

Multiple points of view in Ainu and Japanese narratives

Katsunobu Izutsu & Mitsuko Narita Izutsu

Hokkaido University of Education & Fuji Women's University

This paper analyzes some narrative devices of Ainu and Japanese folktales in terms of multiple viewpoints. In Ainu, an indigenous language of Japan, folktales largely divide into gods' (mostly animals') and (often ancient) humans' autobiographies recited by performers. Being multiple reported discourse by nature, they usually presuppose four "mental spaces" (Fauconnier 1994, 1997), one being embedded in next: episode space (ES) < tale space (TS) < narrative space (NS) < speech-act space (SS). For instance, (SS)an old woman performs (NS)a male god who narrates a tale in which (TS)he travels around as well as thinks of or says (ES) something and (TS) a dream often gives him important (ES) knowledge or information. Although the narrator is always a single god or person, his/her self-reference is made in different first-person plural forms: **exclusive 'we'** in god stories (*piskan ta tat ni unarpe or ta sap=as (...)...kusu pay=as sekor eper katkemat yayeisoitak*. [Sugimura and Otsuka 1969]) but **inclusive 'we'** in human stories (e.g., *ranma kane okay=an kesto kesto kemeiki ikarkar patek an=eyaynewsarka wa okay=an. (...) ...sekor Otasutun mat yayetuitak*. [Asai 1972]). This is analyzable as reflection of whether the audience (human) is the narrator's out-group or in-group: one manifestation of multiple (narrator's and audience's) viewpoints. The performer usually gets back to his/her viewpoint in a "coda" (Labov 1972) with formulaic phrases like *sekor...yayeisoitak [yayetuitak]* '...said so,' as in the parenthesized examples.

Japanese old tales presuppose at least TS, NS, and SS. However, the narrator is ordinarily human and does not refer to himself/herself. The performer often uses dialectal or archaic evidentials like *to(sa)/soona* 'it is said that...' or *nozyatta* 'it was that...' (*mukasi, Sagami-no kuni Kunezaki mura, ima-no Kawasaki-ni rippana tera-ga atta-to. (...) sore-irai kono ike-no kani-no senaka-wa, hinoko-o kabutta-yooni akakunatta-soona. kon-de osimai tyon tyon*. [http://minwa.fujipan.co.jp/hagukumu/minwa/kantou/k_026/]). They indicate that he/she is using a narrator's wording, not his or hers, and that the description comes from the narrator's viewpoint. Such a viewpoint distinction is usually blurred because the evidentials occur on and off in the course of narrative; the performer's and narrator's voices are thus "intertwined" (Sanders 2010). This is another manifestation of multiple viewpoints. The intertwined voices are sometimes disentangled by a coda cliché like *osimai/owari* '(that's) the end' as the performer's word.

The multiple viewpoints are best describable as a narrative device for enhancing "realism" (Leech and Short 1981) by placing the audience conceptually in the narrator's vicinity. The audience (A) is normally located next to the performer (P) in SS, while the narrator (N) and other tale participants /characters (C) are in an embedded space (NS, TS, or ES), as diagramed in (1a). In Ainu, the use of exclusive or inclusive 'we' promotes the comparison of the narrator (human or divine) with the audience (human), whereby the audience's viewpoint is projected on NS and conceptually juxtaposed to the narrator's as in (1b). In Japanese, the presence or absence of dialectal/archaic evidentials serves to distinguish or fuse the performer's and narrator's viewpoints. The fusion blurs the boundary of NS and allows the audience to sit side by side with the narrator as well as the performer as in (1c). While "free indirect speech" is known to represent the viewpoint fusion of N and C in English narratives, these Ainu and Japanese narrative devices serve to realize the viewpoint fusion of P and N.

- (1) a. [(SS)P, A [(NS)N [(TS)C ... [(ES)...]]]]
 b. [(SS)P, A [(NS)N, A [(TS)C ... [(ES)...]]]]
 c. [(SS)P, A [(NS)N [(TS)C ... [(ES)...]]]]

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