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SYNOPSIS

"Hottentot Venus" was enthusiastically welcomed by the people of the early nineteenth century England and France. In 2002, after almost two hundred years of this enthusiasm, "Hottentot Venus" broke her silence and we came to know Sara Bartmann's life in Europe as "Hottentot Venus". South Africa needed the repatriation of Sara Bartmann as a unique icon to form the brand new Black South African identity after the abolishment of the detestable Apartheid. Although the repatriation was a good opportunity to discuss the minor heritage of Imperial rule of Britain and France, Sara Bartmann has once again been slowly disappearing from people's mind.

To find out the meaning of the repatriation in 2002, it is necessary to study about three periods. Those are London in 1806, nineteenth-century England, and London and Paris in the year 2002 itself. By doing so, it is the aim of this thesis to re-categorize what Hottentot Venus is in England and in South Africa.

Introduction

When she was taken to England, she was not simply an oddity in her own right. She was made a symbol, a representation, of a people: that which is base, strange, deformed and uncivilized. She was a specimen of the things or people to be found in Dark Africa.

Now that South Africans and Africans are finding their voice, we can say that she was us. We can say to the Europeans: those people you were laughing at when you gawked at Bartmann—they are us. That is why she must return to make us whole again. ¹

Phylicia Oppelt

Sarah Bartmann² was born in what is now South Africa in 1789. In the nineteenth century, 'civilized' people in London and Paris regarded her as a freak—the Hottentot

Venus—with unusual interest. Even after her death, French scientists dissected her and kept her brain and genitalia in a bottle. Then they made a full cast of her body, and displayed it at the Muséede L'Homme in Paris.³ One hundred and eighty-six years later, in 2002, the South African *Sunday Times* declared, "We can say that she was us." What did they mean by this? Moreover, why did Sarah break her almost two hundred-year silence, and suddenly appear in contemporary South Africa?

It will be the task of this thesis to explore the impact of Sarah Bartmann on today's South Africa. It brings together Sarah Bartmann's personal history and the history of nineteenth-century England, helping us to understand the reasons why she became a unique icon in the twenty-first century in South Africa.

There have been several researches into Sarah Bartmann. The oldest and most famous one is The Shows in London written by Richard Altick. However, he repeatedly introduced her as '[s]avage, Hottentot', and did not give any detailed explanation about her at all. Sander L. Gilman, a researcher of the History of Stereotypes, explained her in the context of Black Female Sexuality. According to him, until the eighteenth century "[...] the sexuality of the black, both male and female, becomes an icon for deviant sexuality in general". Then he quoted the remark of Georges Buffon: "Animallike sexual appetite went so far as to lead black women to copulate with apes. The black female thus comes to serve as an icon for black sexuality in general". Likewise, George Cuvier [Figure 8], Napoleon's doctor and the very person who dissected Sara, also mentioned that "the highest form of ape—the orangutan—was comparable to the lowest form of man/woman, and more particularly, black woman".(5A) This was the reason why he emphasized that the Hottentot was the 'missing link' between the ape and the human being. "European sexual mores", he continued, "is embodied in the black, and the essential black, the lowest rung on the great chain of being, is the Hottentot".(5B) This remark demonstrates that white Europeans defined their sexual identity in comparison with 'Others'. As a result it was imperative for nineteenth-century people to create their own comparative object, 'Others'. In addition, these 'Others' had to be inferior to Europeans. Gilman thinks that the Hottentot played a role as one of such 'Others' in the context of European Sexuality. Therefore, he considers the body of a Hottentot to be "the central [...] icon for sexual difference between the European and the black [...]." (5C)

According to Cuvier, Black Woman's "physiognomy" and "skin color, the form of her genitalia" made "inherent" the differences between her and Europeans. Gilman explains about how people in the contemporary era viewed Black women, and concludes by saying that "Sarah Bartmann's sexual parts, her genitalia and her buttocks, serve as the central image for the black female throughout the nineteenth century".

Sarah never gave her permission to any contemporary scientists to draw pictures of her Hottentot Apron—her genitalia—in which they had the greatest interest. However, as Figure 1 and Figure 2 show, satirical pictures in those days usually depicted her from the side angle, exaggerating her massive haunches.



Fig. 1. "A Pair of Broad Bottoms" by William Heath, 1810. Source: Altick, 271.



Fig. 2. "Love and Beauty". Source: http://www.westminster.gov.uk/archives/images/celebrating16.jpg

These satirical pictures helped confirm the nineteenth-century public's prejudices about what the Hottentot was. In short, Gilman helps us understand Sarah Bartmann from the viewpoint of the construction of white European Sexuality.

On the other hand, Yvette Abrahams castigates Gilman and other male researchers for only making a "white male confessional" that declares "Look what we have done". She also points out their use of terms like "heavy-arsed heathen" or "fat-arsed female" for Sarah and states that "Not one study was published that did not either repeat old insults or invent new ones".

These researches, however, focused exclusively on Sarah herself, while they showed little concern for, or almost totally ignored, the details of the era when Sarah was forced to live as a freak. This oversight makes it difficult to understand why the repatriation movement of Sarah took place and why people in South Africa today show such respect to this poor woman. Therefore, in this thesis, it will be my main purpose to focus not only on Sarah, but also on the social climate: what contemporary European society was like, and how the people of the period viewed Sarah. By doing this, the reasons why South Africa today views Sarah as a unique icon will become apparent.

Chapter 1 explores why South Africa today considers Sarah as a unique icon. The funeral of Sarah Bartmann took place in 2002. This chapter follows the beginning of the repatriation movement for Sarah and tries to understand what spurred South African society to respect her.

In 1810 when Sarah was exhibited as a freak, England was faced with the slavery problem. As Sarah was a black woman, whether she was a slave or not was quite controversial. Chapter 2 details the case concerning Sarah Bartmann's status. Following the trial, this chapter demonstrates that there were people who regarded Sarah not as a sexual 'Other' but rather as a poor black woman.

Ultimately, Sarah Bartmann came to be a symbol in South Africa of the twenty-first century. To deepen our understanding of her, Chapter 3 discusses her life through the *Time* in around 1810. Subsequently this chapter brings together her tragic life and the nineteenth-century social climate, and examines how she was treated as a freak.

It is true that some people saw Sarah Bartmann as a sexual other, but it is also true that South Africa today needs her as a national symbol. To perceive Sarah in relation to nationalism in South Africa, therefore, is to understand her as a South African woman.

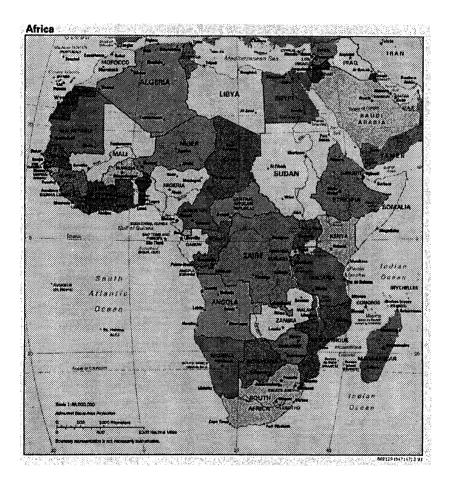


Fig.3. A map of Africa today.

Source: http://www.math.buffalo.edu/mad/Ancient-Africa/africa_big.gif

Chapter 1 Sarah Bartmann in 2002

It was on July 15 in 1995 that the article titled "Bring back the Hottentot Venus" appeared in the Mail and Guardian. one of the daily newspapers published in the South African Republic. The article demanded the repatriation of Sarah Bartmann-her skeleton [Figure 9], the plaster cast of her corpse, brain and genitalia in bottles-from the Musée de L'Homme in Paris. Using the comparison of the restoration of dignity to indigenous people in Canada, France, and the United States, the article insinuated that England and France should learn from the example of other nations, and that both of them should pay more attention to "the dignity that she was denied in her lifetime". This article spurred the movement that made Sarah a symbol. The operation was dubbed "Bring Back Bartmann", and it was dedicated "to revive a popular memory of the aboriginal people who played a major role in shaping South Africa's past and present".8 Europeans invented the name 'Hottentot' in order to discriminatively refer to the Khoisan, the indigenous people in the south-western part of South Africa. It is said that the native language of the Khoisan involved click sounds, and thus the Khoisan reminded Europeans of those suffering from a stammer. This discriminative denomination clearly showed Europeans' derogatory view of the Khoisan.

Mansell Upham, a researcher of South Africa, described Hottentots as "the most dehumanized people in colonial history". "Even today", he continued, "the term is used to designate non-human status and Saartjie Bartmann's remains are an icon of this history". The person who brought about a significant change to the operation "Bring Back Bartmann" was Nelson Mandela, then the President of the South African Republic. He officially demanded for the repatriation of Sarah, and the official negotiations between the two nations commenced simultaneously. This means that Sarah was suddenly made a symbol representing the Hottentot torment. What made Sarah a representation of the indigenous South-African people? Why did people in the twentieth century connect the repatriation of Sarah with the restoration of a popular memory of aboriginal people? To answer these questions, it is imperative to know what the year 1995 meant for the South African Republic at the time.

As stated before in the Introduction, this was not the first time that Sarah Bartmann was at the center of people's concerns. A more concrete example is Gilman's paper,

which is still mentioned in the researches into Sarah Bartmann. However, it should also be noted that these academic concerns had not led to any concrete moves toward the official demand for the repatriation of her prior to 1995. It would be correct to note that South Africa had completely forgotten everything about her until then. The abolishment of Apartheid was the turning point in the history of South Africa. The subsequent definition of the national identity needed someone/something for an icon of the "newborn" nation. Sarah Bartmann was the ideal symbol as a victim of colonization.

The negotiation process after 1995 was not without difficulty. As Sarah was a blot on the history of France, the French government showed reluctance to give her back to her native country. The negotiation dragged on till 2002, when the repatriation bill cleared the French Assembly.¹¹ It took substantial seven years to meet South Africa's demand for the return of Sarah Bartmann.

On 29 April, 2002, the repatriation ceremony was held in Paris and a lot of journalists gathered to cover the story. As the French and English papers devoted enormous space to the repatriation, Sarah Bartmann, one negative legacy of colonialism, gained national publicity around England. On February 20, 2002, soon after the decision in favor of the repatriation by the French government, the *Guardian* reported matter-of-factly that the French government finally complied with the demand made by the South African government, and that she had been the victim of colonialism, racism, and sexual discrimination.



Fig. 4. Source: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/ world/europe/1957240.stm¹²

30

Sarah's body arrived in South Africa on May 1, 2002, and she was temporarily laid out in the morgue of the army hospital. Fixing her funeral [Figure 10] date was full of twists and turns. Finally the date was set for August 9, as this day was her birthday. Oddly enough, August 9 was not only The National Women's Day but also The National Indigenous Day. The National Women's Day had been set as a part of developments in the educational system in 1995, immediately after the abolishment of Apartheid. According to the government, The National Women's Day and The National Indigenous Day were accidentally on the same date as Sarah's birthday. This funeral date clearly shows that the government decision had political overtones. They emphasized the coincidence of the funeral date, trying to draw more attention to South Africa and the entire African continent. Consequently, the funeral of Sarah Bartmann was at the center of concerns for the whole Africa, and Sarah herself became South Africa's national icon.

The Mail and Guardian detailed the funeral which was held along the Great Fish River, formerly known as the Gamtoos River, which was supposed to be her birthplace. According to the story, the coffin was covered with the South African national flag, and Khoisan people in traditional costume made of sheepskin attended the funeral. They were playing the boegoe, their traditional musical instrument, during the funeral. The decision to bring together Khoisan tradition and South African nationalism can be easily traced to a speech given by Thabo Mbeki, then the President of the South African Republic. He referred to the lifetime misery of "our Sarah", and expressed official appreciation of the French government practicing their ideals: liberty, equality, and fraternity. Then he declared, in front of nearly 7,000 attendants, that "[i]t was not the lonely African woman in Europe, alienated from her identity and her motherland who was the barbarian, but those who treated her with barbaric brutality". 13 This speech can be read as announcing that South Africa is now shedding itself of its humiliating past, the negative legacy of colonial rule. Ephemerally, this speech served as a catalyst for the arousal of South Africa's nationalism.

Although it is only three years after the funeral, today South African people are already forgetting about Sarah. When will Sarah attract such intense attention from the

South African people again? The occasion might be the tenth-year anniversary of Sarah Bartmann's funeral, or twentieth-year anniversary of the abolishment of Apartheid. Someday in the future, Sarah will appear again as the national icon. What story about her will the South African people immortalize? Sarah's tragic life should be regarded as a fact. In addition, it is important to develop a better understanding of the contemporary social backdrop of her lifetime. To consider her life in relation with the social climate will be helpful to understand the Sarah Bartmann of today—the national icon—and Sarah in the future.

Chapter 2 Nineteenth-century England and Hottentot Venus

Sarah's life as the 'Hottentot Venus' has become a unique icon in twenty-first century South Africa as we have seen in Chapter 1. Nevertheless, previous researches do not fully answer the question as to why people in the nineteenth century were fascinated by the Hottentot Venus. Was Sarah Bartmann just a freak to fulfill the sexual interest? What else did audiences expect when they saw the word 'Hottentot Venus'? To answer these questions, this chapter will mainly focus on the facts of Sarah Bartmann's case in 1810. That will help us to figure out the historical climate of Sarah Bartmann's time in London.

In November 1810, just five months after the opening of the freak show of the Hottentot Venus in London, the African Association¹⁴ brought a case against Sarah Bartmann's owner. They appealed for the stopping of the highly inhumane treatment of Sarah as a slave, and for her immediate release. This case intrigues us from two points. On the one hand, the record of this case serves as the crucial role to tell us about Sarah around this period. On the other hand, this case reflects a great deal about British society at this time. In this period, precisely from 1807 to 1833, British society was facing the anti-slavery movement and, moreover, the concerns about the institution of slavery were rising.

The African Association was moving purposefully to abolish the slave trade in nineteenth-century England. Although England pioneered the abolishment of the slave trade in 1807,¹⁵ political considerations about the slave trade were controversial. The slave trade had originally become indispensable for British triangular trade¹⁶ in the nineteenth century.

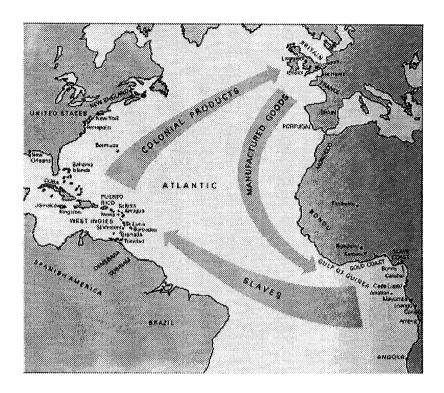


Fig. 5. The Triangular Trade. Source: http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/distance_arc/locke/locke-slavery-lec.html

The triangular trade was originally very common in Europe throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the later eighteenth century, England especially had a need for it since the import of the tea created more than ever the need for sugar. Though the exact number of slaves is yet unknown, it is estimated that close to 200 million Africans were taken to Europe. The endless voyage in a ship which was cramming in sometimes five hundred slaves was literally a living purgatory. English merchants insured each slave, thus their death didn't cause any loss of profits. The ostensible reason to stem this efficient slave trade was a problem on the financial side.

The growth and development of the Industrial Revolution in eighteenth-century England heralded a new lifestyle for the working class. Since the tea culture flourished earlier, their habit of drinking tea with sugar for breakfast became a routine. Therefore, employers asked for the cost-cutting of tea and sugar so that they could reduce the workers salary. The need for cost-cutting of tea and sugar led to an ambivalent attitude toward the triangular trade.

However, there was another cause for anti-slavery to obscure the financial concern. That was to demur to the slavery from the humanitarian standpoint. The eighteenth-century Enlightenment¹⁷ had laid the cornerstone of the observation and clear estimation of all things. By allowing this rationality to enlighten the people, they came to possess a legitimate spirit to understand the world. It assured a new civilized world against the conventional world ruled by tradition and tyranny. Alternatively, this view which was pursuing the truth became the idea to guarantee that all mankind has an identical human nature; hence all mankind can fully understand each other.

But not all European people accepted the new movement. There were many who still resorted to pseudo science such as Physiognomy, Phrenology and Anthropology. One of the features of the nineteenth-century Enlightenment was to create a racial category based on a non-egalitarian belief. These sciences explained plausibly the inferiority of black people, and on top of that, they frivolously determined that the Hottentots were the missing link between human beings and apes. In other words, the Hottentots were the inferior form of human beings and the superior form of apes.

Around the same time, England virtually wrested control of the Cape colony in South Africa from the former powerhouse Dutch East India Company. ¹⁸ As the strongest maritime nation at that time, England vitally needed the Cape Colony for gaining a foothold as a circumnavigator to Asia. It was in 1814 that the British Cape Colony duly came into existence. Haughty British aggressors claimed that since the Hottentots thoroughly lacked the capability of self-defense, it was their duty to stand up for the Hottentots against the inhuman treatment from the savage 'Boers'.

The exploration of West Africa by leading European nations in the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries supported these irresponsible theories. England spearheaded this social climate. The African Association, established in 1788 in London, sponsored several explorations to reach their principal purposes to look into the midland of West Africa, particularly around the Niger River, and to locate Tombouctou, or known as the legendary 'El Dorado'. ¹⁹ Meanwhile, their activity in England was mainly to condemn the cruel treatment of the slaves.

A letter from one of the members to the editor demanding the stopping of the Hottentot Venus show was the dawn of Sarah Bartmann's case in 1810. The sender of the letter was Jamaican born Robert Wedderburn [Figure.11]. His father, James Wedderburn, was born in Scotland and owned a sugar plantation on the Jamaican island. His mother, Rosanna, was a slave owned by Wedderburn. After many years dedicated to criticizing his father's unfeeling treatment, Robert became a key member in the African Association. Curiously enough, Robert Wedderburn never appeared in the records of this case. According to the TIMES, the main focus of the prosecution was whether she was a slave or not.²⁰ The African Association demanded her release on the grounds that she was a slave. What they meant by 'release' was to give her rights as a human being. Meanwhile Sarah's employer insisted that she was an employee under a six-year contract, and that his treatment of her was full of respect for her.

Consequently, the case was dismissed because of her "testimony". According to the *TIMES* she testified that "[s]he was under no restraint. She was happy in England. She did not want to go back; for she admired this country". ²¹

What can be inferred from this case is that some people regarded Sarah as a human being with free will, and that was a downright reflection of early nineteenth-century England. At the same time, even though her 'testimony' was genuinely dubious, this outcome was inevitable. The social climate of nineteenth-century London simply desired such a freak as the Hottentot Venus, not a female black slave.

In the next chapter, we will look at Sarah's life in Europe, which ended in intolerable humiliation.

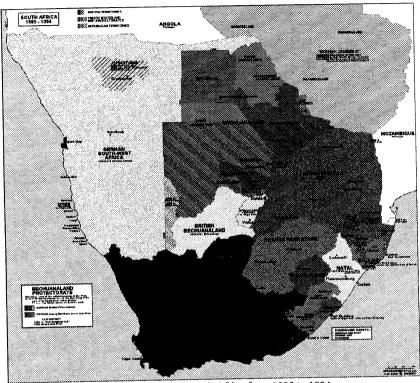


Fig. 6. A Map of South Africa from 1885 to 1894. Source: http://idd02n6r.eresmas.net/189485SA.gif

Chapter 3 Hottentot Venus in 1806

Sarah Bartmann was born to a Khoisan family in 1789 at the lower Gamtoos River in the Eastern Cape. Along the north-western part of South Africa was an ancient inhabited area for the Khoisan. After she lost her drover father in 1809, Sarah moved to Cape Town to work as a resident housekeeper.²² According to the *TIMES*, she was married to a drummer and she had one child in Cape Town.²³

In 1810, a British ship surgeon abducted Sarah to London. According to Altick, freak shows were very popular at that time in London.²⁴ This social climate made the

surgeon think in the following manner. First, Sarah's body shape was so visually astounding that she could be one of the money-making freaks. Second, she was the first South African woman exhibited in London in the nineteenth century. He met the Governor of the Cape to get permission to export her. After he had written permission from the Governor, he attempted to make a sell to the then manager of the widely popular Liverpool museum²⁵, William Bullock [Figure.12]. Bullock was reluctant to accept the offer and, thus, he subsequently turned it down. Therefore, he sold Sarah to an Afrikaner man²⁶ whom he met in Cape Town.

In June 1810, the exhibition of the 'Hottentot Venus' began at 225 Piccadilly [Figure.13]. Sarah was on "a stage raised about three feet from the floor, with a cage, or enclosed place at the end of it." Sarah was "produced like a wild beast, and ordered to move backwards and forwards, and come out and go into her cage, more like a bear in a chain than a human being". The TIMES also says that "she was ordered to play on some rude instrument of music". ²⁷

One comedian's wife left a diary after they saw the Hottentot Venus. According to her, she was "surrounded by many persons, some females! One pinched her, another walked round her; one gentleman poked her with his cane; and one lady employed her parasol to ascertain that all was, as she called it, 'natural'."²⁸

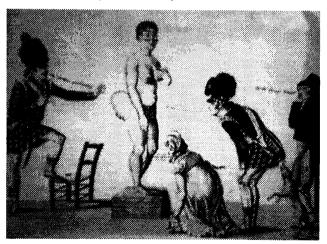


Fig.7. "The curiosity and the extasy [sic], or the shoe laces." by George Loftus, Paris, 1814. Source: Wiss 25.29

It should be noted that among the spectators there were some females. As stated in Chapter 2, five months after her exhibition her status became controversial. The important thing is that some people were concerned about her status: was she a slave or not? This demonstrates that the Hottentot Venus was thought not only to be a sexual object but also an oppressed African woman.

After the success in London, her employer started a tour of the country with Sarah. On December 7, 1811, she was baptized at St. Mary's Cathedral in Manchester. In 1812 they stayed in Limerick in Ireland for only five days, because she was not a crowd-pleaser as she was in London. In 1814, when they were in Bath, Sarah was sold to a French Circus Promoter. In Paris she was exhibited in a circus show, and the Hottentot Venus "enjoyed" great popularity. After two years as the Hottentot Venus, Sarah died at the age of twenty-seven. The TIMES announced:

The Hottentot Venus, it appears from the French papers, died at [sic] Paris last week, after in illness of eight days. Her malady is said to have been the small pox, which the physicians mistook successively for a catarrh, pleurisy, and dropsy of the chest. The Professors of Musée de L'Homme have produced the body, and are dissecting it for the gratification of the curious, or, as they term it, for the benefit of science. If the French surgeons blunder as much about the causes of her extraordinary protuberancies [sic], as the French physicians blundered about the causes of her fatal indisposition, medical science will not have to boast of any very valuable accession to its discoveries. 30

This article graphically reveals the fickle curiosity about the Hottentot Venus. The dissection, which was carried out only ten days after her death, was mainly presided over by the attending doctor of Napoleon, George Cuvier. Many eighteenth- to nineteenth-century male scientists were rabidly interested in the 'Hottentot Apron' and Cuvier was no exception. Their theory was that Hottentot women had enormously huge genitalia, and so they grew down like an apron. Since no one had actually seen it before, Cuvier's ambition was to dissect Sarah to see if it was true. Before the dissection he made a plaster cast of her body, and then he displayed it at the Musée de L'Homme. In 1974, the museum hided the display after they received a complaint from a viewer. Sarah remained silent as NO.33 for nearly thirty years. It should not be forgotten that there

might be other Sarahs kept in the storage of some country. Will they never recapture their real names and dignity? Or will they be reborn as a new icon suddenly?

Conclusion

Sarah Bartmann's name has not been remembered in the annals of South African history, but in 2002 this South African woman was at the center of national attention. Considering this symbolization of Sarah as a national icon, this thesis has tried to understand her from different perspectives from those of researches. Chapter 1 explored why the South African government suddenly demanded her repatriation more than one hundred years after her death. The movement started to gain momentum in 1995, and finally an official funeral for her was held in 2002. Sarah Bartmann was symbolized in two ways. One way is that she was a sexual icon from the European perspective. The other is that she was a national icon of the newborn Republic of South Africa. A renewed embrace of Sarah as a national icon fueled South African nationalism, for it symbolically marked South Africa's separation from its colonized history and the negative legacy of Apartheid. The South African government needed some visible symbol, and Sarah was the very picture of the national icon. She was thought to be a tragic woman, a victim of European colonization. It should be noted that not only European people but also South African people completely forgot everything about her until 1995.

Though it is true that some people regarded Sarah as a sexual object, did everyone do so? Chapter 2 explored the social climate of nineteenth-century Europe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, to be exact from 1807 to 1833, the controversies about the slavery system inflamed pubic opinion. Behind these controversies lay the philosophy of the Enlightenment that held that all people were equal. And yet at the same time, such 'civilized' people invented the derogatory name "the Hottentots" for the South African Khoisan, and considered them to be the missing link between human beings and apes. A lot of 'scientific' researches and 'civilized' thoughts played a role in filling out the contours of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, without challenging or undermining it. European anxieties in the face of the unknown—the first South African woman who arrived in Europe—made Sarah popular, and doomed her to be on exhibit even after her death.

Chapter 3 focused on Sarah Bartmann's life. She neither gave any comments nor

wrote any letters in English, therefore it is impossible for us to know how she really felt about her life. Nevertheless, the story of her life reminds us that she was just one of many freaks. They took on an ephemeral popularity, then were handled almost like materials, and finally fell into oblivion. There must be a lot more "Sarah Bartmanns" to be found in history. What makes her distinctive is that she was the first African woman to visit London. This is why most researchers have thought that she became a victim to the constructs of white male sexuality. Obviously, she was exploited twice. Both occasions include the contemporary social climates. To understand contemporary social climates is to enlarge our views towards Sarah Bartmann herself.

For the reasons stated above, I concluded it was important to see the connection between the two periods in history. I believe that is the only way to find out why people needed, and will need, Sarah Bartmann's life as the Hottentot Venus. I will close this thesis by citing the remark of Zola Maseko, ³¹ a South African documentary film director; "Sara's spirit and her soul continued to haunt us, to follow us, inspire us – she shouted for justice, and would not be ignored." ³²

Appendix



Fig. 8. George Cuvier Source:www.nceas.ucsb.edu/~alroy/lefa/Cuvier.html



Fig.9. Skeleton of Sarah Bartmann Source: www.chico.mweb.co.za/.../981015-Bartmann.html



Fig.10. The Funeral of Sarah Bartmann Source: www.bbc.co.uk "Return of the 'Hottentot Venus' unites Bushmen" 6 May.2002.

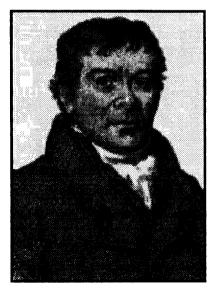


Fig.11. Robert Wedderburn Source:http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/SLAwedderburn.htm

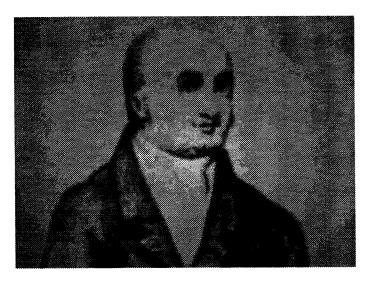


Fig. 12. William Bullock Source: Altick 236.

NOW EXHIBITING AT No. 225, Piccadilly, THE TOP OF THE HAY-MARKET. From TWELVE THI FOUR o'Clock. Admittance, 2s. each. 1912 Hottentol Venus,

PHENOMENON

INTERIOR OF AFRICA;

Ever exhibited in this Country;

Figure.13. A show poster for Sarah Bartmann's exhibition in London Source: Quereshi 237.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Phylicia Oppelt, "She was us." Sunday Times, 3 March, 2002.
- 2 The spelling of Sarah Bartmann has been written in various ways. Examples that are more concrete are that "Saartjie Bartmann", "Sara Bartmann", "Saartjie Bartmann" and "Sarah Bartman". Of all the names mensioned above, I will use "Sarah Bartmann" in this thesis. Mail and Guardian, which I believe is the most trustable information source on her name, mentioned in 30 April, 2002 that "Sarah Bartmann" was written on her birth certification form in the Eastern Cape.
- 3 Her skeletal preparations was numbered No. 33.
- 4 Richard Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978), 269.
- 5 Sander L Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Towards an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine and Literature," *Critical Inquiry*, 12. Autumn, 1985: 212. The parentheses marked 5A, 5B and 5C on page 2 are also quoted from this paper.
- 6 Gilman 212-20.
- 7 Yvette Abrahams, "Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in Early-Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race, ed.*Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaundhuri. Bloomington:Indiana UP, 1998: 222.

Chapter 1

- 8 Eddie Koch, "Bring back the Hottentot Venus", Mail and Guardian, 15 June, 1995.
- 9 Koch, Mail and Guardian.
- 10 Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in 1918. He was released on 11 February, 1990 after 27 years and six months in prison. He inaugurated as the president after the first democratic elections in 1994. (Source: Mail and Guardian, 23 December, 1999)
- 11 Chris McGreal, "Coming home", Guardian, 21 February, 2002.
- 12 Thuthukile Edy Skweyiya, a South African ambassador in Paris (left) and Roger-Gerard Schwartzenberg, the French research minister (right) are posing in front of the plaster cast of Sarah Bartmann.
- 13 "Europe's 'barbarians' to blame for Sarah, says Mbeki." Mail and Guardian 9 August, 2002.

Chapter 2

- 14 An official name for the African Association was "Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa". In 1831, the African Association was amalgamated with Royal Geographical Society of London.
- 15 In 1833, England achieved the Slavery Abolition Act.
- 16 トンプソン『南アフリカの歴史』
- 17 竹沢『表象植民地帝国』, シービンガー『女性を弄ぶ植物学』.
- 18 The Dutch East India Company was dissolved in 1798.
- 19 Mango Park, a young Scottish explorer first achieved a goal to explore West Africa in the nineteenth century. He was also sponsored by the African Association.
- 20 "LAW REPORT", TIMES, 26 November, 1810.
- 21 "THE HOTTENTOT VENUS", TIMES, 29 November, 1810.

Chapter 3

- 22 There is a record which shows that Sarah Bartmann lived in Cape town in 1810. Source: Mail and Guardian, 15 June, 2003.
- 23 TIMES, 29 November, 1810.
- 24 Altick 268.
- 25 Bullock opened the Liverpool Museum with his collections which he bought from ship owners arriving at the Liverpool, where he was born. He then opened the Egyptian Hall in London in 1812.
- 26 He may be the "keeper" of Sarah in the "Law Report" in TIMES, 26 November, 1810, because the "keeper" is stated as a Dutch speaker.
- 27 TIMES, 26 November, 1810.
- 28 Altick 269.
- 29 "French Commentary on British Fascination with Sasartjie Bartmann, including attempts to view her genitals by stooping to tie a shoe-lace. The Scotsman on the left says 'Oh, goddam! What roastbeef', while

the other Scotsman remarks, 'Ah! How amusing Nature is!' The remaining male figure proclaims, 'What strange beauty!!!' The stooping woman comments, 'From some points of view misfortune can be a good thing'." (Will 25)

30 TIMES, 6 January, 1816.

Conclusion

- 31 Zola Maseko was born in exile in 1967 and educated in Swaziland and Tanzania. In 1987, he joined Umkhonto We Sizwe the armed wing of the African National Congress. In 1994, he graduated from the National Film and Television School, Beaconsfield, UK. His first project was the documentary Dear Sunshine (1992). In 1994, he graduated with Oupa, Pitso, Lenny and Me. In 1994, he returned to South Africa and wrote and directed his first fiction short film The Foreigner. Since then, he has directed The Life and Times of Sara Bartmann (98), The return of Sarah Bartman (02), Children of the Revolution (02), and A Drink in the Passage (02). Source: ttp://sithengi-dev.za.net/?id=437
- 32 Marang Setshwaelo "The Return of the 'Hottentot Venus'." Source:http://www.racesci.org/ 14 Februray, 2002.

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Fig. 1.[http://www.westminster.gov.uk/archives/images/celebrating16.jpg]

Fig.3.[http://www.math.buffalo.edu/mad/Ancient-Africa/africa_big.gif]

Fig.4.[news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/ world/europe/1957240.stm]

Fig. 5. [http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/distance_arc/locke/locke-slavery-lec.html]

Fig.6.[http://idd02n6r.eresmas.net/189485SA.gif]

Fig. 8.[http://www.nceas.ucsb.edu/~alroy/lefa/Cuvier.html]

Fig.9.[www.chico.mweb.co.za/.../981015-Bartmann.html]

Fig.10.[http://www.bbc.co.uk]

Fig.11[http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/SLAwedderburn.htm]

Notes.32.[http://www.racesci.org/]

Solder's Pay 考—書簡は語る

沖 野 泰 子

SYNOPSIS

In William Faulkner's novels, clothes and letters are used to convey special messages. His first novel is no exception. This essay is an attempt to analyze how they are utilized and what messages can be read, particularly in the various letters, both delivered and dead.

In Solders' Pay, many events are narrated as time linearly progresses, but letters from Julian inserted from time to time bring us back to the past, or rather the past time contained in the letters break into the present to impress ironical and difficult situation he is in.

On the other hand, Donald, though he is still alive biologically, is an invalid and spiritually almost dead.

Significant changes in the relationships among people—communication in a sense—in a Southern small town are symbolically expressed with the clever use of letters.

序

Faulkner の長編処女作『兵士の報酬』は、それ自体が傑作とは言い難いが、以後の傑作を生み出すもとになったという意味で無視できない作品である。Faulkner は様々な試みを小説の中で行っているが、Solder's Pay もその例にもれず、Faulkner の重要な文学的意匠と考えられるファッションや郵便(制度)に目配りをした描写がそこここに見受けられる。たとえばファッションに関して言うと、登場する女性が繰り返し服装によって描き分けられている。郵便(制度)に関して言えば、具体的に書簡が出てくるし、郵便(制度)を介して送られた手紙が巻き起こす影響が物語の中で大きな意味を持ってくる。今まで郵便(制度)が Faulkner 研究においてさほど注目を集めてきたとは言えないまでも、Faulkner が作品の中にしばしば手紙、通信販売などを取り上げてきたことは、誰の目にも明らかである。自らが郵便局長(怠け者だが)の職に就いていたことを思い起こせば、一般の書き手よりも Faulkner は郵便(制度)に関する知識や興味を持ち合わせていたと想定することも妥当と思える。Solder's Pay が書かれた時点で、Faulkner はすでに

郵便局づとめを経験していたので、彼の諸作品に郵便(制度)を読み込む立場から すると、この作品もまたその観点に立って見直す必要があるだろう。本稿の出発 点はここにある。

まず簡単に必要と思われるエピソードをあげてから、本論に入りたいと思う。第一次世界大戦からの帰還列車の中で Joe Gilligan と Julian Lowe は負傷した兵士 Donald Mahon に出会う。さらに夫の戦死直前に離婚を決意し夫に手紙を送るが、夫は手紙を受け取る前に死んでしまったという経験を持つ Margaret Powers とも出会う。Margaret と Gilligan は Donald を父親である牧師と婚約者 Cicely、さらにガールフレンド Emmy たちが待つ Georgia 州 Charlestown へ連れ帰ることになる。しかし Donald は一月ほどで死を迎える。その一月ほどの間に Cicely は恋人 George Farr と Donald のどちらをとるか迷った末、婚約を破棄し、Farr と結婚する。そこで Margaret が Donald と結婚する。Julian は San Francisco へ一人帰るが、そのあと自分と Margaret は結婚できるものだと思い込み、Margaret の元へ数通の手紙を送る。Donald は失明し、記憶も喪失した状態になっていたが死の直前自分の戦闘機が撃ち落されたときのことを思い出す。Donald の死後 Margaret は町を去り、牧師と Gilligan に日常生活が戻る。

1. 南部を描き出すための小道具

Faulkner は時代の空気を伝えるために、すでに処女長編からさまざまな文学的意匠を使っている。時代は第一次世界大戦終戦直後である。ヨーロッパの戦場から離れていたとは言え、最終的には参戦を果たしたアメリカにとって、挙国体制とまではいかずとも国内にも緊張が見られるのは当然であるし、終戦となれば、一気に雰囲気も緩むだろう。さらに若者が自由を謳歌するのも当然のことだろう。この時代の空気をうまく伝えるのが、次の描写である。"She was conscious of physical freedom, of her young, uncorseted body, flat as a boy's, and like boy's, pleasuring in freedom and motion were water, pleasuring her flesh to the intermittent teasing of silk."(195) ダンスを踊る若い女性の服装に注目しよう。第一次世界大戦の終わった頃は、女性の服装が大きく変わろうとしている時期である。それまでは『風とともに去りぬ』などにも見られるように、女性の服装はコルセットでウエストを締め、スカートはあくまで広くふわりとしているのが美しい姿とされた。もちろん足首は見えない。ところが1920年頃になると女性はコルセットから解放される。南部にこれが浸透するのは恐らく New York などよりはあとにしても、

引用したこの部分には時代の空気が反映されていると言えるだろう。注目しておきたいのは、コルセットから解放された、という部分だけではない。"flat as boy's"という言葉が示すように、この時代の女性はそれまでの豊満なイメージを捨て、平板でしかも少年のような趣がもてはやされた。未成熟の要素があえて前面に押し出されているのである。

これに対して Margaret は普段着と思しき服装でパーティーに踊りに現れる。恐 らくよそ者であったこと、ダンスの人気を一人でさらってしまったことなどが拍 車をかけ、語り手が"Her popularity brought the expected harvest of feminine speculation. Her clothes were criticized, her 'nerve' in coming to a dance in a street dress, in coming at all."(206)と述べたように、Margaret の服装に非難が集まる。 物語に登 場したとき、Gilligan と Lowe が受けた Margaret の印象を語り手は、"She was dark. Had Gilligan and Lowe ever seen an Aubrey Beardsley, they would have known that Beardsley would have sickened for her. . . . "(27)と述べている。このとき Margaret の着 ていた服は、"her slim dark dress"(28)であり、Beardsley が描きたがるような女性で あるということとあわせて世紀末の退廃的雰囲気が感じられる。もともと南部の 小さな町で平凡な日々を送っていた Margaret だが、田舎暮らしに飽き、大戦が始 まると New York へ出て酒保で働き、都会の若者の暮しを満喫したことが物語の 中で述べられている。アメリカ南部の良家の子女とは縁遠い服装であることは誰 の目にも明らかであろう。また、Cecily が透けて見える服を着て人前に姿を現し たとき、母親はすばやくそれを非難する。母親の態度には Southern Bell の伝統の 名残が見られる。Faulkner はファッションという小道具を使って、当時の南部の 雰囲気をその処女作から伝えている。

それまで詩作を続けてきた Faulkner が書いた初の長編であるためか、Brooks が指摘するように、この作品はもちろんロマン主義的傾向を残している(67-75)。登場人物の中に Faun のイメジになぞらえて描かれた Donald や Satyr のイメジになぞらえて描かれた Donald や Satyr のイメジになぞらえて描かれた Donald や Satyr のイメジになぞらえて描かれたジョーンズが登場するからである。牧師館の庭の描写も美しい。これはのちに Faulkner の作品の中に見られる自然描写の美しさに通じる。物語の最後で月明かり差し込む道を埃("dust")をあげながら町へと歩いて戻る Mahon牧師と Gilligan の姿は、たとえば "Dry September"の中で、同じように月の光が煌き、埃が舞い上がる道を善と悪が混沌とする Jefferson の町へ戻る Hawkshow の姿に重なる。自然の変化はもちろん時の流れを表すのに格好のものだが、その変化を描くことは Faulkner が慣れ親しんだ、南部のそこここに見られる春の景色を切り取ることに他ならない。

さらにこの作品の中で Faulkner が舞台にしたのは、Georgia 州 Charlestown であ る。どうやら架空の町のようだが、名前や場所が問題ではないようである。げん に Faulkner は作品の中で、"in any small southern town—or northern town or western town, probably"(108)といった表現や、"Charlestown, like numberless other towns throughout the south, had been built around a circle of tethered horses and mules. In the middle of the square was the courthouse—a simple utilitarian edifice of brick and sixteen beautiful Ionic columns stained with generations of casual tobacco."(108)といった描写 を用いている。どこであっても同じなのである。Faulkner が幼少期から住み続け た Oxford もダウンタウンの中心に郡役所があり、側にかつては郵便局もあり、商 店、食堂が広場を取り囲むように建っている。もちろん役所の前には南北戦争時 の兵士の像が据えられ、大きな木も植えられている。Yoknapatawpha ものは三作 目の Sartoris から始まったと言われているが、故郷の南部に題材を求め、南部を 描くこともすでにこの作品から始まっていることは明らかである。Brooks が広場 にいるスズメが繰り返し描写されていることについて言及している(94)が、鳩や スズメは 25 年の年月を経て発表された Requiem for a Nun の中で、Jefferson の町の 広場を飛び回り、時代の目撃者の役目を背負っている。Faulkner は処女作から変 わらぬ目を向ける故郷の一場面を切り取って作品の中に描き出しているのである。

2. 郵便(制度)とコミュニケーション

Faulkner の作品では郵便制度も重要な文学的意匠となっているが、ここではその萌芽が Soldiers' Pay の中に見受けられることを示したい。アメリカでは郵便物をある時期まで受け取り手が郵便局に取りに行く形が取られていた。地方地区配達制度が始まったのは 1896 年だが、恐らく 1910 年代には完全に実施されていたのではないと理解できる。たとえば"A Rose for Emily"の中で、各戸に郵便物を配達するため番号札を付けることを求められたが、Emily はこれを拒否する。このように制度の浸透にはある程度時間がかかったのだろう。少なくとも Solder's Pay に登場する町では、1919 年に郵便物は家庭に届けられる場合もあれば、自分で取りにいく場合もあるようだ。さらに、どんな郵便物であれ、それが届くことは人にとって魅力的で重要だと言うことがわかる。これは次の引用に明らかである。

There was a general movement into the post office. The mail was in and the window had opened and even those who expected no mail, who had received no

mail in months must needs answer one of the most enduring compulsions of the American nation. The rector's news had become stale in the face of the possibility of a stamped personal communication of some kind, of any kind. (107-08)

この場面のあと、牧師が町の中を歩いていく様を、"Yet all of them had a pleasant word for the rector as he and Mr. Saunders passed. Even the slumberers waked from the light sleep of the aged to ask about Donald. The divine's progress was almost triumphal."(108)と語り手は述べる。戦死したと思われていた息子が帰還した牧師は町の人々の強い関心を集めうる人物である。その話よりも、どんな種類のものでもいいから自分宛の郵便物が届いていないか、という期待が人々を動かすのである。

さらに語り手がその郵便物を "stamped personal communication"と述べていることも注目に値しよう。郵便物や手紙、という表現ではなく、切手の貼られた「コミュニケーション」と語り手は述べている。田中敬子氏はこの作品の重要なテーマとしてコミュニケーションを扱っているように思えるが(60)、"stamped . . . communication"というこの表現は、Faulkner にとってこの作品を書いた時期に、「他者とのコミュニケーション」が重要なテーマの一つであったことを強く示唆するものである。また注目するべきは、ここで登場しているのが牧師であるという点かもしれない。本来ならば、神の言葉を伝える役を果たすはずの牧師の言葉よりも、個々の("personal")、人間同士の言葉のやり取りの方が重要なのである。1

ところで 1983 年にアメリカ政府が出した自国の郵便制度の歴史をまとめた資料のはしがきは、"Man has always faced problems of time and space in transmitting written communications to maintain contact with his fellow man."という文で始まる (Moroney, Introduction)。もちろんここでは手紙が届けられる際に、空間の広がりが大きければ大きいほど時間を要することが述べられている。しかしここで認識すべきことは、日本の二十数倍に及ぶ国土を持つアメリカにおいて、空間と時間が文学に及ぼす影響が想像以上に大きいと言うことであろう。そしてコミュニケーションに影響を与えるものとして、時間と空間は決定的な役割を果たすのである。また南北戦争の時代に戦場に無事手紙が届くことは兵士の士気を高める上でも重要だったため、手紙の輸送経路はいつもきちんと確保されていたらしい。最初は道路の拡張を嫌った南部諸州も郵便物の配達経路を確保すると言う意味で、連邦が推し進める道路整備に従う姿勢を示す。我々が考える以上に、手紙を受け取ることは重要なことであり、コミュニケーションに郵便制度が与える影響とい

うのは大きい。そしてこれが常に時間、空間の問題と結びついてくるのである。

この事実を Faulkner はこの作品の中で示してみせる。時間が重要なテーマの一つになっていることを平石貴樹氏は指摘しているが(87-91)、時間と空間、郵便(制度)が、一つのつながりを持って作品の中に登場しているのである。 Margaret が夫と交わした手紙のやり取りについて考えてみよう。夫が出征する直前に結婚をした Margaret は、Watson が指摘するように、手紙の中で新婚生活を経験する(33)。熱心に届けられる夫からの手紙に最初は熱心に返事を送っていた Margaret だが、段々これに飽きてくる。夫はヨーロッパの戦地で死と直面しており、新妻に熱心に手紙を送ることは生への執着を表すことに他ならないと言えよう。しかし、大西洋の西と東という空間のズレが、二人の間の生に対する温度差を生み出すのは当然のことだろう。そして空間のズレが時間のズレも生み出し、空間と時間のズレにより、送り手と受け取り手の間のズレも大きくなる可能性は高くなる。現に物語の中で二人の感情のズレが見られる。郵便がやりとりされても、本当の意味でコミュニケーションが成立しないのである。

ところで物語の中で興味深い形で Faulkner は郵便を用いている。Cecily は恋人の George Farr に連絡を取る際に 3 つの方法を使っている。Farr の方が何度も電話をかけるのだが、そのたびなかなか Cecily と直接話ができないという状況は同じである。夜の密会の手はずを整えるために使われたのは、黒人の少年に走り書きのメモを手渡してもらう方法だった。繰り返しこのメモを読んだ Farr は、"Everything, . . . all seemed some way different, lovely and beautiful under the indolent noon."(142)と感じている。使いの少年は、このメモのことを"Letter fer you"(142)と言っている。二つ目はわざわざ郵便を使っている。夜の密会をしたのち、Cecilyが自分を避けているように感じた Farr が連絡を取るのを諦めたときに届いた手紙を手にした様子は次のように描かれている。

When he took the square white paper from the post office, when he saw her nervous spidery script sprawled thinly across it, he felt something like a shocking silent concussion at the base of his brain . . . and he re-read it, wondering if he could bear to see her, if he could speak to her, touch her again. (209)

そして、すぐに自分を迎えに来てもらいたい場合に、Cecily は電話を使っている。 このとき、Farr は目に見えない相手を確かめるかのように「受話器」 ("instrument")(266)を握り締める。まだ郵便制度も電話もない時代、人々は誰かを 呼び出したいとき、第三者に頼んで手紙を送ったりしたことだろう。あるいは、近況をしらせるために誰かに頼んで手紙を言付けたかもしれない。となれば、この物語の中には、手紙の原点とも言うべき姿のものと、それから郵便制度を使った描写と、さらにテクノロジーの進んだ電話が同じ事を目的にするとき登場するのである。これはころころと気が変わる、と Margaret に言わせている Cecily の気まぐれな性格をより強調するためとも考えられるが、Faulkner がその場の状況によって巧みにコミュニケーションの手段を使い分けて見せたとも言えるだろう。走り書きのメモは秘密めいた雰囲気を盛り上げるし、郵便(制度)を使った手紙は、もちろん時間のズレを生み出す。リアルタイムに情報が届かない分、コミュニケーションも一呼吸おいたような印象を与える。だが Farr が「繰り返し読んだ」と描写されているように、手紙は手元に目に見える形で届き、確認をすることのできる情報でもあるのだ。ところが電話は、相手と直接コミュニケーションを取れるが、目に見えないという点と一瞬で消え去るという点で、不確実な印象を相手に残す可能性がある。コミュニケーションの手段に Faulkner は関心を示しており、その特徴をうまく描き出したと言っていいだろう。

3. 書簡は語る

この作品には具体的な書簡が登場する。これは Julian Lowe から Margaret に宛てて送られた手紙だが、これらは日付の順に物語に登場する。この手紙の内容を体現するかのように、手紙の前後に配置されたエピソードが展開していくのが興味深い。たとえば、サンフランシスコに向かう列車内で、セントルイスから送られた一通目。各々の目的地を目指して別れる前に、子供扱いをされていると感じながらも Lowe は Margaret に心を寄せ、結婚するつもりになっていた。しかし、Margaret は Julian と署名された手紙を受け取って、Lowe というファミリー・ネームすら思い出すことができず、Gilligan に尋ねている。Lowe のことを Gilligan と話す際に、"What is that child's name, Joe?"(99)と、Lowe の名前を呼ぶことない。このあと死んだ夫とのエピソードが明かされる。Margaret 本人の意図とは別に、戦死した自分の夫に対してとった、勢いで結婚しすぐに手紙のやり取りに飽きてしまったという行動を再現するのではないかという懸念を読者に抱かせる。

Lowe の方もサンフランシスコに向かった直後には熱心に書いていた手紙が、その列車に乗り合わせていた自分と同世代の女の子たちとデートをする頃には、書き出しは "Dear Margaret"(182)で "Your sincere friend Julian Lowe" (183)という結

びに変わっている。友人宛の手紙のような印象を残す描写である。ところが、パーティーへ出かけ、どうやら映画監督にその女性をさらって行かれてしまったようだということが手紙でわかる。Lowe 自身は強がって、もうダンスには飽きた、戦争を経験していない若者は子供だと言っているが、物語現在のダンスパーティーでもよく似た風景が展開される。(第一次) 大戦中は女性の注目を集め、引く手あまたであった兵士、あるいは帰還直後は英雄視された兵士たちも、やがて時代遅れの退屈な存在として扱われ、パーティーではたとえば新しく流行しているダンスについていけず、壁の花にならざるをえないのである。手紙と物語現在のエピソードが当時の状況を反映しつつ、作品の中で響きあっているのだ。

さらに夫との結婚生活と同様、Lowe に対しても Margaret は別れを告げていると思われるのだが、これがまた、夫との出来事を再現しているようにもみえる。サンフランシスコとチャールズタウンの距離はかなり離れている。ヨーロッパに対して感じるものと距離感は大して変わらないのではないだろうか。語り手はこのために起きる時間のズレを利用している。 Lowe からの"Loving you has already made me a serious man realizing responsabilities."(273)と書かれた手紙の後に、Donaldと Margaret の結婚式の場面が描かれ、このあとに銀行に就職した旨を告げる手紙が届く。この時点ではまだ Margaret の状況は Lowe に伝わってはおらず、"My dearest sweet heart—Just a line to let you know that I have gone into business into the banking business making money for you..."(276)と書かれている。大人になったと言いつつ、"responsibilities"とつづりを間違えていたり、もう他人の妻になっている女性との結婚生活を夢見て手紙を書いてくる Lowe の様子は、滑稽で哀れである。これは空間と時間のズレが生み出すコミュニケーションの不成立によって起きる効果である。そして次に以下の葉書が届く。

It was a postcard. You buy them for a penny, stamp and all. The post office furnishes writing material free.

"Got your letter. Will write later. Remember me to Gillian and Lieut. Mahon. "JULIANL." (281)

それまでは封書だったものが、どこででも買える葉書を使って書かれており、ありきたりのものであることが強調されている。Faulkner は Lowe にとって Margaret が特別な存在から変化したことを、郵便(制度)を使って巧みに示唆している。

この葉書は恐らく、まだ若いから結婚は早いのでは、などと言った内容が書かれたものを受け取ったあとに出されたものだと推定されるが、内容からも Lowe の衝撃、冷水を浴びせられたような様子が手に取るようにわかる。この時点ではDonald と Margaret の結婚通知はまだ Lowe に出されていないが、(考えて) またお手紙をします、と言っても、もう物語の中では結婚式は行われているのだから、どうしようもないことが読者にはすでに示されている。遅れ遅れに届く便りが滑稽さも含んではいるが、郵便(制度)を使うことによって生じる、電話や現代の電子メールでは到底感じることのできない時間、空間のズレこそが二人の気持ちのズレの大きさを象徴するものに見えてくるのである。あえて電報でもなければ、電話でもない、時間を要する郵便制度を使い、直接話をしない、という利点をMargaret は利用しているとも言える。

4. 届かなかった書簡

Watson はこの作品に出てくる手紙にはプライバシーのないものが多いと評している(32)。たとえば、Cecily が戦地の Donald に送った手紙は Gilligan が読んでいるし、Margaret が夫に送った手紙は軍の検閲が入る。このことにも Margaret は異ざめしているのである。そして最もプライベートな手紙であるはずの Julian から Margaret に宛てた一通目のラブレターは、Gilligan に、それも Margaret から直接手渡され、読まれるのである。だが、その手紙を他者が読むことでどのような影響が及ぼされるのであろうか。後年、Faulkner は多くの作品でプライバシーのなかった手紙を描いている。つまり、本来の受け取り手とは違う人物にわたってしまうものである。これらの手紙の多くは郵便(制度)に則って配達されたものなのだが、この手紙の多くは、送り主、受け取り主にとって厄介のタネになるものが多い。この点が処女長編と大きく異なっているのである。この作品が書かれた1925年、Faulkner はニューオーリンズに滞在していたし、ヨーロッパにも出かけている。故郷に向けて多くの手紙を書き綴っていた Faulkner にとって、恐らく手紙は大切なコミュニケーション手段であったはずだ。自己の経験からしてもFaulknerに手紙が厄介のタネになるという感覚はこの時点ではあまりなかったとしても不思議ではなかろう。

むしろこの作品の中では届かない手紙に意味が込められていたように思われる。自己の意思を相手に伝えるために送るのが手紙であれば、これが相手に届かなかったとき、どう反応するか。別れを告げるべく前線の夫に送った手紙は、夫の戦死により届かなかった。これを Margaret は、"He had not even got her letter! This is in some way seemed the infidelity: having him die still believing in her, bored

though they both probably were."(32)と感じている。夫に対して背信行為をした、つ まり罪悪感を感じているのである。愛情があったわけではないのに、戦地へ赴く 兵士の妻になるという一種のムードから結婚しこれを解消できなかったことが、 Margaret のトラウマになるのである。Watson は、物語の最初で Donald 以外は目 的地がはっきり定まっていなかったとことを指摘しているが(31)、届かなかった 手紙もまた目的地 (受け取り手) がなくなって戻ってくるのだ。 Margaret が Donald を故郷へ送ることは、届かなかった夫への手紙を届けに行く償いの旅と読みかえ られる。だからこそ、もう死んだも同然だった Donald と結婚し、その死を見取る ことは、清算できなかった Powers との結婚生活を自らの手で締めくくることと同 じになるのである。Margaret はビアズレーの絵画のような女性、と言われている が、彼女の手だけは別である。Gilligan の腕に置かれた Margaret の手を、語り手 は力強い("her firm strong hand")(275)、という言葉で表現している。(腕を使う) 抱 擁は、「性を感じさせない抱擁」(her firm sexless embrace) (161)とも述べられる。 この手の描写だけ見れば、手の持ち主は女性と言うより男性であるかのようだ。 さらにこの場面では、Gilligan は Margaret との抱擁で安心感を得たような描写も みられる。Donald の世話という戦いを、共に戦う同士のような印象を受ける。兵 士の報酬、というタイトルを考えたとき、Pay と言う語は報酬という意味と同時 に償いという意味も持つ。もしかしたら、心の中で戦いを続けてきた兵士 Margaret の償いが、Donald の受け取る報酬なのかもしれない。そのきっかけになるものが、 夫に宛てた Margaret の手紙なのである。

郵便制度において空間のズレは当然ながら時間のズレを生み、受け取り手は送り手の過去の時間を共有することになる。Margaret は物語の中で電報も電話も使わない。Margaret が出した、届かなかった手紙 2 通のうち、夫宛の手紙は結果として、彼女に苦痛を残す。しかしもう一通の Julian 宛ての手紙が届かなかったことを Margaret は知らないから、結局のところ彼女に苦痛は残らない。Donald との結婚と Donald の死を告げたこの手紙は、転居先不明で戻ってきて牧師の机上に置かれている。"Removed. Present address unkown."(311)と郵便局の判の押されたこの手紙は息子の生物的、物理的死、あるいは事実を牧師に改めて告げることになる。死んだと思った息子は帰還し、結婚し、そして故郷で死んだ。これが事実であり、届かなかった手紙はその客観的証拠なのである。Donald の死後、Margaretも Charlestown を去り、牧師に日常が戻ってくるが、この手紙が物語に表れたのち、牧師は Gilligan に、"Well, Joe, things are back to normal again. People come and go, but Emmy and I seem to be like the biblical rocks."(312-13) と言う。物語の時間の

流れの中で、目も見えず現在の状況もはっきり把握できなくなっている Donald 一人がその流れに縛られず自由でいられるように見える。彼は独自の世界、自分 ひとりの空間にいるのである。だからこそ、Gilligan が読んで聞かせるギボンの 『ローマ帝国衰亡史』という過去の時間の流れの中に浸り、アトランタから来診 した専門医に言わせると、何かを待っている状態である。「息子は死んだ」と繰り 返し考える牧師は、しかし人前では愚鈍なまでに息子の未来に望みがあるかのよ うに語る。一見無能なようだが、自分の息子はもう死んだも同じと思い、助かる 見込みがないことが誰の目にも明らかな存在だからこそ、牧師は医療などには頼 ろうとしなかったのではないか。奇跡しか、息子を治しようがないのである。そ して Donald が待っていた何かが、自分が追撃されたときの記憶、過去の時間であ り、死を目前にして Donald はすべてを思い出す。そして、視力を失ったはずの彼 は父である牧師の顔を認識し、父に向かって、"That's how it happened."(290)と言 い残して亡くなる。一瞬ながら、奇跡はおこった。ここに田中敬子氏は父と息子 のコミュニケーションの成立を見ている(61)。 "nomal"に戻るとは、息子の過去の 時間に入り戻ってきた牧師の状態を指すのである。しかしこれはまさに一瞬にし て消え去るコミュニケーションで、届かなかった手紙はその証なのである。

5. 結論

この作品は一応は流れ続ける時間に沿って物語が進んでいくようにみえる。しかし、時折挟まれる Julian からの手紙は、物事の流れをしばし過去へ押し戻す。と言うよりも、周りの時間は流れているのに、手紙にはその手紙が書かれたときの時間がそこに封じ込められていると言えよう。特にこの物語では、Julian の書いてくる内容が後手に後手に回っているようで、異質の時の流れであることが強く感じられる。この手紙は、浦島太郎の玉手箱と正反対である。物語の中で、生、死、生、死と時を刻む時計の音が描かれているが、傷ついて帰ってきた Donald だけが時の中で動かない。生物学的な時間は続いているが、もはや廃人同様になった Donald は、現に父親である牧師が息子は死んだと繰り返し言う言葉からもわかるように、精神的には死んだも同然であり、そこだけ異質の時間が流れているのである。南部の小さな町で繰り広げられる人と人とのコミュニケーション、日常という時間の流れの中に異質の時の流れが入り込んでいく可能性を郵便(制度)もまた象徴しているのである。

- 1 Faulkner は後年神と人とのつながりに関心を示し、作品の中でも描いており、この作品にもそれが表れている箇所があるが、この議論はまたの機会に譲りたい。Requiem for a Nun に見られる神と人とのつながりについては、文献リストの拙論を参照いただきたい。
- 2 物語を読めば、誰もがクロノロジカルな時間の流れを意識するように思われる。Brooks は著書の中で、それぞれの出来事を時間の流れの順に書き出しているほどである(366-69)。

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Select and Strong Islands

Minoru Fukuda

Synopsis

In this paper, it is argued that the Subjacency Condition is not required to explain strong island effects and that under the Minimalist Program, the relevant data are explicable by means of a general condition on movement rules, which is defined from a derivational viewpoint. To be more specific, we provide two proposals in the present paper. First, assuming a new theory of workspaces in syntax, we argue that the application of Select is always accompanied by the application of Merge. Second, we claim that the strong island effects are natural consequences of our constraint that prohibits generalized pied-piping from moving a part of Selected terms. We also indicate three theoretical implications of our proposal: (i) the strong island effects can be regarded as PF-related phenomena, (ii) the absence of the strong island effects in LF is due to the failure to apply our constraint in LF, and (iii) the cost of Move is ultimately attributable to the creation of an extra workspace that is irrelevant to structure building.

1. Introduction

There exist two types of syntactic islands: weak islands and strong islands (see Cinque 1990:1-2). A typical case of the former is the Wh-island, examples of which are illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. ?? To whom didn't they know [when to give their present t]?
 - b. *How did they ask you [who behaved t]?

As seen in (1), the A-bar movement of the Wh-phrase is blocked by another Wh-phrase located at the A-bar position (or at the embedded Comp position). These effects are also referred to as Relativized Minimality effects (see Rizzi 1990), which are now subsumed under the Attract F (or Agree) theory of movement within the Minimalist Program (see Chomsky 1995:297, Chomsky 2000:101).

However, things appear to be different in the cases of strong islands, illustrated in (2), because there is no intervening Wh-phrase between the moving Wh-phrase and its trace. In other words, these cases cannot be explained by Relativized Minimality or Attract.

- (2) a. Subject island
 - *Which books did [talking about t] become difficult?
 - b. Adjunct island
 - *To whom did you leave [without speaking t]?
 - c. Complex NP island
 - *To whom have you found [someone who would speak t]?

There is indeed a straightforward method to account for both (1) and (2): that is, to adhere to the Subjacency Condition (see Chomsky 1986). However, we should not make the hasty decision of taking recourse to such an independent condition. Its conceptual necessity must be carefully examined under the Minimalist Program. In this paper, it is argued that the Subjacency Condition is not required to explain the ungrammaticality of (2) and that the relevant data are explicable by means of a general condition on movement rules, which is defined in terms of the Minimalist way of structure building. ¹

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we provide a brief overview of the Minimalist way of structure building and indicate two exceptional cases with regard to the application of Merge and Select. In section 3, assuming that syntax provides a place for structure building, i.e., "a workplace" in our terminology (see also Bobaljik 1995:44), we argue that Select is applied even in the apparently exceptional cases indicated in section 2. In section 4, we propose that the movement irrelevant to feature checking (i.e., generalized pied-piping (GPP)) cannot be applied to a part of Selected terms. We account for the strong island effects in terms of this constraint in section 5. Finally, in section 6, we summarize our main claims and state their theoretical implications.

2. Merge and Select

Under the Minimalist Program, it is generally assumed that syntactic objects are constructed in terms of Merge and Move in a bottom up manner.² There exist two constructions that we would like to examine in this section.

- (3) John ate an apple.
- (4) The boy ate an apple.

The difference in structure building between (3) and (4) is that the subject DP *John* of (3) is a simple term, consisting of one lexical item, while the subject DP *the boy* of (4) is a complex term, consisting of more than one lexical item.³

Let us first consider the derivation of (3). In order to derive (3), Lexical Array (LA), which is a list of lexical items or materials to be used for structure building, is determined (see (5)), and Merge and Move are applied in the course of derivation.^{4, 5}

- (5) LA: {Infl, John, ate, an, apple}
- (6) a. i. Select (an, apple) and Merge (an, apple) ==> [DP an apple]
 - ii. LA: {Infl, John, ate}
 - b. i. Select (ate) and Merge (ate, DP) ==> [v] ate an apple]
 - ii. LA: {Infl, John}
 - c. i. Select (John) and Merge (John, V') ==> [VP John ate an apple]
 - ii. LA: {Infl}
 - d. i. Select (Infl) and Merge (Infl, VP) ==> [[Infl John ate an apple]
 - ii. LA: { }
 - e. Attract [F] of John ==> [P] [F] + Infl John ate an apple]
 - f. GPP (Copy (John) and Merge (John, I')) ==> [IP John Infl John ate an apple]

As shown in (6), Select can be applied just before the application of Merge. It appears that the strong correlation between these two operations led Collins (1995:69) to state that "it [= Select, the author] can be seen as part (or a reflex) of the operation Merge or Raise [= Move, the author]."

However, we should note that Select is not applied before Merge at the stage of (6f). This leads to the question of whether we should treat it as an exceptional case where the Merge operation does not require Select and further, whether there exist two instances of Merge: one that requires Select and one that does not.⁶

Similar questions arise when we consider the derivation of (4). The derivation of (4) can be illustrated as in (8).

- (7) LA: {Infl, the, boy, ate, an, apple}
- (8) a. i. Select (an, apple) and Merge (an, apple) ==> [DP an apple]
 - ii. LA: {Infl, the, boy, ate}
 - b. i. Select (ate) and Merge (ate, DP) ==> [v] ate an apple]
 - i'. Select (the, boy) and Merge (the, boy) ==> [DP the boy]
 - ii. LA: {Infl}
 - c. Merge (DP, V') ==> $[v_P]$ the boy ate an apple]
 - d. i. Select (Infl) and Merge (Infl, VP) ==> $[\Gamma]$ Infl the boy ate an apple
 - ii. LA: { }
 - e. Attract [F] of boy ==> [F]+Infl the boy ate an apple]
 - f. GPP (Copy (the boy) and Merge (the boy, I'))
 - ==> [IP the boy Infl the boy ate an apple]

There are two cases wherein Select is irrelevant to the application of Merge in (8). First, as shown in (8b), two syntactic objects are formed independently before constructing [VP] the boy ate an apple]. In (8c), where the two syntactic objects are Merged to form VP, Select is not applied. In brief, Select is not applied in cases where complex (or independently formed) terms are Merged. Secondly, as in the case of (6f), Select is not applied in (8f).

To sum up the above observations, there are two exceptional cases wherein Select is not applied when Merge is applied: (i) when two complex terms are Merged (see (8c)) and (ii) when GPP applies (see (6f) and (8f)). It is not clear why Select cannot be a reflex of Merge in these cases, contra Collins (1995:69). In the following section, we argue that Select is applied during the derivation of the two cases.

3. Workspaces in Syntax

We would like to assume that syntax provides a place for structure building. Let us refer to such a place as a "workspace." Then, Select can be considered an operation that picks lexical items from LA and places them in a workspace for the application of Merge. According to this view, Merge is always applied in a workspace. For example, the derivational stage (6c) can be illustrated as shown in Figure 1.

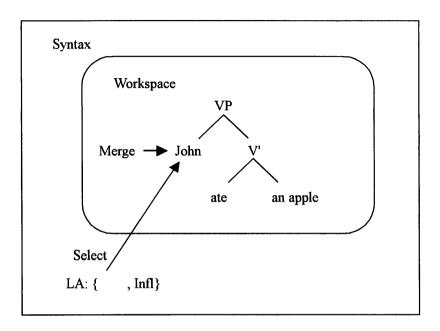


Figure 1

In the interests of brevity, we will use curly brackets to indicate workspaces. Figure 1 is now shown as (9). (9a) shows an operation taking place in syntax, and (9b) shows that *Infl* remains in LA after *John* is Selected.

(9) In syntax

- a. Select (John) and,
 in Workspace {Merge (John, V') ==> [VP John ate an apple]}
- b. LA: {Infl}

According to the theory of workspaces outlined above, the derivational stage (8b), where two syntactic objects are formed independently, can be shown as (10) if we assume that a workspace can have only one syntactic object.⁸

(10) In syntax

- a. Select (ate) and, in Workspace 1 {Merge (ate, DP) ==> [v] ate an apple]}
- b. Select (the, boy) and, in Workspace 2 {Merge (the, boy) ==> [DP the boy]}
- c. LA: {Infl}

In the next stage of derivation (8c), [DP] the boy J is Merged with IP at an apple J. Here, let us propose that Select is applied to this case such that the DP, after being Selected from Workspace 2, is placed in Workspace 1 for the Merge operation. Thus, (8c) can be indicated as in (11).

(11) In syntax

- a. Select (DP) from Workspace 2 and, in Workspace 1 {Merge (DP, V')
 ==> [VP] the boy ate an apple]}
- b. Workspace 2 { }
- c. LA: {Infl}

Then, we can define Select as an operation that picks an element from a set of materials (either LA or a workspace) for structure building, i.e., for the application of Merge. One of the two exceptional cases of Merge (i.e., (8c)) is now captured under our theory of structure building, and therefore it is no longer exceptional.

Let us focus on the other cases (i.e., (6f) and (8f)), in which a copy is created when GPP is applied. If a workspace accommodates only one syntactic object as assumed above, we are naturally led to suppose that when a copy is created, it will be located in another newly created workspace in syntax. Further, at a later stage of derivation, the copy is Selected from the new workspace and placed in the old or matrix workspace, where it is Merged with the target. For example, under this assumption, (8f) can be regarded as consisting of the following two derivational stages, which are indicated in (12) and (13). What is inferred from this is that a moved category can be regarded as a Selected term.

(12) In syntax

a. Workspace 1 {[r [F]+Infl the boy ate an apple]}

- b. Copy (the boy) in a new Workspace ==> Workspace 2 {[DP the boy]}
- (13) In syntax
 - a. Select (DP) from Workspace 2 and, in Workspace 1 {Merge (DP, I')
 ==> [IP The boy [F]+Infl the boy ate an apple]}
 - b. Workspace 2 {

The derivations shown in (10) and (11), on the one hand, and (12) and (13), on the other, share a similar derivational stage in which two workspaces exist in syntax and Select applies to one of them. As seen above, given the theory of workspaces in syntax, Select is applied even in cases where it does not fail to apply prima facie.

4. A Constraint on GPP

In this section, we propose that Selected terms constitute islands from which no syntactic object can be moved by means of overt movement or GPP. More specifically, we propose the following constraint.^{9,10}

(14) GPP has no access to a part of a Selected term.

Let us consider the fact that any part of a word or lexical item is immune to movement rules. As is widely known, it is always impossible to extract a part of a lexical item, i.e., a simple term, such as *bluebirds*.

- (15) a. John caught bluebirds in his garden.
 - b. *Birds were caught [blue t] in his garden.
 - c. *What did John catch [blue t] in his garden?

As our constraint (14) indicates, the word bluebirds constitutes an island because it is a term Selected from LA (or Numeration). The ungrammaticality of (15b,c) is captured within the Minimalist Program by means of our constraint that precludes the movement rules from having access to a part of a Selected term. As we argue in the following section, (14) enables us to account for the strong island effects as well.

We should be careful while dealing with movement rules, because movement operations are assumed to consist of two sub-operations: i.e., the formal feature

movement (Attract F or Agree) and the category movement GPP (see note 2). According to Chomsky (1995:262-63), the former plays an essential role in syntactic computations, but the latter occurs only to circumvent a PF crash, which is caused by the separation of the Attracted formal feature of a lexical item and its remnants (see Ochi 1999 for further discussion). Here we would like to suggest that these two operations are not on par with each other with respect to the sensitivity to our constraint on Selected terms proposed above. More specifically, we propose that it is GPP that is sensitive to our constraint.

We would also like to propose that the constraint applies to terms irrespective of whether they are Selected directly from LA (or Numeration) or from another workspace.

Finally, we should note that (14) applies derivationally because the possibility of the overt movement operation is determined in the course of derivation.

5. Deriving Strong Island Effects

5.1. Subject Island Effects

Let us reexamine the strong island effects in terms of the constraint stated in (14). We first consider the subject island, illustrated in (2a). As demonstrated in (10) and (11), when the complex term subject is Merged with V', it is Selected from another workspace prior to the Merge operation. Due to the constraint (14), no part of the subject phrase can be extracted by GPP in a later stage of derivation. This explains why the subject constitutes an island against overt movement operations. 11,12

The constraint (14) can enable a further correct distinction between (17) and (18). We should note that [pictures of who] is a theta-marked category but the grammaticality differs according to its surface position (see Chomsky 1986).

- (17) Who did you say that John stole [pictures of t]?
- (18) ?? Who_2 did you say that [pictures of t_2]₁ were stolen t_1 ?

As shown in (17), the movement of a Wh-phrase out of the category located in the VP complement position is generally allowed.¹³ On the contrary, as illustrated in (18), the subject of passive constructions, which originates in the object position, resists movement out of it (see Collins 1994, Lasnik and Saito 1992). In (17), when V' is formed, the verb *stole* is Selected from LA and is

Merged with the object phrase pictures of who, which is already formed in a workspace before this Merge operation. ¹⁴ Thus, (14) does not apply, and the overt Wh-movement out of pictures of who is allowed. On the other hand, an analysis similar to the one adopted in (12) and (13) is applicable to (18). As already noted, when the object pictures of who is moved from the object position to the subject position, its copy is created in another workspace, and the copy is Selected from this new workspace and placed in the old or matrix workspace. Thus, the constraint (14) is applicable in this case, and therefore, no part of the Selected subject phrase can be extracted.

The explanation given above is also applicable to (19), where who is moved out of the topicalized phrase (see Lasnik and Saito 1992).¹⁵

(19) ??Who₂ do you wonder [[which picture of t_2] Mary bought t_1]?

5.2. Adjunct Island Effects

Next, let us demonstrate how the adjunct island effects emerge by illustrating the derivation of the VP adjunction structure of (2b).

- (20) LA: {did, Infl, you, leave, without, speaking, to, whom}
- (21) In syntax
 - a. i. Select (to, whom) and, in Workspace 1 {Merge (to, whom) ==> [PP to whom]}
 - ii. LA: {did, Infl, you, leave, without, speaking}
 - b. i. Select (speaking) and, in Workspace 1 {Merge (speaking, PP)
 ==> [VP] speaking to whom]}
 - ii. LA: {did, Infl, you, leave, without}
 - c. i. Select (without) and, in Workspace 1 {Merge (without, VP)
 ==> [PP without speaking to whom]}
 - ii. Select (you, leave) and, in Workspace 2 {Merge (you, leave)=> [VP you leave]}
 - iii. LA: {did, Infl}
 - d. i. Workspace 1 { }
 - ii. Select (PP) from Workspace 1, and in Workspace 2 (Merge (VP, PP)

```
==> [VP [VP you leave][PP without speaking to whom]] } iii. LA: {did, Infl}
```

As indicated in (21d), when the PP is adjoined to the matrix VP, it is Selected from Workspace 1. Therefore, the constraint (14) prohibits the overt movement of to whom at a later stage of derivation. This is how the adjunct island effects are derived.

5.3. Complex NP Island Effects

Lastly, let us consider the complex NP island effects. There are two sub-cases to be examined: relative clauses like (2c) and noun-complement clauses like (22) (see Chomsky 1986).

- (22) a. ??Which book did John hear [a rumor [that you had read t]]?
 - b. ??Which book did John announce [a plan [(for you) to read t]]?
 - c. *How did John announce [a plan [to fix the car t]]?

The case of relative clauses can be subsumed under (2b), i.e., the adjunct island effects, because the relative clauses are generally assumed to be adjunct phrases.

However, noun-complement clauses are different. Since the clauses in question are generally assumed to be in the complement position, the movement out of them should be allowed, just as in the case of the movement occurring in (17).

Under the Barriers approach, Chomsky (1986:36) attempts to account for the ungrammaticality of (22), assuming that the complement CP is a barrier for movement. Chomsky pursues a possibility that the nominal head assigns oblique Case to the complement CP and the Case-marked CP becomes a barrier.

Following Stowell's (1981) suggestion, we assume here that the complement CP in (22) is not in a surface position and it serves as an adjunct phrase. This may be due to Stowell's (1981) Case Resistance Principle, which requires the complement CP to escape from the Case position (i.e., the complement position of the noun that assigns oblique Case, as Chomsky assumes). Thus, the complement CP is extraposed and adjoined to some higher node. The fact that an empty complementizer, which is licensed by a governing or c-commanding lexical head, is not available supports our assumption (see Chomsky 1986).

(23) John expressed [the feeling [*(that) the meeting should not be held]]

Then, our next task is to explain why the movement out of an extraposed phrase, or more generally, why the movement out of an adjunct CP is not allowed. The answer to this question has already been implied in the discussion of (18). When the complement CP is extraposed from the noun complement position, its copy is created in another workspace, and the copy is Selected from this new workspace and it is placed in the old or matrix workspace. Thus, when a part of the Selected CP is extracted in a later stage of derivation, the constraint (14) is violated.

6. Summary and Implications

Let us recapitulate our discussion thus far. We have provided two specific proposals in this paper. First, we have argued that the application of Select is always accompanied by the application of Merge. Thus, Collins's (1995:69) observation always holds. Therefore, the seemingly exceptional cases (i.e., (6f), (8c), and (8f)) are captured under our new analysis. Secondly, the strong island effects are explicable without recourse to the Subjacency Condition. These effects are the natural consequences of our constraint (14), which prohibits GPP from moving a part of Selected terms.

We would now like to indicate three implications of our proposals. First, when the constraint (14) prohibits overt movement out of a Selected term, the formal and other (phonological) features of the term remain separated throughout the later stages of derivation. This inevitably causes a PF crash, as Chomsky (1995) argues. It follows that the strong island effects are PF-related phenomena. ¹⁶

Second, it has been argued since the GB theory era (see Chomsky 1986) that LF movement is not subject to the Subjacency Condition; in particular, the strong island effects cannot be observed in LF. However, the reason for this is unclear. Under our proposal, this can be accounted for in the following manner. Since the Minimalist Program assumes that GPP is not applicable in LF, it is natural that constraints on GPP such as (14) fail to apply in LF. Therefore, the strong island effects cannot be observed in LF.

Lastly, we can capture the cost of Move from a representational viewpoint. If Move comprises Copy and Merge, and Merge is a costless operation (see Chomsky 1995), Copy should be a costly operation and it is responsible to the cost of Move. We can infer the cost of the Copy operation from our basic premise that this operation requires an "extra" workspace when a movement operation occurs, as indicated in (12). Then, the cost of Move can be derived from representational economy.

However, we should note that such an extra workspace is also required in order to form an adjunction structure, as indicated in (21). Is forming an adjunction structure costly? Expectedly, the answer would be in the negative. Then, why is it costly when a movement operation occurs but not when an adjunction structure is formed?

The difference between (12) and (21) appears to lie in whether or not Merge is applied in the extra workspace: Merge is applied when forming an adjunction structure, but not when a movement operation occurs. According to our definition of workspaces, they exist for the purpose of structure building. Moreover, as Chomsky (1995:226) suggests, Merge plays a central, essential role in structure building. Merge is not applied in a newly created workspace when an overt movement occurs (see (12)). On the other hand, when an adjunction structure is formed, Merge is applied in another workspace (see (21)). Therefore, it is not unnatural to assume that the cost of Copy is ultimately attributable to the creation of an extra workspace that is irrelevant to Merge, the essential structure building operation.

Notes

The present paper is based on my paper read at the workshop on Wh-movement, Konan English Literature Society (at Konan University, Kobe, Japan, June 2001), and its first draft was completed while I was attending the LSA Summer Institute (at the University of California, Santa Barbara, July-August 2001). Since then I have benefited from the comments by and discussions with Kaneaki Arimura, Takeshi Furukawa, Yuji Kitamine, Howard Lasnik, Yuko Maki, and Koichiro Nakamura. All remaining errors and inadequacies are mine.

- 1 It is interesting to note that Andrew Radford deals with strong island effects in his introductory book Transformational grammar: A first course published in 1988 but he does not in his recent book Minimalist syntax: Exploring the structure of English published in 2004. This fact indicates that the Minimalist Program has not paid considerable attention to the effects. Takahashi (1994) accounts for both weak and strong island effects in terms of his Uniformity Corollary on Adjunction and the Shortest Movement Condition. Takahashi's approach has been elaborated by Ochi (1999). Recently, Adger (2003) and Boeckx (2003) proposed their own methods for explaining the island effects. In this paper, we attempt to explain the strong island effects from a derivational viewpoint, leaving the weak island effects to the Attract F (or Agree) theory of movement.
- 2 According to Chomsky 1995, a movement operation consists of Attract F for feature checking and GPP for PF convergence. We essentially follow these theories; however, for clarification of exposition, we further assume that Copy as well as Merge applies in the case of GPP, as illustrated in this section.
- 3 We informally define terms as constituents participating in syntactic computations. See Chomsky 1995:247

for a precise definition.

- 4 We provide a simplified definition of LA here. When the same lexical item appears more than once, the list is termed Numeration. See Chomsky 2001:11. We also assume simplified structural representations in order to save space and avoid unnecessary complications.
- 5 In (6), the Move operation is shown by the two stages of derivation, such as (6e) for Attract F and (6f) for GPP. Cf. note 2.
- 6 We will argue later that the answers to these questions are negative. Chomsky (2004) makes a distinction between External Merge and Internal Merge. The latter is the Merge operation that does not induce the application of Select.
- 7 It is interesting to note that Bobaljik (1995) regards syntax itself as a workspace.
- 8 In order to account for a controversial manner of structure-building of co-ordinate constructions, we assume that a workspace can contain more than one syntactic object in this particular case.
- 9 There appears to be an alternative way to account for the strong island effects. Specifically, instead of (14), we can propose a constraint that disallows Copy to be applied to a part of a Selected term. However, its consequences or implications may be different from those indicated in the last section.
- 10 In an earlier version of the present paper, we formulated the constraint in the following manner.
 - Operations that are irrelevant to syntactic computations have no access to a part of a Selected term.

However, Howard Lasnik (personal communication) indicates that given a natural assumption that QR is a syntactic computation, (i) implies that long-distance QR as well as long-distance Attract F should be allowed. This problem can be circumvented by adopting the constraint formulated as in (14).

- 11 Kayne (1994) and Saito and Fukui (1998) independently argue that the subject is an adjunct phrase. Thus, it is natural to assume that the subject island effects should be captured in terms of the adjunct condition, and it appears even more natural to assume that both the subject island and the adjunct island effects derive from the same principle, as we argue in this paper.
- 12 We should note, however, that (14) does not preclude the subject phrase from moving. Thus, we have well-formed constructions like (i).
 - a. [Talking about the book]₁ is likely [t'₁ to [t₁ become difficult]].
 - b. [Which book in the library] 1 do you think $[t'_1 \text{ is } [t_1 \text{ worth reading}]]$?
- 13 We should note that this holds as long as the phrase is not headed by a definite determiner like *the* or a genitive phrase like *Mary's*, and that the choice of verbs taking the object DP can affect the grammaticality. These matters are not dealt with in this paper.
- 14 Naturally, a question arises regarding the derivation of verb-particle or verb-preposition constructions such as (i).
 - John looked at the picture of his old friends.

We would like to assume either that combinations such as look(ed) at are complex words or simple terms or that head verbs such as look(ed) are Merged with PPs such as at the picture of his old friends at a later stage of derivation. This assumption ensures that extraction from complement DP or CP is allowed in principle.

15 Citing Torrego's (1985) observation, Chomsky (1986) indicates that Spanish counterparts to (19) are grammatical, whereas those to (18) are not. This matter remains a subject for further study.

16 Ochi (1999) arrives at a similar conclusion by following a different path.

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甲南英文学会規約

- 第1条 名称 本会は、甲南英文学会と称し、事務局は、甲南大学文学部英語英 米文学科に置く。
- 第2条 目的 本会は、会員のイギリス文学・アメリカ文学・英語学の研究を促進し、会員間の親睦を計ることをその目的とする。
- 第3条 事業 本会は、その目的を達成するために次の事業を行う。
 - 1. 研究発表会および講演会
 - 2. 機関誌『甲南英文学』の発行
 - 3. 役員会が必要としたその他の事業
- 第4条 組織 本会は、つぎの会員を以て組織する
 - 1. 一般会員
 - イ. 甲南大学大学院人文科学研究科(英語英米文学専攻)の修 士課程の在籍者、学位取得者、および博士課程・博士後期 課程の在籍者、学位取得者または単位修得者
 - ロ. 甲南大学大学院人文科学研究科(英語英米文学専攻)および甲南大学文学部英語英米文学科の専任教員
 - ハ. 上記イ、ロ以外の者で、本会の会員の推薦により、役員会 の承認を受けた者
 - 名誉会員 甲南大学大学院人文科学研究科(英文学専攻、英語 英米文学専攻)を担当して、退職した者
 - 3. 替助会員
- 第5条 役員 本会に次の役員を置く。会長1名、副会長1名、評議員若干名、会計2名、 会計監査2名、大会準備委員長1名、編集委員長1名、幹事2名。
 - 2. 役員の任期は、それぞれ2年とし、重任は妨げない。
 - 3. 会長、副会長は、役員会の推薦を経て、総会の承認によってこれを決定する。
 - 4. 評議員は、第4条第1項イ、ロによって定められた会員の互選 によってこれを選出する。
 - 5. 会計、会計監査、大会準備委員長、編集委員長、幹事は、会長の 推薦を経て、総会の承認によってこれを決定する。
 - 6 会長は、本会を代表し、会務を統括する。
 - 7. 副会長は、会長を補佐し、会長に事故ある場合、会長の職務を代行する。
 - 8. 評議員は、会員の意志を代表する。

- 9. 会計は、本会の財務を執行する。
- 10. 会計監査は、財務執行状況を監査する。
- 11. 大会準備委員長は、大会準備委員会を代表する。
- 12. 編集委員長は、編集委員会を代表する。
- 13. 幹事は、本会の会務を執行する。
- 第6条 会計 会計年度は4月1日から翌年3月31日までとする。なお、会計報告は、総会の承認を得るものとする。
 - 2. 会費は、一般会員については年間 5,000 円、学生会員について は 2.000 円とする。
- 第7条 総会 総会は、少なくとも年1回これを開催し、本会の重要事項を協議、 決定する。
 - 2. 総会は、一般会員の過半数を以て成立し、その決議には出席者の過半数の賛成を要する。
 - 3. 規約の改定は、総会出席者の 2/3 以上の賛成に基づき、承認 される。
- 第8条 役員会 第5条第1項に定められた役員で構成し、本会の運営を円滑に するために協議する。
- 第9条 大会準備委員会 第3条第1項に定められた事業を企画し実施する。
 - 2. 大会準備委員は、大会準備委員長の推薦を経て会長がこれを委嘱する。 定員は3名とする。
- 第10条 編集委員会 第3条第2項に定められた事業を企画し実施する。
 - 2. 編集委員は、編集委員長の推薦を経て会長がこれを委嘱する。定員は、 イギリス文学・アメリカ文学・英語学各 2 名とする。編集委員長は、 特別に専門委員を委嘱することができる。
- 第11条顧問 本会に顧問を置くことができる。

本規約は、昭和58年12月9日より実施する。

- この規約は、昭和62年5月31日に改訂。
- この規約は、平成7年7月1日に改訂。
- この規約は、平成11年6月26日に改訂。
- この規約は、平成13年6月23日に改訂。

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