東方出版), p. 286-287. All the data concerning numbers of victims and loss estimations, appearing in this paper come from this source unless stated otherwise.

<sup>8</sup> See <http://www.hanshin-awaji.or.jp>.

<sup>9</sup> See <http://www.pref.niigata.jp>.

floods, one cannot forget about tsunami – a Japanese word which has become an international term to describe huge sea waves caused by tectonic movements. Tsunami flooded the coasts of Japanese islands throughout the ages in a disastrous way. Japanese scientists have been working on proprietary tsunami warning system to be established throughout Southeast Asia. In December 2004, when at least 167 000 people were killed by the tsunami which occurred in the Indian Ocean, Japan's expertise and resources were promptly used to aid the countries affected by the disaster<sup>10</sup>.

As Edwin O. Reischauer points out in his classic work *The Japanese*<sup>11</sup>,

*Typhoons have accustomed the Japanese to expect natural catastrophes and accept them with stoic resilience. This sort of fatalism might even be called the "typhoon mentality", but it has been fostered by other natural disasters as well. (...) In any case, the Japanese have a fatalistic acceptance of nature's awesome might, as well as a great capacity to dig themselves out after such catastrophes and start afresh.*

Constant struggle with nature's destructive forces has certainly influenced Japanese society and its institutions in a number of ways<sup>12</sup>. These institutions include mass media which are a powerful force in Japan. They have played an important role in the social and political life of the country since its modernization began in the 1860s. The role of media in society at the time of a natural disaster has been a vital topic for modern Japan.

My interest in this topic came as a "side effect" of studying relief campaigns, carried out through Japanese press by a Polish missionary in Japan, brother Zeno Żebrowski (1891 or 1898-1982). He entered the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor Conventual in 1925 and joined a well-known Polish Franciscan priest, father Maximilian Maria Kolbe for his mission to Japan in 1930. Brother Zeno remained in Japan until his death in 1982, travelling all over the country and engaging himself in various charity activities. His charitable works won him immense popularity with Japanese press and his name often appeared in daily newspapers. Throughout the decade from 1953 to 1964, he started several press campaigns to raise aid for victims of natural disasters, such as floods in

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<sup>10</sup> "After the Tsunami", *The Japan Journal* 2005.04, pp.6-9.

<sup>11</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer 1978. *The Japanese*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> For thorough study on this topic, see for example Iwasaki Nobuhiko et al. (ed.) 1999. *Hanshin-Awaji daishinsai no shakaigaku*. Kyōto: Shōwadō (岩崎信彦 (ほか) 編、1999.「阪神・淡路大震災の社会学」京都 昭和堂).

Kyūshū (1953), the fire in Nase (Amami-Ōshima, 1955), the flood in Aizu (Fukushima, 1956), the fire in Uozu (Toyama, 1956), the fire in Tōkyō (1957), the typhoons in Chūbu region (1958, 1959), the cold disasters in Hokkaidō (1956/57, 1964), the Niigata earthquake (1964) and many others. Żebrowski's extensive use of the press in his charity work produced a lot of valuable precious material on how media contributed to reconstruction and bringing aid to the areas affected by natural disasters. Their activities weren't limited to mere information (which is, of course, very important in itself). In the course of my research, I found out that Japanese newspapers, both national and local, had played an important role in helping communities that suffered from floods, fires and other calamities.

### **Case Studies: Relief Campaigns in the 50s and the 60s**

In this paper, I have decided to focus on relief campaigns started by brother Zeno, following four great disasters: floods and crisis in Kyūshū (1950s), fire in Nase (Amami-Ōshima, 1955), typhoons in Chūbu region (1958, 1959) and cold disasters in Hokkaidō (1956/57, 1964). These four stories form a representative example of media involvement in large charitable activities, to bring aid to disaster victims.

### **Floods in Kyūshū and the Mining Industry Crisis (1950s)**

On July 27, 1953, *Kumamoto Nichinichi Shimbun* 熊本日日新聞 (Kumamoto daily) told about brother Zeno's charity campaign in western Japan, meant to help people affected by floods<sup>13</sup>. In June 1953, the northern part of Kyūshū experienced the heaviest rainfall since the Meiji era (1868-1912). According to meteorological data, more than 700 millimeters of rain fell on some areas of Kyūshū within five days (June 25-29)<sup>14</sup>. Prefectures of Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki and Kumamoto, and also some parts of Honshū and Shikoku, were heavily affected by floods. More than 1000 people lost their lives and about 17 400 buildings were destroyed. The tunnel connecting Honshū and Shikoku, known as one of the most important communication tracks in Japan, was flooded. The town centers of Kumamoto and Kitakyūshū were under water. In the case of Kumamoto, the situation was even worse because of volcanic dust, coming

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<sup>13</sup> „Wāi Santa jii san da. Zeno shimpu sannenburi Kumamoto e”, *Kumamoto Nichinichi Shimbun*, 1953.07.27 (「ワーイサンタ爺さんだ。ゼノ神父三年振り熊本へ」、『熊本日日新聞』、1953.07.27).

<sup>14</sup> *Shōwa nimannichi no zenkiroku. Showa Day by Day*. Kōdansha, Tōkyō 1989, vol. 10, 「昭和二万日の全記録。Showa Day by Day」、講談社、東京 1989、第 10 卷、p. 82.

out of the nearby volcano Aso. Local press announced that brother Zeno arrived in Kumamoto, bringing gifts of food and daily necessities.

This trip was a part of his bigger charity campaign that would last for several years. Northern Kyūshū was one of the few areas in Japan with a well-developed mining industry, exploiting the country's scarce coal resources. Disaster prevention policies in the industry either didn't exist or proved useless at the time. As a result, many small and medium sized coal mines were forced to close. Actually, the flood was only one among many factors that caused the economical crisis in Kyūshū in the 50s. The Japanese mining industry had to deal with a lot of problems, such as fierce competition of imported resources and strikes started by powerful trade unions. Bankruptcies of mining enterprises resulted in unemployment rates rising rapidly and growing poverty in the region. In Nagasaki prefecture alone, in the early 50s four coal mines were forced to close. This left 3000 people suddenly unemployed, which meant about 10 000 people (including the miners' families) without anything to live on<sup>15</sup>. Smaller floods, caused by typhoons and monsoons that hit Kyūshū in 1955, 1956 and 1957 made things even worse. By 1959 there were more than 300 000 unemployed on the island<sup>16</sup>.

The years 1954-1955 brought several press releases on brother Zeno's campaign called Kome Hitonigiri Undō 米一握り運動 (one rice ball movement). The aim of the whole action was to provide food and other daily necessities to poor areas of Kyūshū. The first publications on brother Zeno's campaign appeared in local newspapers such as *Nagasaki Min'yū Shimbun* 長崎民友新聞 (the friend of the Nagasaki people) (1954.07.31) and local edition of *Mainichi Shimbun* (1954.08.01)<sup>17</sup>. The movement started in Nagasaki and Fukuoka prefectures, but it soon reached Tōkyō and other parts of the country. Brother Zeno's appeal for aid was spread through newspapers, schools and local governments. On July 12, 1956, *Asahi Shimbun* revealed that more than a hundred schools in Tōkyō, Ōsaka,

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<sup>15</sup> “Tankō no hito kawaiō. Zeno shūshi ‘Hitonigiri Kome Undō’”, *Katorikku Shimbun* (the catholic newspaper), 1955.06.19 (「炭鉱の人カワイソウ。ゼノ修士「一にぎり米運動」」、『カトリック新聞』、1955.06.19).

<sup>16</sup> *Shōwa nimannichi no zenkiroku (Showa Day by Day)*, op. cit., t. 11, s. 297.

<sup>17</sup> “Kitamatsu no jidō kyūsai e. Isahayashi ga kome no Hitonigiri Undō tenkai. Zeno san no doryoku minoru. Kaku gakkō ni mo kyōryoku yobikake”, *Nagasaki Min'yū Shimbun*, 1954.07.31 (「北松の児童救済へ。諫早市が『米の一握り運動』展開。ゼノさんの努力實る。各学校にも協力呼びかけ」、『長崎民友新聞』、1954.07.31. „Ai no kome o tsunoru”, *Mainichi Shimbun*, 1954.08.01 「愛の米をつのる」、『毎日新聞』、1954.08.01).

Shizuoka and Nagasaki actively participated in Kome Hitonigiri Undō<sup>18</sup>. Relief goods sent in by volunteers from all over the country included: rice, sweets and canned food, clothes, stationery and pencils, as well as small amounts of money. The slogan Kome Hitonigiri Undō has been used long after Kyūshū dug itself out of the economical crisis. It was useful in 1964, when farmers of Niigata organized relief campaign for the inhabitants of cold-struck Hokkaidō.

Another action, not exactly started but partly inspired by brother Zeno, was so-called Kuroi Hane Undō 黒い羽運動 (black wings movement). The term referred to a charity organization founded by a group of women in Fukuoka in 1959. The aim was to help unemployed miners and their families living in Fukuoka prefecture. The members set off to Tōkyō and Ōsaka to raise aid; they also started a journal called *Kuroi Hane* (black wings). The journal reported that by the end of 1959, the volunteers managed to distribute 5900 bags of rice and flour, 120 000 pieces of clothing, and some other goods such as milk, drugs and stationery. *Kuroi Hane* also published brother Zeno's appeal for further help. He particularly stressed his hope to involve youth in charity activities, trying to foster in children compassion for the poor<sup>19</sup>.

### Great Fire in Amami-Ōshima (1955)

The media also covered brother Zeno's campaign to help victims of the great fire in Nase (Nase Taika 名瀬大火) in 1955. Nase is the main town of Amami-Ōshima - the biggest island of Amami Archipelago (Amami shotō), spreading between Kyūshū and Okinawa. It is now a part of the Kagoshima prefecture, but the distance between Amami-Ōshima and the coast of Kyūshū is as long as 400 km. They formally belonged to Japan only since the late 19th century. After the war on the Pacific, Amami Islands shared the fate of Okinawa, being directly occupied by the Americans. They were returned to Japan in 1953, while Okinawa remained occupied until 1972. Amami Islands have also shared with Okinawa the characteristics of a remote place, somehow too far away from the economic boom of postwar Japan. Their main product was sugar cane, and agriculture remained the vital source of income for most inhabitants. In

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<sup>18</sup> “Mazushii kodomo no tame ni Zeno shimpu san ga Hitonigiri Undō. Zenkoku no shō, chūgakusei ni yobikakete”, *Asahi Shimbun (junia ban)* (Asahi Shinbun for children), 1956.07.12 (「まずしい子どものために。ゼノ—神父さんが一にぎり運動。全国の小、中学生によびかけて」、『朝日新聞』(ジュニア版) 1956.07.12).

<sup>19</sup> “Kawaisō ne. Ari no machi shimpu ga imon”, *Kuroi Hane*, 1959.12.15 (「かわいそうね。アリの町のゼノ神父が慰問」、『黒い羽根』、1959.12.15).

1954, the newspaper *Nippon Times* still described Amami as “underdeveloped islands”<sup>20</sup>.

On April 23, 1954, *Minami Nihon Shimbun* 南日本新聞 (the newspaper of Southern Japan), for the first time, informed its readers of brother Zeno’s visit to Amami-Ōshima<sup>21</sup>. The missionary traveled to Amami twice in 1954, bringing back the alarming news of poverty and economical backwardness. He tried to introduce there the concept of “Ants’ Town” (Ari no Machi アリの町), a self-governing organization of ragpickers (*bataya* バタヤ), which worked quite successfully in Tōkyō. Ragpickers made their living collecting and selling different kinds of scrap that could be recycled. In Amami, however, this way of survival proved less fruitful due to a lack of demand. Missionaries based in Amami tried to found schools, but local families couldn’t afford to pay even modest fees to educate their children. According to brother Zeno, even the political situation was far from stable, with communist ideas spreading easily among the Amami people. In 1954 and 1955, *Minami Nihon Shimbun*, *Nagasaki Min’yū Shimbun* and *Nippon Times* printed several reports about brother Zeno’s work to raise aid for Amami children. With the help of shipping companies operating around Ryūkyū, the missionary managed to send loads of food, clothes and stationery to Nase. For instance, in *Nippon Times* from July 31, 1955, one can find a note revealing that brother Zeno sent to Nase 2650 pieces of clothing and 2300 books, collected among Tōkyō students<sup>22</sup>.

On December 3, 1955, a fire started by a cigarette-butt killed 30 people and destroyed 951 houses in Nase, leaving 6600 people homeless. This disaster qualified as one of the “great fires” (*taika*) of the Shōwa period. The economical situation of Amami-Ōshima was never worse. On December 11, one of Tōkyō local newspapers, *Taitō Kumin Shimbun* 台東区民新聞 (Taitō district newspaper) published brother Zeno’s appeal for help to relieve the fire victims<sup>23</sup>. The same appeal appeared a day later in *Nippon Times*. On December 27, *Minami Nihon Shimbun* announced

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<sup>20</sup> “Goodwill Gifts Sent. Amami Oshima Pupils”, *Nippon Times*, 1954.07.19.

<sup>21</sup> “Ōmiyage dossari. Zeno shimpu futatabi Ōshima e”, *Minami Nihon Shimbun*, 1954.04.23 (「お土産どっさり。ゼノ神父さん再び大島へ」、『南日本新聞』、1954.04.23).

<sup>22</sup> “For Amami Islands Children”, *Nippon Times*, 1955.07.31.

<sup>23</sup> „Nase shi (Amami Oshima) no taika e. Zeno shimpu no ai no te. ‘Ari no kai’ demo ichiman’en kifu”, *Taitō Kumin Shimbun*, 1955.12.11 (「ゼノ神父の愛の手。名瀬市(奄美大島)の大火へ。『蟻の会』でも一万円寄附」、『台東区民新聞』、1955.12.11).

brother Zeno's arrival in Nase. He brought with him relief goods worth about 140 000 yen, collected from people all over the country. Even Ants' Town, the ragpickers' community in Tōkyō mentioned above, donated the sum of 10 000 yen. The text in *Minami Nihon Shimibun* read as follows<sup>24</sup>:

*Three weeks have passed since the great fire in Nase. Thanks to good weather, reconstruction work is progressing fast. More than 400 barracks have already been built within the razed area. Disaster Prevention Headquarters [Saigai Taisaku Hombu 災害対策本部 – IM] announced that 50 temporary shelters (out of a planned 350) would be ready by the end of the year [the newspaper is from Dec., 27 – IM]. More than 50 carpenters came from the mainland to help. Goodwill donations keep coming from all over the country. Brother Zeno has also arrived with plenty of gifts.*

By the time of the disaster, brother Zeno was already a well-known personality in Nase, as well as all over Japan. On January 6, 1956, *Jiji Shimibun* 時事新聞 (current affairs) published another appeal for help. Brother Zeno said about 4000 children in Amami-Ōshima were in need of food and he wanted to provide them at least some traditional New Year rice cakes (*mochi* 餅)<sup>25</sup>.

### **Typhoons in Chūbu region (1958, 1959)**

In 1958, brother Zeno launched a campaign to help victims of a typhoon which devastated the middle part of Honshū (Chūbu region) in September. The cyclonic storm resulted in deaths of 1150 people and destroyed more than 4700 buildings. More than 500 000 houses were affected by floods. On November 11, brother Zeno arrived in town of Numazu in Shizuoka prefecture, bringing donations of clothes, blankets, food and stationery. He also visited local press club (*kisha kurabu* 記者クラブ). It is clear when one looks at the stories that appeared in the newspapers the next day that the journalists were very much catering on the same information source. Even the choice of words was so similar that it is almost hard to tell one

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<sup>24</sup> „Shōgatsu henjō de fukkō e. Torakku de yatte kita Santa no jii san”, *Minami Nihon Shimibun*, 1955.12.27 (「正月返上で復興へ。トラックでやって来たサンタの爺さん」、『南日本新聞』、1955.12.27).

<sup>25</sup> „Yoi ko ni omochi o okurō. Nase taika ni Zeno san ai no yobikake”, *Jiji Shimibun*, 1956.01.06 (「よい子にお餅を贈ろう。名瀬大火にゼノさん愛の呼かけ」、『時事新聞』、1956.01.06).



title from the other<sup>26</sup>. But this kind of uniformity is typical of Japanese media at both local and national level. Numazu newspapers stressed the fact that brother Zeno paid particular attention to children who lost their parents in the disaster.

The typhoon that devastated the Chūbu region in September 1959 was the largest such calamity in the history of the country. 5101 people died, more than 150 000 buildings were destroyed. The disaster, known as Ise wan taifu 伊勢湾台風 (The Typhoon of Ise Bay), was widely discussed in the media at the time. The press criticized the government for its slow reaction and incapability to organize aid. Survivors recollected the times of the disaster as a nightmare of darkness and mud. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that brother Zeno started his relief campaign with a slogan *Ippon no rōsoku* 一本のろうそく (One Candle). According to some sources<sup>27</sup>, he traveled through afflicted areas by boat, distributing candles to people in flooded houses. On November 7, *Chūbu Nihon Shimbun* (the newspaper of Central Japan) related that the missionary had paid two visits to an evacuation center in Mie prefecture, presenting children there with sweets and toys<sup>28</sup>. The slogan *Ippon no rōsoku* remained a symbol of brother Zeno's devotion to the needy and volunteer work in general.

### **Cold disasters in Hokkaidō (1956-1957, 1964)**

The winter of 1956-1957 was extremely cold in Hokkaidō. The northernmost main Japanese island was yet another example of a peripheral area, economically retarded if compared to industrial regions of central Honshū. Due to severe climate, Hokkaidō farmers often lost their crops and found themselves in a difficult economic situation. In the fifties and sixties, working in agriculture in Hokkaidō still meant the necessity to

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<sup>26</sup> See for instance *Hyokkori Numazu ni*. “‘Ari no Machi’ no Zeno shimpu san otozureru”, *Asahi Shimbun*, 1958.11.09 (「ひょっこり沼津に『アリの町』のゼノ神父さん訪れる」、『朝日新聞』)、1958.11.09; “Zeno shimpu hyokkori Numazu e. Hashishita no jūnin o imon”, *Numazu Mainichi* (Numazu daily), 1958.11.09 (「ゼノ神父ひょっこり沼津へ。橋下の住人を慰問」、『沼津毎日』、1958.11.09).

<sup>27</sup> See for instance: Abe Shirō 1995. „Ippon no rōsoku”, (in:) Edami Shizuki 1995. *Kagiri naki ai. Zeno no shōgai*, Tōkyō: Zaidan Hōjin Fuji Fukushi Jigyōdan, (阿部志郎、「一本のローソク」、『かぎりない愛・ゼノの生涯』、枝見静樹編集、財団法人富士福祉事業団、東京 1995), p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> „Yakusoku no ame o okuru. Zeno shimpu, Suzuka hinanjo e”, *Chūbu Nihon Shimbun*, 1959.11.07 (「約束のアメを贈る。ゼノ神父、鈴鹿避難所へ」、『中部日本新聞』、1959.11.07).

clear the forest first. In the northern island, work was hard and the nature unfriendly. Journalists often used a general term *kaitakusha* 開拓者 (pioneer) when referring to Hokkaidō dwellers.

Brother Zeno's involvement in Hokkaidō started in winter 1956-1957 and lasted for several years. On January 28, 1957 the missionary started a trip around the parts of the island most afflicted by cold. He described the poverty of local farmers as "unimaginable". Food was scarce, many people lived on rice gruel only. Some children didn't even go to school because their parents couldn't provide winter shoes. Brother Zeno visited 13 villages between Sapporo and Kushiro-Nemuro area. He returned to Honshū by mid-February. Newspapers such as *Mainichi* (1957.02.12) and *Asahi* (1957.02.17) told about his trip and relief campaign which went on in Tōkyō and then spread to Kansai region<sup>29</sup>.

Hokkaidō was affected by cold-weather disasters several times in the sixties too, and brother Zeno continued his relief campaigns to help unfortunate farmers. Most of these actions were documented by the press. In February 1963, brother Zeno was hospitalized because of constant overwork. He had to spend three months in hospital. On March 1, 1963 *Hokkaidō Shimbum* published a long article describing brother Zeno's devotion to Hokkaidō people<sup>30</sup>. Many of them sent letters to wish the missionary good health and cheer him up in his illness. He continued his activities after leaving the hospital.

1964 was not only a year of Tōkyō Olympics, but also of a devastating cold-weather disaster in Hokkaidō. The English version of *Yomiuri* from December 21, 1964 read as follows<sup>31</sup>:

*Brother Zeno Żebrowski of the Franciscan Order has joined others in appealing to the general public for cash or material donations to the unfortunate Hokkaidō farmers. (...) Brother Zeno Żebrowski has told the Yomiuri that according to the Japanese Red Cross Society the total crop failure in Hokkaidō amounted to 57 300 million yen, a record for the island.*

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<sup>29</sup> "Polish Brother Reiterates Appeal For Hokkaido Aid", *The Mainichi*, 1957.02.12. "Hokkaidō ni sukui no te o... Zenkoku o yūzei no Zeno shimpu rai Shin", *Asahi Shimbum*, 1957.02.17 (「北海道に救いの手を。。。全国を遊説のゼノ神父来神」、『朝日新聞』、1957.02.17).

<sup>30</sup> „Hondō kaitakusha e ai no te. Tōkyō 'Ari no machi' no shimpu ga okurimono. Ke no irui dossari. Hassō wa shingakuseitachi ga hōshi", *Hokkaidō Shimbum*, 1963.03.01 (「本道開拓者へ愛の手。東京“アリのマチ”の神父が贈りもの。毛の衣類どっさり。発送は新学生たちが奉仕」、『北海道新聞』、1963.03.01).

<sup>31</sup> "Zeno Urges Help For Hokkaido Victims", *The Yomiuri*, 21.12.1964.

(...) of the 210 000 or so farming families in Hokkaidō, 150 000 have been affected by the crop failure and of the latter, about 53 000 were in dire need for food and clothing.

This information was followed by the addresses of the Red Cross and Franciscan relief centers that accepted donations. It was not easy to draw attention of media at the time of Tōkyō Olympics – a symbol of Japan’s economic success. The case of Hokkaidō proved that the success was still vulnerable. Moreover, Hokkaidō’s recovery took a long time. The relief campaign slowly started to bear fruit; for instance, in the summer of 1965 in Nishinomiya, brother Zeno managed to collect 8000 pieces of clothing for Hokkaidō farmers<sup>32</sup>. About the same time, a group of young people inspired by brother Zeno collected more than 2000 clothes in Tōkyō vicinity<sup>33</sup>. Press releases about sending clothes to Hokkaidō still appeared in 1966 and 1967.

## Conclusion

I used the example of brother Zeno to prove that media could and did play a significant role in spreading information about relief campaigns to help disaster victims. Mass media are often criticized for sensational approaches to natural disasters, and rightly so. It is often the case in Japan, as anywhere else. But campaigns run by brother Zeno show that one cannot underestimate the media’s role in bringing material and spiritual support to the victims. The press paid a lot of attention not only to the effects of disasters, but also to aid and reconstruction. It often served as an actual go-between, connecting the industrialized centers of mainland Japan with more remote areas of the Archipelago. While revealing broad disparities in the economical development, the media also played a community-building role, strenghtening ties between the centre and the peripheral “frontiers” of the country.

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<sup>32</sup> “Zeno shimpu mo nizukuri. Ninogawa Gakuin reigaichi e ai no busshi”, *Mainichi Shimbun*, 1965.08 (「ゼノ神父も荷造り。仁川学院冷害地へ愛の物資」、『毎日新聞』、1965.08 (the exact date is uncertain), “Kyūsai no seikatsu kara shirizoku Zeno san. Ato tsugi shinjitsutsu. Hondō e no hassō saigo ni nyūin”, *Hokkaidō Shimbun*, 1965.08. 「救済の生活から退くゼノ神父。あと継ぎ信じつつ。本道への発送最後に入院」、『北海道新聞』、1965.08 (the exact date is uncertain)).

<sup>33</sup> „Chikaku no hondō reigaichi e. Tōkyō no Zeno shimpu. Iruki nisenten no okurimono”, *Hokkaidō Shimbun*, 1965.05.02 (「近くの本道冷害地へ。東京のゼノ神父。衣類二千点の贈り物」、『北海道新聞』、1965.05.02).

Szymon Grzelak

**Degree modification of verbal forms: scalarity of *totemo* and *bardzo* from a contrastive perspective**

This paper treats the modification conditions of the Japanese intensifier *totemo* and its Polish counterpart *bardzo* in the case of verbal forms. It is claimed that in addition to the inherent properties of the modified predicates, such as gradability, type of scale and semantic components of the event structure (in particular: STATE), other factors, e.g. perfectivization, negation, occurrence in the interrogative mode or in phrases that express an excessive degree play a role as well in predicting the selectional properties of degree adverbs.

Iwona Merklejn

**The Role of Media in Bringing Aid to Victims of Natural Disasters: a Few Cases from Postwar Japan**

This research came up as a „side effect” of my study on the relief campaigns carried out through Japanese media by a Polish missionary in Japan, brother Zeno Żebrowski (1891 or 1898-1982) who among his many charitable activities made considerable efforts to help those affected by natural disasters. Throughout the decade from 1953 to 1964, he started several press campaigns to raise aid for the victims of floods, typhoons, fires and earthquakes. In this article, I have decided to focus on relief campaigns started by brother Zeno, following four great disasters: floods and crisis in Kyūshū (1950s), fire in Nase (Amami-Ōshima, 1955), typhoons in Chūbu region (1958, 1959) and cold disasters in Hokkaidō (1956/57, 1964).

Żebrowski’s involvement with the press in the course of his charity work produced a lot of precious material on how the media contributed to reconstruction and bringing aid to the areas affected by natural disasters. In the course of my research, I found out that media could play an important role helping communities affected by calamities such as typhoons and floods, which have always been an unavoidable part of life in Japan. In my

study I would like to stress the particular role of local media and their involvement in the life of their communities. The activities of local press were not limited to mere information, they also served as a go-between in actual relief campaigns, bringing material and spiritual support to the victims. Of course information as such cannot be underestimated, especially in the case of disasters which took place in some remote areas of the Japanese archipelago, such as Amami-Ōshima or Hokkaidō. The study also reveals broad disparities in the economical development between those areas and so called „mainland” Japan.

シモン・グジェラック

## 動詞形における程度限定：対照的視点から見た「トテモ」と「bardzo」のスケール性を巡って

本稿では、日本語の「トテモ」とポーランド語の「bardzo」という程度副詞の選択基準についての考察を行う。まずスケール性と動詞の意味との関連について理論的な枠組みを紹介し、その理論を用いた先行研究における幾つかの問題点を挙げた上で程度修飾語の対照的な分析の可能性について論じる。その際、従来行われてきたような、程度修飾を受ける述語の意味的な分類から出発し、修飾可能な表現を含む意味的なクラスを列挙するという方法は非常に複雑または曖昧であると考ええる。「トテモ」等の程度修飾語がどのような表現と結合できるかという問題を適切に解決する意味論は、語彙的なクラスのみならず、述語に当てはまるスケールの性質を考慮に入れるべきである。即ち、修飾を受ける表現が示す性質に当てはまるスケールの特性・種類（具体的にはそのスケールにおける基準の設定方法と上下開放）が重要である。

イヴォナ・メルクレイン

## 自然災害被害者救助活動におけるマス・メディアの役割 — 戦後日本におけるいくつかの場合

本論は、日本で活動していたポーランド人宣教師ゼノ・ゼブロフスキ(1891 または 1898～1982) 修道士の経歴を追及した副産物である。ゼノ・ゼブロフスキ修道士は戦後日本で多岐にわたる奉仕活動を行い、その目的でマス・メディアを大いに活用した。中でも、自然災害被害者を助ける努力は甚大なものだった。1953年から1964年までの十年間に、ゼノ修道士が主導したマス・メディアを使用したいくつかの人道救済キャンペーンが開始された。キャンペーンの目的は、洪水、台風、火災、地震などの自然災害に遭った人々のために援助を起こすことだった。今回の論文では、当時話題になった四つ

の自然災害事件をめぐるキャンペーンに集中したい。それは 1950 年代の九州水害と炭鉱不況、そして名瀬大火（1955）、中部地方の台風(1958, 1959)、北海道冷害(1956/57, 1964)である。

ゼノ修道士の奉仕活動とマス・メディアの関係は、後者が災害地復興を目指す救援活動にいかに関与したのか、という考察の参考になる。日本での生活の避けられない一環ともいえる、台風水害などの災難にあった地域社会にとって、マス・メディアが大事な役割を果たした。本論では、特にローカル・メディア（地方紙）の役割を主張しておきたい。災害地のメディアは、情報を伝えただけでなく救援活動の仲介者にもなっており、復興を目指す努力に積極的に参加した。情報伝達そのものも、特に奄美大島や北海道のように、本土から離れた地域においては極めて大事な救援活動の一環となった。今回の研究はまた、当時高度成長に恵まれた日本の「本土」と恵まれない地域の経済的な差を明るみに出す。

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4. 本文に要約と著者紹介を英語と日本語で付記すること。

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