

二人称代名詞「あなた」の歴史的変遷について

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On the History of the Japanese Second Person Pronoun *Anata*

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日本語における「あなた」の使い方を中心に、二人称代名詞の歴史的変遷を探る。日本語の二人称代名詞の使い方は、敬語と深いかかわりがあり、そこから二人称代名詞の歴史をみとみる。日本語の敬語史においては、近世・近代・現代Ⅰ・現代Ⅱと四時代に区分されているので、各時代から一つは文献・資料を取り上げ、その時代の二人称代名詞の使い方を検討する。初期は尊敬語として使われていた「あなた」が次第にその敬意を失い、現代においては特別な場合を除いて使えなくなってきた経緯を検討する。

KEY WORDS: second person pronoun, *anata*, honorifics,

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the history of Japanese second person pronouns, focusing on the usage of *anata*. It seems that the history of honorifics in Japanese is divided into four periods - 1) Kinsei (till Edo) 2) Kindai (Meiji and Taisho) 3) Gendai I (till 1945) and 4) Gendai II (after 1945). Therefore, at least one datum has been selected from each period and the usage of second person pronouns at that time is examined. In Japanese, the usage of second person pronouns is related to honorifics. So this paper comments on the historical developments of second person pronouns from the point of view of honorifics. It demonstrates how the usage of second person pronouns as honorifics in earlier times has gradually declined until in the present the usage of the second person pronoun *anata* as an honorific is limited to specific occasions.

2. Kinsei

The word *anata* was used at first in the Heian period as a demonstrative pronoun referring to something far away from here or now as follows:¹

・冬ながら空より花の散り来るは雲のあなたは春にやあるらむ (古今集・330) (=むこう)

Fuyunagara sorayori hanano chirinuruwa kumono anatawa haruniya aruramu

(Kokinshu・330)

(=over there)

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- ・昨日今日とおぼす程に三年のあなたにもなりにけるかな。(源氏物語・朝顔) (=むかし)
Kino kyoto obosuhodoni sannengo anatanimo narinikerukana (Genji) (=ago)
- ・目の前に見えぬあなた (=未来) の事は …… (源氏物語・若菜)
Menomaeni mienu anatano kotowa... (=future)

Later the usage of it as a third person pronoun can be observed: ²

- ・いなや、この落窪の君のあなたにの給うことに従わず …… (落窪物語) (=あの方)
Inaya kono ochikubonokimino anatani notamaukotoni shitagawazu. (Ochikubo)
(=that person)
- ・我がもとにあれかし。あなたももて離るべくやはとの給えば …… (源氏物語) (=あちらの方)
Wagamotoni arekashi. Anatamo mote hanarubekuyawato notamaeba (=that person)

The usage of *anata* as a third person pronoun seems to have lasted till the beginning of the Edo era. ³

- ・あなたからの御盃でござります程に、まづこなたから取上げなされ。(好色伝授・1693)
Anatakarano osakazukide gozarimasuhodoni mazu konatakara (=that person)
toriagenasare (Koshokudenjyu・1693)
- ・なぜそちは姫をあなたへ渡さぬ。(一心二河白道・1698)
Naze sochiwa himewo anatae watasanu (=that person)

In the middle of the Edo era, the usage of *anata* as a second person pronoun referring to a superior can be found: ⁴

- ・殿さま、どふぞあなたのお取りなしで …… (傾城天の羽衣・1753)
Tonosama douzo anatano otorinashide... (=you)
- ・イヤあなたは傘を御無心申したお侍様。 …… マアママおはいりなされませ。
(近江源氏先陣館・1769)
Iya anatawa kasawo gomushin moshita osamuraisama. (=you)

From the above, it can be seen that the word *anata* started as a demonstrative pronoun and came to be used as an honorific second person pronoun when addressing superiors.

“*Shousoku Bunrei*”, a work written in 1800 by Fujii Takanao, a student of Motoori Norinaga, to show how to write letters in *Kana* reveals how other second person pronouns were used in the Edo era.

さきの人の事を、君といひやるハ、歌にも文にも、つねの事にて、こハ、おのれより上なる人にも、同輩にも、すこし下さまにも、かよハしていへり。されど、おのがしうの君の事、さらぬも、いたくたふとむべき人のうへを、君といひては、なめしげに聞ゆる事あり。さるをりは、御前、おまへなどいひてよけん。 …… 又おほきおまへ、といへることあり。 …… さて又、君とおまへ

と、かさねていへる事もあり。…… 見ないたくうやまひてなり。ただし、物語書に、此詞の見えたる、女どち、あるハ女の男にいへる、男の女にいへるなどのみおほかれど、男どちいへる例もいとまれにハあり。…… 又そことといふ事あり。…… 又ぬしといへる事あり。⁵

As the examples from “*Shousoku Bunrei*” show, other second person pronouns such as *kimi*, *onmae*, *omae*, *soko* and *nushi* were used at that time. The usage of these pronouns seems to have been somewhat limited, for example, in relation to the speaker’s gender, but all were used as honorifics.

3. Kindai

While this data on second person pronouns was being collected, it was found that the usage of the second person pronouns by people in Japan may have been affected by the guidelines of the Ministry of Education (Monbusho), but these are of limited usefulness, as they tend to be prescriptive rather than descriptive. That is, the guidelines on how to use the native language in daily life, such as honorifics, have been issued at certain times by the Ministry of Education. School teachers in each era surely taught their students under the influence of these directions, and this has had a considerable effect on people’s usage of the language. Hereafter, data from the guidelines of the Ministry of Education are shown in order to demonstrate the historical developments of Japanese second person pronouns.

The following extract is cited from “*Shihan-gakko Chugakko Saho Kyoujyu Yookoo*” set out by the Ministry of Education in 1911.

・対称は通常「貴方（あなた）」と称すべし同輩に対しては「君（きみ）」と称するも差支なし。

（第8章 言語対応 第一節 称呼及敬語）

Taishowa tsujyo anatato shosubeshi dohaini taishitewa kimito shosurumo sashitsukaenashi.

（Chap. 8 Gengotaio kosho oyobi keigo）

In this guideline, the ministry clearly gives official advice on how to use both *anata* and *kimi* in Japanese. In Kinsei, various kinds of second person pronouns including *anata* were used, but in Kindai these two words--*anata* and *kimi*-- were recommended to be used to refer to the addressee under the ministry’s guideline. Another example in this era is from “*Jitsumei Keihekizoku Kenkyu*”, a work on Japanese honorifics written by Hozumi Norishige in 1926.

・対称代名詞にも、卑属親、親友等の如き親愛関係ある者及僕稗の如き卑位に在る者に対しては「そち」「そなた」「其方（そのほう）」と直称し、尊属親及他人に対しては「彼方（あなた）」と避称し、又西俗に、代名詞を以て他人を呼掛くるに当たりても、単数二人称なる「汝」（*thou, tu, du*）に当る語を用ふるは、近親、親友、幼児僕稗等に対するときに限り、他人に対する場合は、複数代名詞なる「汝等」（*you, vous, Sie*）に当る語を用ふるが如きも、即ち直称を避けて汎称するものにして、亦絶対的避称に属すべきものなり。…… 対称するに「其方（そのほう）」「其方（そなた）」と直指するは賤称代名詞にして、「彼方（あなた）」と避称するは敬称代名詞なるが如し。…… 避称して彼方（あなた）と云ひ、尚ほ重んずるときは避称を累ねて「彼方様（あなたさま）」と云ふ、……⁶

From this example, it is clear that at that time *anata* was used as an honorific to refer to the addressee indirectly, while *sochi*, *sonata* and *sonohou* were used to denigrate the addressee by referring to him/her directly.

It can be concluded that in Kindai the second person pronoun *anata* was recommended to be used by the Ministry of Education and still had an honorific usage just as in the Kinsei era.

4. Gendai I

Gendai I ranges from the beginning of Showa to the end of the war, 1945. The first example is cited from “*Chuto-gakko Saho Youkou Kaisetsu*”, a survey by the Ministry of Education, published by *Teikoku Kyouiku-gakkai* in 1933.

- ・対称は通常「貴方」と称すべし。同輩に対しては「君」と称するも差支なし。例えば教師に対して「あなた」などといったは却って聞苦しいものである。この様に特定の人に対しては、先生、お父様、お母様、お祖父様、お祖母様、小母様、誰々様、などといふ。目下のものに対しては「オマエ」などということもあるが、之はよく注意しないと聞苦しくなる。⁷

The first sentence is exactly the same as one of the guidelines issued in the Meiji era (1911). In addition to that, there is some advice on the usage of the word *anata*. It is interesting to find that *anata*, which was used as an honorific in Kindai, cannot be used when the speaker refers to a teacher, who should be mentioned with respect. In Kindai, referring to someone directly was thought to denigrate him/her. On the other hand, it was recommended to use the direct forms of address such as *sensei* and *otousama* to refer to respected people in Gendai I.

Another example is cited from “*Reihou-youkou*”, which was established as a kind of manual for teaching manners to junior high school students by the Ministry of Education in 1941.

- 対称は、長上に対しては、身分に応じて相当の敬称を用いる。同輩に対しては、通常「あなた」を用ひ、男子は「君」を用ひてもよい。⁸

To refer to an addressee superior to the speaker, honorifics should be used, depending on his/her status. An addressee of the same status as the speaker should be called *anata*. *Kimi* should be used by boys/men.

In the preceding example from “*Chuto-gakko Saho Youkou Kaisetsu*”, the addressee at the same level as the speaker should be called *kimi*, but here it is recommended to use *anata* instead of *kimi*. It also says that *kimi* should be used by boys/men. *Anata*, which previously had an honorific function, has no such implications in the 1941 manual and the use of other honorific words is recommended to refer to superiors. Therefore, the point at which the usage of *anata* as an honorific ceased seems to be in Gendai I.

5. Gendai II

Gendai II refers to the post-war period. The following example is cited from “*Korekarano-*

keigo”, which was a guideline suggested to the Minister of Education by Kokugo-Shingikai in 1952. The author of the outline of “*Korekarano-Keigo*” was Kyousuke Kindaichi. The preface of “*Korekarano-keigo*” states:

この小冊子は、日常の言語生活における最も身近な問題を取り上げて、これからはこうあるほうが望ましいと思われる形をまとめたものである。……これからの敬語は、…平明・簡素な新しい敬語法として健全な発達をとげることを望むしだいである。

This booklet sets out ideal linguistic usages in daily life. ... It is hoped that in the future honorifics will be developed in more simple and sound ways.

Then how do they suggest referring to the addressee?

(2) 相手をさすことば

- 1 「あなた」を標準の形とする。
- 2 手紙（公私とも）の用語として、これまで「貴殿」「貴下」などを使っているのも、これからは「あなた」で通用するようになりたい。
- 4 「きみ」「ぼく」は、いわゆる「きみ・ぼく」の親しい間がらだけの用語として、一般には、標準の形である「わたし」「あなた」を使いたい。したがって、「おれ」「おまえ」もしいに「わたし」「あなた」を使うようにしたい。⁹

(2) Words referring to the addressee

- 1 *Anata* is the standard.
- 2 In the written language, *kiden* or *kika* have so far been used, but now *anata* should be used as the standard.
- 3 In general, *watashi* or *anata* should be used as the standard. *Kimi* and *boku* should be used just between familiar friends. Therefore, *watashi* and *anata* are recommended to be used instead of *ore* and *omae* now.

Here it is suggested to use *anata* in both the spoken and written language. *Kimi*, which was recommended to be used only by men in Gendai I, now should be used just by familiar friends. *Anata*, which had lost its function as an honorific, is presented here as a standard word to refer to the addressee. Under this guideline, what then happened to the usage of *anata*? Did the pronoun *anata* in Japanese assume exactly the same function as “you” in English? The current usage of *anata* is examined next.

6. Modern times

It cannot always be said that *anata* should be used to refer to superiors as the second person pronoun. For example, if a student refers to a teacher as *anata* in a Japanese class, the teacher may feel a little strange and embarrassed. Why should the teacher feel embarrassed? In daily life, a wife can often be heard addressing her husband as *anata*. When the wife calls him *anata*, does she express

her feeling of respect for him?

- ・ あなた、今日中に市役所へ行って、取ってきてくれない。

Anata *kyojyuni shiyakushoe itte totte kite kurenai.*

Why don't you go to the city hall to get it sometime today?

- ・ あなた、食事が終わったら、クーラー、みて。それから、部屋の片付けも手伝ってちょうだい。

Anata *shokujiga owattara kura mite. Sorekara heyano katazukemo tetsudatte chodai.*

I want you to check the air-conditioner after dinner. Then help me to clear the rooms.

- ・ あなた、よそいきのお話しはそれぐらいで・・・。

Anata *yosoikino ohanashiwa soreguraide...*

Now you should stop talking in such an unnatural, formal style...

As has been seen in the examples above, the wife expresses not only the feelings of respect but also intimacy or a kind of incivility with her husband. The usage of *anata* at the present will now be examined in detail, based on the examples from Suzuki (1984).

6-1 To superiors

a. To refer to special individuals.

- ・ 父よ あなたは強かった・・・。 夫よ あなたは強かった。

(歌「父よあなたは強かった」昭和12年)

Chichiyo anatawa tsuyokatta. Ototoyo anatawa tsuyokatta.

Dad, you are courageous. My darling, you are courageous.

This is from a song which was popular in Japan about 40 years ago, and this use of *anata* certainly expresses the woman's feeling of respect for her father or husband, who has gone to the battlefield. In a class discussion among Japanese language teachers, it was pointed out that *anata* is still more often used in songs now.

- ・ お父さん、あなたはよくそんな事が平気で言えますね。

Otosan anatawa yoku sonna kotoga heikide iemasune.

I can hardly believe you could tell me such a thing!

In daily life at present, it is unusual for a child to call his/her father *anata*. If a child calls his/her father *anata*, it would seem to indicate a feeling of anger such as in the above example. Therefore, the usage of *anata* to certain of one's superiors is still valid at present, but its function as an honorific is now doubtful.

b. To refer to unspecified people.

Anata is often used in official advertisements or TV commercials:

- ・ あなたのご協力をお願いいたします。

Anatano gokyoryokuwo onegaishimasu.

I would like you to help us.

- ・本物の味がわかるあなたに。

Honmonono ajiga wakaru anatan.

To people who appreciate real taste.

- ・あなたの納めた税金は、このように使われています。

Anatano osameta zeikinwa konoyoni tsukawarete imasu.

The tax you have paid is used in these ways.

Here *anata* is used to refer to unspecified people such as audience, consumers and taxpayers. *Mina-san* can be used instead, but *anata* has a much stronger effect on people because it implies someone chosen among others and conveys some feeling of familiarity. Therefore, *anata* has a function of expressing familiarity when addressing unspecified people who are not directly in front of the speaker.

6-2 To people of the same status or inferiors

a. Spoken by a man to a woman.

- ・あなたのご主人とは高校時代からの親友でした。

Anatano goshojinntowa kokojidaikarano shinyu deshita.

Your husband and I have known each other since high school days.

- ・あなたは欠席が多いようだから注意しなさい。

Anatawa kessekiga ooiyodakara chui shinasai.

You have been absent many times, so you should be careful.

In these examples, *anata* is used with a slight feeling of respect or familiarity. When a man uses it to another man, the context is limited to one in which he is speaking to an unknown man whose age is similar to that of the speaker, as can be seen in the following:

- ・あなたのお勤め先の電話番号を教えてください。

Anatano otsutomesakino denwa bangowo oshiete kudasai.

May I ask your office telephone number?

- ・あなたのお父様には、いつもお世話になっています。

Anatano otosamaniwa itsumo osewani natte imasu.

I am grateful to your father for his kindness.

b. Spoken by a woman.

Women seem to use *anata* more often than men. When women use it to a friend or family member, a feeling of familiarity and kindness can be expressed:

- ・あなたとゆっくりお話しするのなんて久しぶりね。

Anatato yukkuri ohanashi suruno nante hisashiburine.

I haven't talked with you in this way for a long time.

- ・あなたのご主人に一度お会いしてみたいわ。

Anatano goshujinni ichido oaishite mitaiwa.

I would like to meet your husband once.

However, when used to a stranger, it can also express a kind of incivility or suspicion as follows:

・ あなたどなたですか。

Anata donata desuka.

Who on earth are you?

・ あなたずいぶん失礼ね。

Anata zuibun shitsureine.

You are very rude, aren't you?

As can be seen so far in some examples taken from daily life, attention should be paid to using *anata* in modern times, because there are several conflicting implications such as questioning, familiarity or a slight feeling of respect. It can be concluded that the usage of *anata* as an honorific is very limited at present.

7. Conclusion

In brief, what this paper has attempted to show is the historical development of the Japanese second person pronoun *anata* with regard to honorifics. The process of decline in its function as an honorific that *anata* underwent, especially from the data of the Ministry of Education, has been set out. The decline of the function of *anata* as an honorific can be attributed to the theory known as *keii-teigen no housoku*. The usage of *anata* can also be related to other aspects such as modality, as Nitta (1991) points out. Insufficient data for a detailed examination of the subject was collected on this occasion; further investigation of the same topic will be pursued.

Notes

1 Suzuki (1984), p.55

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Suzuki (1984), pp.232-233

6 Suzuki (1984), pp.255-264

7 Nishida (1987).

8 Nishida (1987).

9 Nishida (1987), pp.408-409

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