

補足資料

<インド IT 業界の不況> オバマ政権の海外への影響

インドのシリコンバレーと呼ばれた街を今、不確実性という妖怪が徘徊している。

「先が見えない。史上最悪の事態だ」。バンガロールに本社がある IT 大手インフォシスの 09 年 1~3 月期決算は、ドル建て収入が前年同期比で 1.8%減少、年 20~30%の成長から一転、創業以来初のマイナスとなったため、ゴパラクリシュナン最高経営責任者（CEO）はいら立ちをあらわにした。最大の要因は、売上げの 6 割を占める米国向けの低迷だ。金融機関などが IT 投資を減らしたあおりを食った。

「国内雇用を優先するオバマ米政権がアウトソーシングを減らす」との懸念が広がる。米国では 4 月に学資ローン最大手のサリー・メイ、デルタ航空がインドへの業務委託をやめると発表。JP モルガン・チェースもコールセンター業務を米国に戻すと伝えられる。

プログラム技術者サンパットさん（35）は 3 月、大手企業を「自主退社」した。夜 7 時から早朝までの仕事をさせられて体がもたず、配置換えを申し出たら上司に呼び出された。「1 週間以内に退社してほしい」

同じ境遇で解雇通知を受けた同僚を見て決意した。「解雇通知を受けたら、同じ業界で再就職できないのが慣習。受け入れるしかなかった」。住宅ローンを抱え、年老いた親から借金をしている。

05 年にできた IT 技術者のための労働組合「ユナイツ・プロフェッショナルズ」には相談が殺到している。「IT のような新興産業には労働者を守る組織がない。みなどうしたらいいか分からずにいる」とシェカール事務局長。

シェカールさんの推計ではこの半年間でインド全土で約 5 万人の IT 技術者が事実上、解雇された。「毎年 30 万人の雇用を生み出した IT 業界から、この 1 年で 20 万人が去るだろう」。最近、業界大手の人事担当者のコメントが新聞をにぎわせた。（朝日新聞、2009 年 5 月 2 日、9 面）

<参考資料——部屋の壁を塗る> 映画 *Juno* の子供部屋のシーンについて

“That’s what I thought at first. A joke. A sick joke. We gave up trying to have kids ten years ago. I’ve told you all about that. There isn’t a day goes by, even now, when I don’t think about the kids we could have had if things had worked out. I could have been a gran by now. But I thought Colin had forgotten all about it. You know he never was that bothered, not really, even when we were going up to the clinic every week. He was doing it for me really. But now it looks like something’s got to him... He’s started converting our spare room back into a nursery. We had it as a nursery when we were going for the treatment. Just hoping we could put a baby in it. Just to have the chance to muck around with baby things. When we finally called it a day we gutted the room. It broke my heart. We didn’t throw anything away, it was funny, but suddenly everyone we knew needed baby stuff. Most of it went to my sister – the clothes, the cot, the majority of the toys. We painted over the Tiggers with oatmeal, then I used the room for my china painting. You know me and my china. We never miss a craft fair. I had a little kiln in there and everything. But now he’s gone and painted new Tiggers on the walls. He’s splashed out on a posh cot with brass bits on. He says we have to have everything ready in time. It’s due in November.” (Gerard Woodward, “A Tray of Ice Cubes,” 4-5.

<http://www.theshortstory.org.uk/stories/index.php4?storyid=4>

資料1

<引用1> 政治家としてどこが違うか

輝かしい経歴の一方で、シングルマザーに育てられ、貧しい黒人コミュニティでの仕事⁽¹⁾を振り出しにすることから、富裕層も貧困層も親近感を持つ。

ハワイで生まれ育ち、インドネシアで幼年期をすごした経験から、アジア系もオバマに親しみを持つ。青年時代にケニアに自分探しの旅にでたオバマに、自分の自分探しを重ねるアメリカ人は多い。

「誰もが思い思いの絵を描ける真っ白なキャンバス⁽²⁾みたいなものだ」

オバマとは何かを探っているうちにこんな言葉を聞いた。

黒人でも白人でもあり、貧困もエリート社会も知る万華鏡のようなオバマゆえに、その「希望」「変革」のメッセージは、皮膚の色、各層を越えて人を惹きつける魅力を持つ。白人、ヒスパニック、黒人、アジア系など人種間結婚が当たり前となったアメリカを象徴する初めてのリーダーだ。(……)

アメリカの新世代の黒人政治家を追う黒人ジャーナリストのグエン・イフェルは「新世代の黒人政治家は、公民権運動を出発点とするこれまでの黒人政治家とは明らかに異質。公民権運動黒人政治家世代を超越している」と言う。新世代は怒りをたきつける旧来の黒人政治の手法⁽³⁾をとらない。黒人の憎悪を後ろ盾にする限り白人の票をとれないし、白人の票をとれなければ、主要ポストに当選できない。これまで黒人政治家は結局、人種カードに頼る「非主流」の政治家だったが、新世代は「主流」の政治家になろうとしている。(杉田 46-48)

註1 アルゲルド・ガーデンのこと。

アメリカの黒人は平均すると、年収が全人種平均の3分の2程度だ。全米では10人に1人が貧困層だが、黒人は4人に1人。失業率は全人種平均の二倍との統計もある。離婚などで父親がいない家庭も黒人は30%と、アメリカ平均の13%を大きく上回る。教育水準も白人平均は大学卒以上が30%であるのに対して、黒人は17%、貧困脱出は難しい。そんな黒人の生活水準に比べても、アルトゲルド・ガーデンは極端に悪い。(杉田 24-25)

Altgeld Gardens is a housing project located on the south side of Chicago, Illinois, USA. The residents are 97% African American according to the 2000 US Census. . . . It was built to satisfy the need for African American veterans returning from World War II and was originally owned by the federal government, but was granted to the Chicago Housing Authority in 1956. . . . As one of the first public housing developments ever built in the United States, it is considered an historical landmark. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Altgeld_Gardens,_Chicago)

シカゴの南部は地域コミュニティー崩壊と再生のモデルとしてしばしば言及される。Stewart Dybekの小説は、シカゴの北と南の違いを生々しく描いていて、一読の価値あり。

註2 アメリカを語る際に、しばしば“tabula rasa”という言葉が用いられる。文字を書き込む板の表面をこすって文字を消し、まっさらな状態にしたものを指す。アメリカの独立に影響を与えたイギリスの思想家 John Locke は、汚されていない心、純粋なままで残るものを指してこの言葉を使った。アメリカそのものが一種の「タブラ・ラサ」として想像されたのであり、またアメリカ人は常

に新たに生まれ変わってやり直すことができるという考えも、こうした理念に基づいている。

註3 これはいわゆるアイデンティティの政治 (“identity politics”) あるいは少数派の政治 (“minority politics”) のことで、人種などの違いをもとにして権利を要求し、政治的な力を獲得しようとするもの。アイデンティティの政治にも問題がないわけではない。

To some extent. . . culture is now being used as a virtual synonym for racial identity (the *multi* in *multiculturalism* has nothing to do with some people liking Mozart and other people liking the Strokes), and to some extent it's also being used as a replacement for racial identity. When, for example, the alternative to Mozart is John Coltrane and the alternative to the Strokes is Jay-Z, we are more inclined to count these differences as cultural and to characterize them as the differences between a white culture and a black one. And the point of invoking culture here is precisely to make it clear that we are not talking about the biological differences that we used wrongly to associate with race. In fact, the modern notion of culture—we might call it the anthropological notion of culture—was essentially invented as an alternative to race. Its core idea was that the significant differences between groups—differences in the way they thought and acted—were cultural *instead of* biological. So when we talk about black or white or Jewish or Native American culture, we're talking about differences in what people do and believe, not about differences in blood. (Michaels 40-41)

つまり、「文化」ということで、人種の問題を回避できるという風潮があるということだ。マイケルズが言うのは、人種の違いは絶対だということではなく、「いろいろな文化があっても良い」という建前のせいで、人種の違いによる格差のような問題が見えなくなっているということである。

<引用2> 人種混交の恐怖

人種間結婚禁止の歴史は17世紀、入植開始と同時に始まる。急速に拡大したアメリカ南部の農業生産を奴隷が支えたミシシッピ州では奴隷の方が白人より人口が多かったくらいだから、奴隷所有者の白人と黒人奴隷との間で性的な関係が生じる⁽⁴⁾ こともあっただろうし、愛し合い、結婚しようとするカップルが当然多数出ただろう。

しかし、各州の法は、宗教的な純血主義や、白人人種は優秀であり人種混合は劣等な人間を生み出すという人種優生学などを根拠として、人種間結婚を禁じた。しかし、白人男性と黒人女性の関係については見過ごされていたという。異人種である黒人に白人女性を奪われる嫌悪感を白人男性が抱き、また黒人の持つ肉体的な強さから白人女性を守りたいという白人男性が抱く心理的コンプレックスもあった。裕福な白人層は、貧困白人層と黒人が結託して、挑戦してくるという悪夢⁽⁵⁾ を抱いたとも言われる。

黒人の定義については「黒人の血が4分の1」「8分の1」「16分の1」などさまざまだったが、バージニア州では1930年に、とうとう「黒人の血が一滴でも入れば、黒人」と規定する法⁽⁶⁾ ができた。(杉田 37-38)

註4 有名なのは、独立宣言の起草者で第三代大統領となった Thomas Jefferson である。彼は、自分が所有する奴隷の Sally Hemings と性的な関係を持ち、二人の間には子供もできたと言われる。最近になって子孫の DNA 鑑定が行われ、この噂が証明されたとのニュースが流れた。Steve Erickson

の小説 *Arc d' X*をはじめ、Jefferson と Hemings の関係を題材にした作品も多く作られた。

註5 裕福な白人が郊外にゲートで囲まれた町を作って移り住み、都市の中心部が荒廃してスラム化してきた経緯には、このような心理的背景がある。また、社会問題となっている銃も、もともとは先住民から身を守るための、後には黒人から身を守るための自衛手段としてアメリカ社会に普及してきた。(マイケル・ムーアの映画『ボウリング・フォー・コロンバイン』他を参照のこと)

註6 英語では“one drop rule”と呼ばれる。人種差別では外見上の肌の色が大きな要因となるが、「血」という内面の要素もしばしば取りざたされてきた。特に、血が混じることが「汚染される」というメタファーで語られ、それが白人の恐怖を引き起こした。

<引用 3> 人種差別と政治

白人と黒人の混血であるオバマ。かつてアメリカでは人種間結婚は忌み嫌われた。(……) 17 世紀から 18 世紀にかけてアフリカからの奴隷の数は 1000 万人を数えた。こうしてアメリカに渡り、アメリカの産業発展に奴隷として貢献した黒人たちが、アメリカの憲法は黒人奴隷を「5 分の 3」と数えると規定した(この規定は、1868 年の憲法修正 14 条でようやく正された)。

「5 分の 3」とは、各州の人口によって下院議員の定数が割り当てられる制度のため、奴隷の多い南部に多数の議員が配分されてしまうことに、北部の州が反発したためだ。だが、背景には黒人奴隷に対する平等な権利の付与を認めたくない白人の共通した思いがあった。

南北戦争中のリンカーンの奴隷解放宣言(1863 年)は、奴隷労働に経済的基盤を頼った南部も含めて、黒人奴隷を「解放」する。しかし、その後も黒人は南部でジム・クロウ⁽⁷⁾と呼ばれた徹底した隔離制度の対象となった。そもそもリンカーンの奴隷解放も、南北戦争の戦況を好転させるため、道徳性を強調して欧州諸国を北軍の味方につけ、また解放奴隷が北軍にはせ参じて兵力を増強できる、といった軍事的思惑が強かった。リンカーンも最初は奴隷を解放し、アメリカ国外に移住させるという「隔離」論者⁽⁸⁾で、人種間融和を望んだわけではなかった。(杉田 33-34)

註7 ジム・クロウ (Jim Crow) という法律があったのではなく、学校・病院・交通機関などの利用を制限する一連の差別的制度の総称としてこの名が用いられる。

註8 African American という名称が問題なのは、「アメリカ人」であることが前提とされているからである。歴史的に見れば、黒人をアフリカへ送り返そうとする運動もあり、また逆に黒人が自らアフリカ(またはその文化)へ回帰しようとする動きもあった。アメリカでは奇異に感じられる名前を名乗ったりするのも、アメリカ以外への帰属意識の表明となることがある。

<引用 4> リンカーンの系譜

1863 年に奴隷解放を宣言したリンカーンこそ、黒人大統領誕生への出発点と言える。公民権運動のキング牧師が 100 年後に「私には夢がある」と人種差別克服を訴えたのもこの [ワシントンにあるリンカーン] 記念堂だ。

さらに 40 年強を経て、オバマは 2007 年 2 月、大統領選出馬宣言をリンカーンが本拠地としたイリノイ州スプリングフィールドで行い、08 年 11 月 4 日の大統領選当選演説では歴代大統領の中でリンカーンにだけ触れた。09 年 1 月 20 日の就任式ではリンカーンが使った聖書に左手を置いて宣言した。愛読

書はリンカーンの演説集というオバマは、「リンカーンがいなければ、私の人生は不可能だった」と言い、リンカーンを歴代大統領の中でもっとも尊敬している。(……)

リンカーン記念堂には平日の午後というのにオバマとリンカーンの結び付き⁽⁹⁾を確認しようとしてか、たくさんの人々がいた。(……)

「ローザ・パークスが座り、マーチン（キング牧師）が歩き、オバマが走った（選挙出馬英語で run = 走ると言う）。そしてわれわれの子供たちは飛び立てる」。⁽¹⁰⁾ こんな短いテキストメッセージが投票日直前にアメリカの黒人たちの間で流れた。長い闘いに勝った全米の黒人たちが誇りと喜びが一つひとつの文字に感じられた。

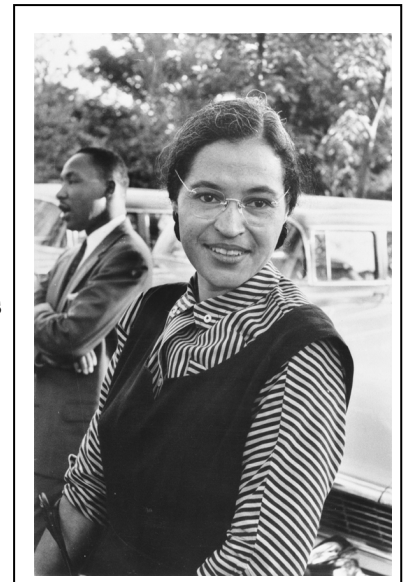
オバマは自らをどこまで「黒人」と意識しているのかは分からない。しかし、黒人たちは、自分たちの代表が初めてアメリカのトップに立ったと歓喜しているのだ。(杉田 40-43)

註9 引用にもあるように、オバマはしばしばリンカーンと自分を重ね合わせることで、偉大な大統領のイメージを自分のイメージ作りに活用してきた。過去の大統領やその他の偉人の演説を引用してスピーチを行うのは、アメリカをはじめとして西洋の伝統となっている。例えば、リンカーンは独立宣言に言及し、キング牧師はリンカーンに言及して、それぞれ歴史的なスピーチを行った。

註10 原語では “Rosa sat so Martin could walk, so Obama could run, so our children can fly” である。

Parks sat:

On December 1, 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, Parks, age 42, refused to obey bus driver James Blake's order that she give up her seat to make room for a white passenger. . . . Parks's action sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott. . . . Parks's act of defiance became an important symbol of the modern Civil Rights Movement and Parks became an international icon of resistance to racial segregation. She organized and collaborated with civil rights leaders, including boycott leader Martin Luther King, Jr., helping to launch him to national prominence in the civil rights movement. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rosa_Parks)



Martin could walk:

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was a large political rally that took place in Washington, D.C. on August 28, 1963. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech advocating racial harmony at the Lincoln Memorial during the march. . . . Estimates of the number of participants varied from 200,000 (police) to over 300,000 (leaders of the march). About 80% of the marches were African American and 20% white and other ethnic groups. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March_on_Washington_for_Jobs_and_Freedom)

ちなみにテキストメッセージとは携帯電話のショートメールサービスのこと。アメリカやイギリスでは、“TEXT. . . to . . .” という広告をよく見かける。

<引用 5> オバマを支持する世代

ミレニウム世代⁽¹¹⁾ のもう一つの特徴は多様性だ。今、アメリカのどの大学を訪れても、「この子は何系だろう。白人なのかヒスパニックか、それともアジア系？」と人種・民族の色分けが簡単に想像できない学生がたくさんいるのに驚かされる。髪はブロンド、肌は茶色、話す英語にはなまりがあるといった、いろいろな血が混ざっている若者たちだ。白人が主流のアメリカの形が徐々に変わっていつているのが、よく分かる。

ハーバード大政治研究所の調査では若者の間で白人は 62%、続いてヒスパニック 17%、黒人 14%、アジア系 3%となっている。18 歳以下の子供たちで言えば、白人は 59%に減る。アメリカ全体では白人はまだ七割弱だが、若い世代の非白人化は将来の「アメリカの姿」を容易に予想させる。

旅行・滞在など外国経験があるのは 59%。アメリカの議員の 3分の 2はパスポートを持っていないと言われるが、この世代はグローバル化している。また、20%は両親のどちらかが移民だ。

こんなミレニウム世代は異人種、異質なものに対して寛容だ。というか大人の世代に比べて「異質」と思わないのだろう。(杉田 92)

註 11 1980 年代以降に生まれた世代。社会問題への関心が深く、積極的にボランティアに参加する。

その一方で、甘やかされて育ち、わがままな振る舞いが目立つ。通信ネットワークを通じた人とのつながりを重視し、新しいメディアを自在に操ることができる。

資料2

<引用6> 「黒人らしさ」という本質主義

I write plays because I love Black People. As there is no single “Black Experience,” there is no single “Black Aesthetic” and there is no one way to write or think or feel or dream or interpret or be interpreted. As African-Americans we should recognize this insidious essentialism for what it is: a fucked-up trap to reduce us to only one way of being. We should endeavor to show the world and ourselves our beautiful and powerfully infinite variety. (Parks 21-22)

<引用7> 骨の歌を聴く

A play is a blueprint of an event: a way of creating and rewriting history through the medium of literature. Since history is a recorded or remembered event, theatre, for me, is the perfect place to “make” history—that is, because so much of African-American history has been unrecorded, dismembered, washed out, one of my tasks as playwright is to—through literature and the special strange relationship between theatre and real-life—locate the ancestral burial ground, dig for bones, hear the bones sing, write it down. (Parks 4)

<引用8> リンカーン暗殺ショー

THE FOUNDLING FATHER: . . . The Lesser Known trying somehow to catch up to the Great Man all this while and maybe running too fast in the wrong direction. Which is to say that maybe the Great Man had to catch him. Hhhh. Ridiculous.

(Rest)

Full fringe. The way he appears on the money.

(Rest)

A wink to Mr. Lincolns pasteboard cutout. A nod to Mr. Lincolns bust.

(Rest. Time passes. Rest)

When someone remarked that he played Lincoln so well that he ought to be shot it was as if the Great Mans footsteps had been suddenly revealed: instead of making speeches his act would now consist of a single chair, a rocker, in a dark box. The public was cordially invited to pay a penny, choose from a selection of provided pistols enter the darkened box and “Shoot Mr. Lincoln.” The Lesser Known became famous overnight. (Parks 171)

<引用9> 引用しながらずらしていく

LUCY: He’d say: “Uh house divided cannot stand!” He’d say: “4score and 7 years uhgoh.” Say: “Of thuh people by thuh people and for thuh people.” Say: “Malice toward none and charity toward all.” Say: “Cheat some of thuh people some of thuh time.” (Parks 191)

<引用 12> YouTube の誕生

The original idea for YouTube is traceable to a moment of serendipitous discovery, in December 2004, when [25-year-old software engineer Jawad] Karim came across a stray statistic that caught his eye. In *Wired* magazine he read an article about BitTorrent, a software technology that allows fast transfer of very large files. The trick is that it uses peer-to-peer networking. BitTorrent, for example, was the technology that enabled the viral spread of a now infamous Jon Stewart television appearance. In the fall of 2004, Stewart appeared on CNN's *Crossfire* and astringently critiqued his hosts, Paul Begala and Tucker Carlson. He called their work "partisan hackery" and singled out Carlson as "a dick." A clip posted online caromed around the Web. In a few weeks it was viewed by 2.3 million people, passed along through BitTorrent. The fact that jumped out at Karim in the *Wired* article was that the Stewart clip had been seen online by at least three times as many people as had originally watched Stewart on CNN.

The Stewart clip was not the first one to enjoy such wide circulation; the emergence of clip culture had actually begun with the sharing of the much-discussed clip of Janet Jackson's "wardrobe malfunction" during the Superbowl earlier that year. But with the clip of Stewart on *Crossfire*, the velocity of viral sharing between PCs had sped up. Soon, the diversity of types of video that people might want to share in large numbers would become clearer. Shortly after the article in *Wired* appeared, the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami struck. CNN camera crews were not present to capture the tragedy, and it became the first large-scale disaster chronicled primarily by cell phone camcorders.

Karim perceived that viewers who attempted to watch these virally spread videos ran into all sorts of technical difficulties, and he figured that a site that made uploading and watching any video effortless would fill an unmet need. (Stross 113-114)

<ポイント解説>

引用文中、繰り返し“viral”（ウィルスの）という形容詞が用いられている。YouTubeによって広がっていくビデオ共有ネットワークは、管理者にもコントロールできないものであることをよく示している。従来は文字情報の検索で成功した Google にも、ウェブ上に散らばった映像を検索するのは難しかった。その一方で、映像を探し出して自由に使いたいというユーザーの要望は高まっており、何らかのシステムの構築が急がれていた。まずシステムありきではなく、現実には起きている映像データ共有の動きに反応する形で新しいサービスが開発されたのである。YouTube を政治に活用する場合も、政治を政治家任せにはしておけないというアメリカの現状が先にあり、新たなメディアは、変化する有権者の要求にこたえるものだったとすることができる。

<引用 13> YouTube 成功のきっかけ

YouTube desperately needed content. To attract more amateur contributors, they unveiled in June a dramatically redesigned site. When a user saw a YouTube video that he or she wished to share with friends, a single click would send an e-mail notification to as many friends as desired. This made viewers unpaid marketers, spreading the word about YouTube's offerings. The site also thoughtfully

provided a little snippet of identifying code next to each video that could be copied and pasted elsewhere, making it easy to embed a YouTube video on any Web page, including those at MySpace.

Sharing word about a video became painless, and immediately the site began to draw more users. They, in turn, uploaded more videos, which then draw still more users. On a single day, the site drew fifty new videos, then sixty, and then seventy. Once every two weeks, with unfailing regularity, word about one particular video would zip around, making it a widely mentioned sensation. As the number of videos uploaded took off during the summer of 2005, these “viral” hits appeared at ever shorter intervals. (Stross 116-117)

<ポイント解説>

こうしてみると、YouTube の成功は、とにかく使い勝手の良さを追求したことによるものだということが分かる。言い換えれば、技術的な点で上から指示するのではなく、YouTube の運営をユーザーまかせにしたことが良かったのだ。とにかく大量のビデオを集めることと、集められたビデオの評価はユーザーによる自然淘汰にまかせることで、「トップダウン」ではないシステムの構築が可能になった。オバマ当選の舞台裏で起きていたことも、ほとんどこれと同じである。オバマ陣営から一定のコントロールはなされたにしても、これだけ大規模な運動へと発展した過程には、いかにして個々の参加者の自主性を活かすかという、YouTube 型の運営モデルが反映されているはずである。

資料 4

The electronic medium is neither exactly like speech nor exactly like writing. Commentators have struggled to describe it. When Homer Simpson asks his friends “What’s an e-mail?”, they are confused. Lenny replies, “It’s a computer thing, like, er, an electric letter.” Carl added, “Or a quiet phone call.” To see why Homer and his friends are having trouble, we need to consider all the functions that medium is capable of performing.

The Internet is an association of computer networks with common standards which enables messages to be sent from one central computer (or *host*) on one network to any host on any other. It enables us to perform three main functions: to link the sites comprising the World Wide Web, to send electronic mail between private mailboxes, and to permit groups of people to engage in continuous discussion in chatrooms or by instant messaging. These functions facilitate and constrain our ability to communicate in ways that are fundamentally different from those found in other linguistic situations. Many of the expectations and practices which we associate with spoken and written language no longer obtain.

Not Like Speech

Computer-mediated communication is not like speech, even in those electronic situations which are most speech-like, such as e-mailing or messaging. There is, to begin with, a lack of the simultaneous feedback which is an essential part of a successful spoken conversation. While A speaks to B, B does not stay unmoved and silent: B’s face and voice provide an ongoing commentary on what A is saying. Nods and smiles work along with a wide range of vocalization, such as *uh-huh*, *yeah*, *sure*, and *ooh*. Without these, a conversation quickly breaks down, or becomes extremely stilted and artificial.

In e-mail and chatroom interaction, there is no simultaneous feedback, for the obvious reason that the messages sent via a computer are complete and unidirectional. Our message does not leave our computer until we *send* it, and that means the whole of a message is transmitted at once, and arrives on the recipient’s screen at once. There is no way that a recipient can react to our message while it is being typed, because recipients do not know they are getting any messages at all until the text arrives on their screens. Correspondingly, there is no way for a sender to get a sense of how successful a message is, while it is being written—whether it has been understood, or whether it needs repair. This factor alone makes e-conversation totally unlike those which take place in “real world” speech.

Another difference can be illustrated from real-time chatrooms. If we are in a chatroom, talking around a particular theme, we see on our screen messages coming from all over the world. We can attend to all of these, and respond to as many as we wish, governed only by our interests and our ability to type rapidly. By contrast, the traditional speech situation has never allowed us to “listen” to multiple conversations at once, and to participate in them.

A third difference results from the limitations of the technology: the rhythm of an Internet interaction is very much slower than that found in a speech situation, and disallows some of

conversation's most salient properties. A response to a message may be anything from seconds to months, the rhythm of the exchange depending on such factors as the recipient's computer (e.g. whether it announces the instant arrival of a message), the user's personality and habits (e.g. whether messages are replied to at regular times or randomly), and the circumstances of the interlocutors (e.g. their computer access). This interferes with another core feature of traditional face-to-face interaction, the conversational *turn*.

Turn taking is so fundamental to conversation that most people are not conscious of its significance as a means of enabling interactions to be successful. But it is conversational fact of life that people follow the routine of taking turns, when they talk, and avoid talking at once or interrupting each other randomly or excessively. Moreover, they expect certain *adjacency-pairs* to take place: questions to be followed by answers, and not the other way round; similarly, a piece of information to be followed by an acknowledgement, or a complaint to be followed by an excuse or apology. These elementary strategies, learned at a very early age, provides a normal conversation with its skeleton.

On the Internet, the turn-taking can become so unusual that its ability to cope with a topic can be destroyed. This is because turn-taking, as seen on the screen, is dictated by the software, and not by the participants. In a chatroom or instant-messaging environment, for instance, even if we did start to send a reaction to someone else's utterance before it was finished, the reaction would take its turn in a non-overlapping series of utterances on the screen, dependent only on the point at which the send signal was received at the host server. Messages are posted to a receiver's screen linearly, in the order in which they are received by the system. In a multi-user environment, messages are coming in from various sources all the time, and with different lags. Because of the way packets of information are sent electronically through different global routes, between sender and receiver, it is even possible for turn-taking reversals to take place, and all kinds of unpredictable overlaps.

This medium is also unlike speech with respect to the formal properties of the medium—properties that are so basic that it becomes extremely difficult for people to live up to the recommendation that they should “write as they talk.” Chief among these is the domain of tone of voice. There have been somewhat desperate efforts to replace tone of voice on screen in the form of an exaggerated use of spelling and punctuation, and the use of capitals, spacing, and special symbols for emphasis. Examples include repeated letters (*aaaaahhhh, soooo*), repeated punctuation marks (*whohe????, hey!!!*), and conventions for expressing emphasis, such as *the “real” point*. These features are capable of a certain expressiveness, but the range of meanings they signal is few, and restricted to gross notions such as extra emphasis, surprise, and puzzlement. Less exaggerated nuances are not capable of being handled in this way, even though the use of *smiles (emoticons)* such as :-).

Not Like Writing

Computer-mediated communication does not display the properties we would expect of speech, but neither does it display the properties we expect of writing. To begin with, it lacks the space-bound character of traditional writing—the fact that a piece of text is static and permanent on the page. If

something is written down, repeated reference to it will be an encounter with an unchanged text. We would be surprised if, upon returning to a particular page, it had altered its graphic character in some way. Putting it like this, we can see immediately that computer-mediated communication is not by any means like conventional writing.

A “page” on the Web often varies from encounter to encounter (and all have the option of varying, even if page-owners choose not to take it) for several possible reasons—for instance, its factual content might have been updated, its advertising sponsor might have changed, or its graphic designer might have added new features. Nor is the writing that we see necessarily static, given the technical options available which allow text to move around the screen, disappear/reappear, change colour, and so on. From a user point of view, there are also opportunities to “interfere” with the text in all kinds of ways that are not possible in traditional writing. A page, once downloaded to the user’s screen, may have its text cut, added to revised, annotated, even totally restructured, in ways that make the result seem to come from the same source as the original.

The other Internet situations also display differences from traditional writing, with respect to their space-bound presence. E-mails are in principle static and permanent, but routine textual deletion is commonplace, and it is possible to alter message electronically with an ease and undetectability which is not possible when people try to alter a traditionally written text.

What is especially revolutionary about e-mails is the way the medium permits what is called *framing*. We receive a message from X which contains, say, three different points in a single paragraph. We can, if we want, reply to each of these points by taking the paragraph, splitting it up into three parts, and the responding to each part separately, so that the message we send back to X then looks a bit like a play dialogue. Then, X can do the same thing to our responses, and when we get the message back, we see X’s replies to what we sent. We can then send the lot on to Y for further comments, and when it comes back, there are now three voices framed on the screen. And so it can go on—replies within replies within replies—and all unified within the same screen typography. Traditional writing practice never permitted anything like this.

Another feature of computer-mediated communication takes us even further away from traditional writing. This is the *hypertext link*, the jump that users can make if they want to move from one page or site to another. It is the most fundamental structural property of the Web, without which the medium would not exist. There are some parallels with traditional written text. For example, the use of footnotes is a sort of primitive hypertext link, moving the eye from one part of a page to another, or from one page of a text to another (if the footnotes are collected at the back of a book, for example). But footnotes are marginal to traditional written language; we can easily think of texts which have no footnotes at all. The Web, by contrast, could not exist without its hypertext links.

Finally, e-mails, messaging, and chatgroup interactions lack the carefully planned, elaborate construction which is characteristic of so much writing, because there is so much pressure to communicate rapidly. Some people are happy to send messages with no revision at all, not caring if typing errors, erratic capitalization, lack of punctuation, and other anomalies are included. This is

actually a special style arising out of the pressures operating on users of the medium, plus a natural desire (especially among younger—or younger-minded—users) to be idiosyncratic and daring. It is by no means universal. There are many e-mailers who take as many pains to revise their messages as they would in non-Internet settings.

On the whole, computer-mediated communication—often referred to as CMC, or Netspeak—is better seen as written language which has been pulled some way in the direction of speech than as spoken language which has been written down. However, expressing the question in terms of the traditional dichotomy is itself misleading. CMC is identical to neither speech nor writing, but selectively and adaptively displays properties of both. It also does things which neither of the other mediums do, presenting us with novel problems of information management.

CMC is more than an aggregate of spoken and written features. Because it does things that the other mediums do not do, it has to be seen as a new species of communication. It is more than just a hybrid of speech and writing, or the result of contact between two long-standing mediums. Electronic texts, of whatever kind, are simply not the same as other kinds of texts. They display fluidity, simultaneity (being available on an indefinite number of machines), and non-degradability in copying; they transcend the traditional limitations on text dissemination; and they have permeable boundaries (because the way one text may be integrated within others or display links to others). Several of these properties have consequences for language, and these combine with those associated with speech and writing to make electronic communication a genuine “new medium.” (Crystal 153-158)

<引用5> ブルジョア国家アメリカのイデオロギー

In a very real sense, the American nation was born bourgeois. . . Individualism, laissez-faire economics, and the pursuit of private interests were locked in from the beginning; deviations from that norm never really had a chance. Whereas Europe had a feudal tradition of *noblesse oblige*, which in the modern period took the form of welfare, public housing and employment, and other ways to help the less fortunate, the United States offers its underclass only the ideology of individual mobility and personal achievement. (Berman 246)

<ポイント解説>

個人主義とアメリカン・ドリームは切っても切れない関係にある。人が独力で何かを成し遂げられるのは、個人が社会的にも空間的にも、自由に移動することができるからだと考えられていて、例外はあるものの、福祉や政府の介入はこうしたアメリカの理想に反するものとされる。

<引用6> 車社会であることの意味

Most American cities lack a sense of place; they have become alien worlds for most people, who withdraw from any community involvement. In the main, single-family houses and an elaborate highway system constitute the American landscape. (Berman 259)

Truth to tell, we have lived car-centered lives for so long that we have forgotten what a great landscape or city is about. . . So Americans sit in Starbucks drinking homogenized, commercial coffee, talking on cell phones, staring into their laptops, and having no notion of what real café (or even social) life is all about. They spend huge amounts of time sitting alone in steel boxes on highways, driving to work and to huge shopping malls, their new “communities.” They have no understanding of sacred spaces, places of quiet, or ones of relaxed public assembly. From a European point of view, says sociologist Ray Oldenburg, American suburbs are like prisons. There is no contact between household, and one rarely knows one’s neighbors. There are no places to walk to, or cafés to sit where people drop in and socialize or read the newspaper. And the “war,” the endless me-first competition that we conduct with one another (any appearance to the contrary), in lieu of having any real community, is echoed in our foreign policy. . . .

car culture + suburbia = oil dependency = war culture

This war culture can be seen not only in our foreign policy, but also in the details of how we live, both physically and emotionally. (Berman 264-265)

<ポイント解説>

コミュニティや公共の空間というものが、アメリカの文化として根付かないとすれば、車社会であることがその原因のひとつであるといえる。それが対外政策にも影響しているという指摘は興味深い。しかしその一方で、アメリカには強い再生力があるのも確かで、次のケース・スタディで見るように、様々な形でコミュニティを創り出そうとする試みがなされている。

資料2

Bryson, Bill. *Mother Tongue: The English Language*. London: Penguin, 1990. より

<引用4> フランス人は英語が嫌い(?)

Not all languages have welcomed the invasion of English words. The French have been more resistant than most. President François Mitterrand declared in 1986, perhaps a trifle excessively: “France is engaged in a war with Anglo-Saxon.” The French have had a law against the encroachment of foreign words since as early as 1911, but this was considerably bolstered by the setting up in 1970 of a Commission on Terminology, which was followed in 1975 by another law, called the Maintenance of the Purity of the French Language, which introduced fines for using illegal anglicisms, which in turn was followed in 1984 by the establishment of *another* panel, the grandly named Commissariat Général de la Langue Française. You may safely conclude from all this that the French take their language very seriously indeed. As a result of these various efforts, the French are forbidden from saying *pipeline* (even though they pronounce it “peepleen”), but must instead say *oléoduc*. They cannot take a *jet airplane*, but instead must board an *avion à réaction*. A *hamburger* is a *steak haché*. *Chewing gum* has become *pâte à mâcher*. The newspaper *Le Monde* sarcastically suggested that sandwich should be rendered as “deux morceaux de pain avec quelque chose au milieu”—“two pieces of bread with something in the middle.” . . .

Certainly the incursion of English words is not a new phenomenon. *Le snob*, *le biftek*, and even *le self-made man* go back a hundred years or more, while *ouest* (west) has been in French for 700 hundred years and *rosbif* (roast beef) for 350. More than one observer has suggested that what really rankles the French is not that they are borrowing so many words from the rest of the world but that the rest of the world is no longer borrowing so many from them. . . .

The French, it must be said, have not been so rabidly anglophobic as has sometimes been made out. From the outset the government conceded defeat on a number of words that were too well established to drive out: *gadget*, *holdup*, *weekend*, *blue jeans*, *self-service*, *manager*, *marketing*, and many others. . . . The French also recognize the global importance of English. In 1988, the elite Ecole Centrale de Paris, one of the country’s top engineering academies, made it a requirement of graduation that students be able to speak and write fluent English, even if they have no intention of ever leaving France. (Bryson 180-181)

<引用5> 世界各地での英語受容

It would be a mistake to presume that English is widely spoken in the world because it has some overwhelming intrinsic appeal to foreigners. Most people speak it not because it gives them pleasure to help out American and British monoglots who cannot be troubled to learn a few words of their language, believe it or not, but because they need it to function in the world at large. They may like a few English words splashed across their T-shirts and shopping bags, but that isn’t to say that that is what they want to relax with in the evening.

Go to Amsterdam or Antwerp or Oslo and you will find that almost everyone speaks superb English, and yet if you venture into almost any bookshop in those cities you will usually find only a small selection of books in English. For the most part, people want to watch television in their own language. In the coastal areas of Holland and Belgium, where most people can both speak English and receive British television broadcasts, most still prefer to watch local programmes even when they are palpably inferior to the British product (i.e. almost invariably). Similarly, two English-language satellite network in Europe, Sky TV and Super Channel, had some initial success in West Germany, but as soon two competing satellite networks were set up transmitting more or less same programmes but dubbed into German, the English-language networks' joint share slumped to less than 1 per cent—about as much as could be accounted for by English-speaking natives living in West Germany. The simple fact is that German viewers, even when they speak English well, would rather watch *Dallas* dubbed badly into German than in the original English. And who can blame them?

In many places English is widely resented as a symbol of colonialism. In India, where it is spoken by no more than 5 per cent of the population at the very most, the constitution was written in English and English was adopted as a foreign language not out of admiration for its linguistic virtues but as a necessary expedient. In a country in which there are 1,652 languages and dialects, including 15 official ones, and in which no one language is spoken by more than 16 per cent of the population, a neutral outside language has certain obvious practicalities. Much the same situation prevails in Malaysia, where the native languages include Tamil, Portuguese, Thai, Punjabi, twelve versions of Chinese, and about as many of Malay. Traditionally, Malay is spoken in the civil service, Chinese in business, and English in the professions and in education. Yet these countries are almost always determined to phase English out. India had hoped to eliminate it as an official language by 1980 and both Malaysia and Nigeria have been trying to do likewise since the 1970s. (Bryson 181-182)

<ポイント解説>

外国語としての英語の受容には、いくつかの重要な要素がある。

- ・いつ、どのようにして英語が入ってきたか
- ・英語がどのような役割を果たしてきたか
- ・英語の使用をどうすべきか

ある意味でグローバルな言語として機能している英語だが、地域ごとの英語の受け入れられ方や社会におけるその地位は様々である。上に挙げたような要素に注目して各地域における英語のあり方を考えれば、グローバルな視野においてローカルな文化の特質を捉える事が可能になるだろう。

資料3

Ritzer, George. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Revised New Century Edition. Thousand Oaks, Cal.: Pine Forge Press, 2004. より

<引用6> 「マクドナルド化」とは？

[McDonaldization]⁽¹⁾ is the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world. (Ritzer 1)

註1 「マクドナルド化」とは別にマクドナルドに限定した話ではないし、アメリカだけの話でもない。マクドナルドが押し進めてきたような方法論が、飲食店のみならずほかの業種や、社会の仕組みにまで応用されていくことを指して、このような用語が用いられている。

In short, McDonald's has succeeded because it offers consumers, workers, and managers efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. (Ritzer 12)

One important element of McDonald's success is efficiency, or the optimum method for getting from one point to another ⁽²⁾. For consumers, McDonald's offers the best available way to get from being hungry to being full. In a society where both parents are likely to work or where single parent is struggling to keep up, efficiently satisfying hunger is very attractive. In a society where people rush from one spot to another, usually by car, the efficiency of a fast-food meal, perhaps even a drive-through meal, often proves impossible to resist ⁽³⁾. (Ritzer 12-13)

註2 効率。ひとつのところから別のところへ行くための最適な方法。

註3 車社会であることがまたもや影響している。

Calculability is an emphasis on the quantitative aspects of products sold (portion size, cost) and services offered (the time it takes to get the product)⁽⁴⁾. In McDonaldized systems, quantity has become equivalent to quality; a lot of something, or the quick delivery of it, means it must be good. As two observers of contemporary American culture put it, "As a culture, we tend to believe deeply that in general 'bigger is better'"⁽⁵⁾." Thus, people order the Quarter Pounder, the Big Mac, the large fries. More recent lures are the "double" this (for instance, Burger King's "Double Whopper with Cheese") and the "super-size" that. (Ritzer 13)

註4 定量的であること。何事も大きさや量、時間などで計算されてしまう。

註5 「大きいことはいいことだ」。アメリカ人のものの考え方をステレオタイプ的に示す好例。何でもとにかく大きいのがアメリカらしいということだ。ハリウッド版『ゴジラ』の宣伝コピーも、“Size Does Matter” 「サイズがものをいう」だった。

McDonald's also offers predictability, the assurance that products and services will be the same over time and in all locales⁽⁶⁾. . . . The success of the McDonald's model suggests that many people have come to prefer a world in which there are few surprises. "This is strange," notes a British observer,

“considering [McDonald’s is] the product of a culture which honours individualism above all.” (Ritzer 14)

註6 いつもどこでも変わらないということ。厳密にマニュアル化されているため、一般的に接客態度のよろしくない国に行っても、マクドナルドではいつものように笑顔で「ポテトはいかがですか？」と聞かれるらしい。その安心感が魅力だということ。しかしこれは様々な地域の間での差異がなくなって、世界が均質になっていることも意味するので、マクドナルド化はグローバリゼーションともかかわりが深い。

<引用7> 逆輸入されるマクドナルド化

And now McDonaldization is coming full circle. Other countries with their own McDonaldized institutions have begun to export them to the United States⁽⁷⁾. The Body Shop, an ecologically sensitive British cosmetics chain had, as of early 2003, over nineteen hundred shops in fifty nations, of which three hundred were in the United States. (Ritzer 4-5)

註7 輸出された産業や文化がよそで改良され逆輸入される。アメリカの歴史はしばしばこのパターンを繰り返してきた。

McDonald’s is doing better outside the United States, and it is there that we are likely to see a continued expansion of it, and other American fast-food chains, for the foreseeable future (by all accounts, the American market for fast-food restaurants is saturated, and this is a big source of McDonald’s problems). More important, as pointed out earlier, many other nations have witnessed the emergence of their own fast-food chains modeled, naturally, after McDonald’s. Not only are they expanding within their own borders, but they are also increasingly interested in global expansion⁽⁸⁾ (Britain’s Pizza Express is expanding into Eastern European countries as San Marzano restaurants), even into the American market. . . . In fact, the center of McDonaldization, as was previously the case with many forms of factory production, is increasingly shifting outside the United States. Whether it occurs under the name of Mos Burger (Japan) or Nirula’s (India), it is still McDonaldization. (Ritzer 21-22)

註8 マクドナルド化は一つの国内で起こることでもある。もともとはアメリカに限定された話だった。しかし最近起きているのは、マクドナルド化のグローバル化という現象である。両者は区別すべきものではあるが、アメリカナイゼーションと併せて、しばしば区別がしにくくなってきている。

Ikea⁽⁹⁾, a Swedish-based (but Dutch-owned) home furnishings company, did about 12 billion euros in business in 2002 derived from the over 286 million people (equal to about the entire population of the United States) visiting their 150-plus stores in 29 countries. Purchases were also made from the 118 million copies of their catalog printed in over 45 languages. In fact, that catalog is reputed to be the second largest publication in the world, just after the Bible. (Ritzer 5)

註9 イケアについては、WebCT上のカールソン先生のインタビューも参照のこと。日本でイケアに行った時の気持ちが語られている。

<引用 8> マクドナルドの遍在性

McDonald's has achieved its exalted position because virtually all Americans, and many others, have passed through its golden arches on innumerable occasions. Furthermore, most of us have been bombarded by commercials extolling McDonald's virtues, commercials tailored to a variety of audiences and that change as the chain introduces new foods, new contests, and new product tie-ins. These ever-present commercials, combined with the fact that people cannot drive very far without having a McDonald's pop into view, have embedded McDonald's deeply in popular consciousness⁽¹⁰⁾. A poll of school-age children showed that 96% of them could identify Ronald McDonald, second only to Santa Claus in name recognition. (Ritzer 8)

註 10 あらゆる場所にマクドナルドがあり、コマーシャルもあの手この手で情報を送りつけてくる。コカコーラやディズニーと並んで、マクドナルドが「アメリカらしさ」の象徴となった背景には、このような戦略がある。店舗数や売り上げの増大だけではなく、自社の良いイメージを世界中に拡散していくこともマクドナルドの大きな目的である。

<引用 9> 「上下方向のマクドナルド化」

Another type of expansion involves what could be termed "vertical McDonaldization." That is, the demands of the fast-food industry, as is well documented in Eric Schlosser's *Fast Food Nation*, have forced industries that service it to McDonaldize in order to satisfy its insatiable demands⁽¹¹⁾. Thus, potato growing and processing, cattle ranching, chicken raising, and meat slaughtering and processing have all had to McDonaldize their operations, and this has led to dramatic increases in production. However, that growth has not come without costs. Meat and poultry are more likely to be disease-ridden, small (often non-McDonaldized) producers and ranchers have been driven out of business, and millions of people have been forced to work in low-paying, demeaning, demanding, and sometimes outright dangerous jobs⁽¹²⁾. . . . While some (largely owners, managers, and stockholders) have profited enormously from vertical McDonaldization, far more have been forced into a marginal economic existence. (Ritzer 10)

註 11 ある企業がマクドナルド化するだけでなく、その企業の下請けや関連業者なども、上からの命令でマクドナルド化せざるを得なくなる。効率を重視し生産性を上げるために、こうしたシステム化が行われる。

註 12 ただし、効率化の弊害もある。食の安全が脅かされる、零細な生産者が廃業に追い込まれる、劣悪な条件下での低賃金労働による搾取など。引用にある *Fast Food Nation* を原作にした映画があるので、後ほど観てこれらのことを確認したい。

<引用 10> 国境の町で売られていたもの

Lourdres, like all the other store owners, sells a selection of caps and headscarves decorated with images of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's most revered icon, depicted in a shawl fringed with rays of light, and with an adoring Juan Diego kneeling at her feet, interestingly, in a desert dotted with nopales.

San Judas also features prominently, offering forlorn hope to the dispossessed. One headscarf, though, is eye-catchingly different, capturing the hopes and dreams of material betterment that are implicit in the journey that hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants make each year. The cotton rectangle is printed with a flurry of twenty-, fifty-, and hundred-dollar bills, set against a backdrop of green. Migrants who buy it are literally wearing the American Dream on their heads as they set out for the north. . . .

In a bewildering irony of globalization, I notice that the scarf is made in China and the cap in Vietnam. I find the thought of factories in the Far East running off caps and scarves for a target market of penniless migrants from Mexico mind-boggling. First, how did they ever find out about their journey? Then, how do they turn a buck out of pitching to the borderline destitute?

Other popular items on sale are soccer shirts for teams in Mexico's Primera Division league. Lourdres has the blue and white stripe of Cruz Azul, a team from southwest Mexico City, and the red and white colors of Las Chivas from Guadalajara, famed as the one club in Mexico soccer that has only ever signed Mexican-born players.

"We sell a lot of them," Lourdres says as I hold one of the shirts in my hands. "They like to wear their colors. Their team carry their hopes and their dreams." (Gaynor 10-11)

<ポイント解説>

メキシコで信仰を集めている聖人、特に恵まれない者たちの守護聖人である San Judas をあしらった帽子やスカーフが売られている。行くも地獄帰るも地獄の国境越えを前に、そうした聖人の加護にあずかろうということだろうか。中南米からの移民は信仰心が篤いことでも知られるが、それと同時にほとんどがカトリック教徒なので、もともとプロテスタントの地盤であるアメリカの宗教地図を塗り替える勢いであるらしい。

興味深いのは、そうした宗教的な図案とは相容れないアメリカの紙幣をあしらったグッズも売られていることで、それらは端的に移民たちがアメリカに対して期待するものが何であるかを示している。背景のグリーンは、ドル紙幣の色でもあり、グリーンカードの色でもある。またサッカーのユニフォームも人気がある。有名な選手が一種の守護聖人のようにして崇められているということもあるだろうが、そもそもサッカーで成功することとアメリカにわたって金を稼ぐことは、数少ない成功への道である点で共通しているといえる。

しかし一番驚くべきなのは、それらのグッズがアジア諸国で製造されているということだ。中国の縫製工場の現実を描いた 2005 年の『女工哀歌 (エレジー)』(原題 *China Blue*) というドキュメンタリーがあるが、それと比較検討すると、苦境におかれた者が同じような境遇の人々のためにモノを作るという状況が浮かび上がる。グローバリゼーションの矛盾とはこういうものではないだろうか。

資料1

<インタビュー> ロンドン在住の日本人が語るロンドンの日常

—ロンドンの大学で認知言語学を研究している大学院生に話を聞いた。ロンドンに少しでも滞在していれば必ずどこかでこの話を聞かされる（しかも複数の人から）。地元の人にとっては困ったことなのかもしれないが、話している本人はなぜか楽しそうなのが不思議である。

Typically, eh, one of the notorious things people talk about is weather. Another issue people talk about is, eh, it's the transportation system. If you're from Japan or from Germany, you think that, you know, train comes on time, no delay whatsoever, and if train is delayed only for one minute, there is an announcement saying like "We apologize for this delay," and blah-blah-blah. But if you come to London and start using the transportation system here, you'd be so surprised because there is no apology for delay. Or, well, basic thing is train's not working properly. Maybe that's a little bit of exaggeration, but to some extent that's true.

And the first subway system was built up about a hundred years ago. There're several lines in London and the eldest line is called Bakerloo Line, and I think this line is hundred and one or two years old. And the second oldest line is called Piccadilly Line, which you probably take from Heathrow Airport to get to the central London. And there're some other lines going. But in general, this is the place where subway system was developed and that's why the system is so old.

Let's see. If we talk about the timetable, for example, you can count on how many trains are passing by in your local area in Tokyo or Osaka. But here, you can't really tell how often trains are going. And there is no timetable in station. And roughly you think that, eh, maybe every ten or like six minutes train's going. But you have to be very "about" and you have to take it. You can't complain about this. And sometimes train arrives but they're not in service and they make a stop and move again and you have to wait another six minutes or something. And that's very common thing.

And because this system is so old, there're so many troubles almost every day. Maybe that's a little bit of exaggeration but not too bad. And if you go to train station, there's information boards giving some information about present transportation system information. So if there is a severe delay on the information board, that means train is not basically moving very well. So you have to think about other routes to get to your destinations, or you have to take a bus. So that's a really bad case. And there is another type of delay called "minor delay." And this is basically, eh, happens right after the severe delay. So if system is coming back, train can move around, but there is a slight problem and train may not arrive on time or maybe number of trains running will be reduced.

And there're some other things too. On weekend, typically, there're so many engineering works going and some parts of the line are suspended. So right now, for example, Jubilee Line, which is the newest line in London, but half of the line is actually suspended because of engineering work. And for those people using Jubilee Line, they have to rely on this replacement bus service. And this bus is not reliable and there're enough, you know, there're so many people getting on this bus and sometimes you end up saying that "Oh, well. It's just too far to get the central London," although that's going to be only like fifteen

kilometers, for example, or like twenty kilometers. So this engineering work is pretty much, eh, it's a nightmare, I have to say. But they're people living this way.

And let me take some other example for this London tube system. Sometimes the stations are closed because of two reasons. One, sometimes they have some technical problems in the station; for example, elevators—what they call *lift* in London or like UK—eh, they say all because of this faulty, you know, elevator, this station is closed and train's not going to stop. Or sometimes they have this announcement called staff shortage. I don't know what exactly that means, but that means that number of people who are supposed to work in the station is probably really small and that those people are not working then they have to close the station. If you're from Japan, you just can't imagine that on any day of a week like Friday or like Wednesday, you know, a station is actually closed because of staff shortage. I think that's quite unbelievable.

And there're some other issues too. Eh, once it rains quite hard in London, some stations will be closed because of flooding. I said *flooding*. Can you believe that? A train station is closed because of flooding and, eh, I don't know. I've never seen any station really got flooding but this is happening too. So once you come to London, you will be very, very stressed out because of those things. But then you really have to take what's happening, this is how things work. So I think, you know, one important cultural lesson for, you know, all the visitors or like, you know, what they call aliens here, are we have to accept that, you know, this is the British system. “When you are in Rome, do as Romans do,” and that's really true. And at the end you're not going to be frustrated, you say like “Oh, forget about it.” You know, “Yeah, train's not moving. Fine. Then I have to think some other things.” You try to be a little bit more optimistic; otherwise, you just try to be so harsh on yourself and give more stress to yourself—that's not the right thing to do. So when you have like a chance to do study abroad, for example, you know, just knowing those things, I think, that's going to be very helpful for you. (London Interview, LS10-0017)

<解説>

インタビューの方によれば、少し前にロンドンで珍しく大雪が降った時は、地元の人たちはみな「困った、困った」と言いながら、いかに困っているかを楽しそうに話していたとのこと。また彼の意見では、イギリスのいろいろなシステムやサービスがいい加減なのは、国の政策ではないかと疑われる。つまり、普段からほどほどに不便を強いることで、我慢強い国民を育成しようとしているということだ。どこまでが本当のことか分からないが、あるがままを冷静に受け入れる姿勢は、いかにもイギリス的ではある。

ちなみに、インタビューの中で“flooding”というものが出てくるが、これを「洪水」と訳すと不正確になってしまう。ロンドンでは日本のような豪雨はほとんどないので、たまに大雨が降って地下鉄駅に少し水が入り込むと、それを“flood”だと言って騒ぐのである。

ロンドンの地下鉄にまつわるこうしたエピソードは、イギリス的なものの考え方、生き方を典型的に示しているように思われる。次の引用では、その点をさらに考えてみたい。

<引用 5 > NHS は WHS なのか？——伝統主義者の反論

Immigrants who can't even speak English *are* being given priority treatment in hospitals while English-speaking tax-paying Brits have to wait hours for treatment.

It's all down to cost, you see, because they don't want to keep highly paid translators on the premises all day so they push the foreign speakers to the front of the queue⁽¹⁾.

Don't kid yourself either that is a one-off cost or just one leftie health authority wasting your hard-earned money, because last year alone we spent over £100 million on translators and so-called health tourism⁽²⁾ cost the British taxpayers a whopping £62 million.

Putting aside the question of how we have got ourselves into a situation in the first place where we are letting people settle in this country who can't and have no intention of learning our language, customs and history, can anyone explain to me how we are expected to continue paying this ridiculous amount of cash?

Clearly the clue should be in the title—it's meant to be a *National* Health Service not a world one so we must control both health tourism where people come here for free treatment and we must toughen up our border controls and entry requirements. . . .

If I see another news report or a BBC documentary talking about or asking if health tourism is on the increase in the UK, I think I will probably throw a brick at the TV because the answer is so blindingly obvious—of course it is.

Let's be honest: our NHS is being seen around the globe as a world health service⁽³⁾, available to anyone who can get past our nonexistent border control. People are coming in to give birth, have abortions and every other treatment they can lay their hands on and it makes me sick.

Years ago, Lisa and I were on holiday in Florida while she was heavily pregnant with Rosie and we were messing about in the pool when she felt a sudden twinge. She was concerned that the baby might be in trouble so we rushed to the nearest hospital. As soon as we entered the examination room the first thing the American doctors examined was. . . our insurance documents!

Which is exactly how it should be in this country too. We were not Americans and of course they had to check if we had the means to pay for our treatment and that is how it should be here, and this by the way is one of the major reasons why I think a national ID card is so important in this country. No one should be able to use our system if they haven't or aren't willing or able to pay in. Why should our health service, which is paid by our contributors, be available to all? The answer is it shouldn't be and can't be. (Gaunt 91-93)

註 1 順番を待つための列のこと。アメリカ英語では line が使われるが、イギリスではもっぱら queue。イギリス人は辛抱強く並んで待つことでも有名。

註 2 引用の本文にもあるように、無料の医療サービスをあてにして、海外からやって来て受診する人が多い。それとは逆に、イギリスでの高額医療は本当に高額になるので、医療費の安い外国まで出かけて治療を受けるイギリス人も多い。つまりお互い様ではあるわけだ。

註 3 ここがこの引用箇所が一番のポイント。National といえば「国民の」ということだが、実際には NHS が世界中の人に利用されていることを指して、National ではなく World Health Service ではな

いかと批判している。筆者の Gaunt はかなり過激で毒舌で政治的には全く正しくない文章を書いているが、ここで本当に批判の矛先が向けられているのは、イギリスの言語や伝統文化に何の敬意も払わない移民や外国人というよりも、こうした問題含みの制度を野放しにしているイギリス政府のように思える。Gaunt も、引用したのとは別のところで、医療などの人間の生活の根幹にかかわる部分には資本主義の論理が働いてはならないと指摘している。その一方で、引用箇所では、イギリスもアメリカ型の医療制度（つまり市場型の自由競争制度）に移行すべきだと言っている。ちょっとつかみどころのない人だが、Gaunt のような考えも、現代イギリスではかなりの支持を集めている点は見逃せない。

<引用 10> 再び Gaunt——狩猟文化擁護論

There is no more magnificent sight than the hunt emerging from the mist or a wood and then galloping across the field; this is an image that is as uniquely British as a pint of beer or a bag of chips and it is outrageous that this centuries-old tradition has been banned.

The anti-hunting lobby in Parliament, which is stuffed full of urban backbench class warriors, should never have been allowed to try and ban hunting with hounds let alone succeed. If this had been a tradition brought in by an ethnic minority they would never have dared to attack it but it is something quintessentially British the New Labour social engineers attacked it with glee⁽⁴⁾.

However in multicultural, multiracial Britain, some minorities are obviously more equal than others⁽⁵⁾ because over 700 parliamentary hours were wasted debating the banning of a true British tradition that started in 1534. Eventually these urbanites won and this undemocratic ban was enforced in November 2004 with the clear intention of wiping out one of the greatest British countryside traditions. . . .

In my village the hunt is followed by loads of people from all backgrounds and also the stereotype that all country folk support it is a misnomer too. There are hunt supporters and those against it but at least those who live in the country understand the pros and cons. . . .

So much anti-hunting feeling is really misguided, inverted class snobbery from townies and students whose only experience of the countryside is the annual dope-filled visit to the Glastonbury Festival⁽⁶⁾. . . .

If townies want to have the wonderful unique British countryside to visit at the weekend and enjoy then for God's sake leave the management of it to people who understand and actually live in it.

In fact if most people had ever seen a chicken without it being in a Tesco freezer then perhaps we would have had a more mature debate on the whole subject. (Gaunt 22-24)

註4 New Labour「新労働党」は1994年頃からトニー・ブレア主導の労働党が掲げたスローガン。従来の社会主義路線、労働組合重視から、より広範なビジネスの支持を取り付けるために柔軟路線への変更を図った。エイスニック・マイノリティーに対しても宥和的な姿勢で、それが Gaunt には、イギリスの伝統よりも多文化主義を優先するもののように見えている。

註5 これも George Orwell の小説 *Animal Farm* (1945) の中の一節 “ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL, BUT SOME ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS” をもっている。この場合、動物愛護の活動家や、田舎に根づいた文化を理解しない都会人 (urbanites, townies)、そして彼らが推し進める多文化主義など、特定の人や考え方が優遇されていることに対する反発が込められている。

註6 グラストンベリー・フェスティバルは、イギリス最大の音楽フェスティバル。自然破壊であるとの批判も多く、車でなければ行けない場所であることを理由に、環境問題に関心の深い Radiohead などのバンドは近年参加を拒んでいる。ここでは、田舎の自然に親しむという都会人の偽善を皮肉っている。

<ポイント解説>

こちらの引用でもかなりの毒舌ぶりが発揮されているが、主張しているポイントは、田舎のことは田舎

に任せておけばよいというものだ。イギリスの批評家 Raymond Williams の 1973 年の著書 *The Country and the City* などに見られるように、イギリスでは田舎と都会の対比や対立は常に大きな争点となってきた。先ほどのアメリカとの比較でいえば、ほとんどのアメリカ人はワシントンつまり中央政府を信用していないと言われ、国会議員も常に地元の各州への帰属意識を鮮明にすることを求められる。同じことはイギリスにも当てはまり、多くのイギリス人は連合王国の政治的中枢であるウェストミンスターを信用していない。Gaunt の論調も、その根底には中央政府への不信感と地方自治を求める意識がある。彼は単純な愛国者であり王党派であるとは言い切れないのである。イギリス各地における中央に対する複雑な感情は、連合王国を形成するイングランド以外の地域について考えるとさらに良く分かる。イギリスにおける地域性の違いは、次回のテーマとしたい。

イギリスの各地方の特徴と方言

<授業のポイント>

2009年第一期の最終講義資料として、イギリスの各地域の概要を紹介し、いくつかの例を見ながらイギリスの様々な方言について考えます。

<引用1> accents か dialects か

Are accents dying out? The popular impression is that they are, because people notice the disappearance of old ways of life, especially in the countryside, and miss the regional accents associated with them. But the old ways of speaking are being replaced by new ones. The many mixed accents and new urban accents are proof of that.

People regret the passing of old ways of speech. That is why there are so many local dialect societies. We talk about “dialect societies,” and not “accent societies,” because the notion of dialect is much broader than that of accent. Accent refers only to a person’s distinctive pronunciation. Dialect refers also to the distinctive vocabulary and grammar of a way of speaking.

Usually, when people talk about dialects, they mean “regional dialects”—ways of speaking that tell us where someone is from geographically. The term is also often used to refer to “social dialects”—ways of speaking that tell us about a person’s class or educational background. And “occupational dialects” can tell us what job a person does. Listen to a lawyer addressing the judge in court, or a football commentator describing a game, and you’re hearing an occupational dialect. (Crystal 79-80)

<ポイント解説>

まず用語の問題として、英語の訛りを accents と呼ぶか dialects と呼ぶかというものがある。ここで説明されているように、accents とは個人個人の特徴的な話し方であり、もっと体系化された話し方のタイプについては dialects が用いられる。後者の場合、地方ごとの方言を指すのが一般的だが、それ以外にも特定の社会階層やグループ、あるいは職業ごとに特徴的な話し方も一種の dialects である。それらを個別に取り上げて分析することもできるが、一人の人間の話し方、つまり accent は、複数の dialects からの影響を受けているものだし、状況に応じて code-switching が行われるのが普通である。たとえば、自宅で家族と話す場合と職場で同僚と話す場合では、異なる dialects を用いて話すだろう。個人の accent を一般化して論じることはできないし、また dialects について話す場合は、どうしても類型化せざるを得ない。

ケーススタディー

以下に英語の方言のふたつの例を挙げます。授業の中で時間があればクラスで一緒に読んでいきますが、もし扱えなければ各自参考資料として読んでおいてください。ひとつ目は悪名高いバーミンガムの方言、ふたつ目は北アイルランドに古くからあるスコットランド由来の方言です。それぞれ話題を呼んでいる事例ですので、さらに調べてみるといろいろな発見があると思います。

<引用 9> 英語の方言 1 ——バーミンガム

Most people in England would have no difficulty recognizing a Birmingham (or “Brummy”) accent. It’s one of those that stand out, like Glaswegian or Scouse. Often we associate accents with radio or television personalities. Jasper Carrot for Birmingham. Billy Connolly for Glasgow. A Beatle for Liverpool. This association can be enough to moderate the negative feelings. The Beatles did more to make the Scouse accent popular than an army of Higginses could ever have done.

But this never happened in Birmingham, where the accent in recent decades has attracted some particularly unpleasant associations. It isn’t just that people have said it’s ugly. They’ve gone further, and said that it makes the speakers sound lazy, bolshy, and stupid.

There is of course no correlation whatsoever between the sound of a language or dialect and the level of intelligence or sociability of its speakers. The only reason we might think otherwise is because for generations people were told so by their—for want of a better word—“betters.” Traditionally, the English aristocracy looked down on provincial speech, considering it harsh and rough. Nobles who had received a good education would naturally think of provincials as ignorant and lazy, and would associate their lack of knowledge with the way they talked. It is then a short step from saying that people are ignorant to saying that they are unintelligent.

Today, in a more egalitarian age, crude stereotypes about social class and intelligence are no longer in fashion. Media personalities have helped the process. Billy Connolly, with his acerbic and highly intelligent humour, has driven a coach and horses through any residual belief that people who speak with a Glasgow accent are stupid. The clever dialogue of Alan Bleasdale’s television plays helped to do the same to Liverpool. But the Birmingham stereotype has remained. (Crystal 72-73)

All the Birmingham voices were duly satirized on radio and television. Comedians sensed the comic power of having an accent that could, it appeared, express special stupidity. There’s nothing unique about this. Most nations have a part of the country where the people are thought to be mentally slower than everywhere else. Usually it’s in a remote corner of the land, well away from the capital. It’s a bit unusual to encounter it in the centre of a country, as with Birmingham, and unique, I think, to see it in relation to a country’s second-largest city. (Crystal 75)

It will take another national character, with a totally positive image, to reverse the situation for Birmingham. It hasn’t happened yet. People from the city are still scared of the accent, and go out of their way to change it as they plan their careers. I can think of hardly any media or theatre

personalities from the Midlands who have kept their home accent. Some have even taken elocution lessons to eliminate it. . . .

Things will change, but only if more positive role models become known through radio and television. The media have the primary responsibility. And slowly, attitudes are indeed changing, helped by an evolving cultural climate which attacks negative stereotypes about social groups. (Crystal 76)

<引用 10> 英語の方言 2——アルスター・スコツ

On 9 of February 1999, readers of the appointments section of the *Belfast Telegraph* encountered a somewhat unusual vacancy. The successful candidate for this position would possess the following range of proficiencies:

a perfit guid hannlin o tha Inglis, takin in gin yer fit or no fir tae owerset the wurds spake intil aisy scribevin. . . ; a guid braid kennin; an a unnerstaunin o daenis anent parliament an pairty ettlins, maist o aa adae wi Norlan Airlann; an a guid hannalin o tha Ulster-Scotch leid.

The advertisement was for the post of “Unner-Editor (Inglis an Ulster-Scotch) fur tha Chaummer o tha Scievit Account (Hansard) o tha New Ulster Semmlie”; *anglicé*, “Sub-Editor (English and Ulster-Scots) in the Office of the Official Report (Hansard) of the New Northern Ireland Assembly.” Though it provoked incredulous mirth in certain quarters, the advertisement powerfully illustrates what is one of the most remarkable cultural narratives of the past decade in Ireland: namely, the vertiginous rise to prominence and official recognition, within the jurisdiction of Northern Ireland, of a language called Ulster Scots.

Almost unknown before 1990, Ulster Scots is now an established feature of the Irish cultural and political landscape, the recipient of state recognition and public funding, media coverage and scholarly analysis. A variety of public bodies and voluntary organisations—the Ulster-Scots Language Association, the Ulster-Scots Heritage Council, the Ulster-Scots Agency—promotes its interests and fosters its development. Political manifestoes and public information leaflets have been published in the language, along with poems, short stories, novels and memoirs. It features on street signs and political murals. A newspaper column—“The Crack: A Weekly Look at the World of Ulster-Scots”—appears every Sunday in a Belfast newspaper. A language that seemed barely to exist a decade ago is busy establishing its presence in the public life of Northern Ireland. It is as if an alternative dimension of reality has opened up, in which familiar objects and institutions reveal unsuspected second selves—in which the Linen Hall Library is also the “Lint-Haw Bibliothek,” “family-friendly’ policies” are “hameart heezin’ ettlins,” and the Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland becomes “the Ulster-British Cleek.”

There is, particularly when viewed from a Scottish perspective, something bewilderingly sudden

about these developments. Out of the blue, it seems, a tongue with few speakers, with almost no history of activism, and with a comparatively meagre literary corpus, is being vigorously promoted in a flurry of mission statements, corporate plans and consciousness-raising initiatives, while it colonises public discourse with a slew of obsolete terms and extravagant neologisms. Clearly, something extraordinary is taking place. And, equally clearly, this development has less to do with spontaneous grassroots interest—though that interest certainly exists and has developed rapidly over the past decade—than with political expediency. In Dauvit Horsbroch's words, Ulster Scots "haes been taen up as pairt o the identitie o Protenstant Ulster Unionism tae marra Earse Gaelic as the meisur o Catholic Ulster Nationalism." Ulster Scots has made itself instrumental to the culture industry surrounding the current peace process. As a counterweight to the Irish language it allows unionists to achieve parity of treatment with nationalists on issues of language and culture. One unforeseen and paradoxical result is that the Scots language has now made more headway—in terms of recognition, funding, public visibility and language planning—in Ulster than in Scotland.

However, the political momentum behind Ulster Scots poses its own problems, as the public at large has yet to catch up with the activists, bureaucrats and the politicians. In the 1990s, many of the 100,000 Ulster-Scots speakers identified by language activists were unaware that they were speaking Ulster Scots. Not all of them were impressed to find out, since many speakers of the rural dialect regard their tongue as simply a version of English. Accordingly, there remains a high degree of public scepticism surrounding the emergence of Ulster Scots. Equally, despite the prompt official recognition of the language, there is no agreement over the status of Ulster Scots. *Is* Ulster Scots a language in its own right? Is it a dialect of English? Is it simply the Scots language in Ulster or a distinctive variety of Scots? In recent years Ulster-Scots has been described as "the everyday spoken medium of the great majority of the people" in rural parts of the province; a "DIY language for Orangemen"; "the only recognisable variety of Scots outwith the mainland of Scotland"; and a linguistic "red herring." There are even those who "react with incredulity to its existence." (McIlvanney and Ryan, eds. 206-208)

However, for all the achievements of its promoters over the past decade or so, Ulster Scots continues to experience difficulties. Lacking a written standard and sharing much of its vocabulary with English, it has struggled to establish its credentials as an autonomous language. The stigma created by long years of official disparagement has proved difficult to shake: many speakers are reluctant to use Ulster Scots in public, formal contexts, and some regard their language as a vulgar patios or "broken Scotch." Moreover, some of the most widely reported Ulster-Scots initiatives have been ill conceived and counterproductive. When street signs in Ulster Scots suddenly appeared in the Clonduff housing estate in Castlereagh, these were torn down by disgruntled residents who mistook the signs for Irish Gaelic. The job advertisements and information leaflets in Ulster Scots have likewise alienated their intended audience, since these documents were not based on existing spoken dialect but instead favoured arcane terms and neologisms in an effort to construct an artificial

language as far removed as possible from—and therefore, paradoxically, dependent on—standard English. . . . Finally, the very fact that Ulster Scots has traditionally been used in contexts of domestic intimacy or for purposes of reductive humour, means that there is often a sense of incongruity and comic bathos when it is deployed in “official” contexts. . . .

It is true, nevertheless, that languages are “generally not recognised as independent without great effort” on the part of the activists and that this effort “frequently means enduring the mockery of others.” There is, if nothing else, an admirable chutzpah in the readiness of various groups and individuals to use Ulster Scots in formal, public contexts without waiting for agreed standards of grammar and orthography. And it is entirely possible that the ridicule of Ulster Scots will fade, and that the idiom once disparaged by William Carleton as “that intolerable Scoto-Hibernic jargon” will achieve a secure—in not uncontested—place in Northern Irish public life. The existing context of linguistic diversity is likely to be significant here: in a situation where people are already accustomed to official documents being given in two languages, it is easier for a third to find a footing. . . . Ulster Scots is unlikely ever to emerge as a full blown standard language, but it now has an official standing as well as a *de facto* presence in Northern Ireland. This I turn should mean that the Scottish element in the cultural life of Ireland will become less easy to overlook. (McIlvanney and Ryan 212-213)

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