

The Fundamental Study on How to Write Ethnography

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'The Fundamental Study on How to Write Ethnography'

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It is the purpose of this paper to examine one of the methodologies for writing ethnography. As the subject of my research I have taken up and the concrete work involved in it.

With Kunio Yanagita as the starting point Japanese Folklore has developed by absorbing the achievements related sciences such as Anthropology, History and so on. Ethnography has also flourished in recent years. All over the country many works of ethnography (dealing with the extent of area, the items treated, the method of investigating, the scope of items to be dealt with, the status of ethnography in Japanese Folklore and so on). Of course, as I'll describe afterwards, many scholars have offered some ideas, but they haven't shown concrete examples. On the contrary, many ethnographies so far compiled have little methodological support.

This paper consists of three parts. I will examine the methodological problems of the Folklore Society of Japan in Part I. Then I will examine the problems of folkloristic examination and ethnography, and their ideal figures in Part II. In Part III, I will give concrete examples as a fundamental study about ethnography.

To begin with, I will examine five points about the history of Japanese Folklore from the methodological point of view. They are (1) The academic character of Japanese Folklore, (2) "Jomin (common people)" as a fundamental concept of Japanese Folklore, (3) A point of contact between Japanese Folklore and a folk study, (4) The method of utilizing data about Japanese Folklore, (5) Problems in new fields of study.

In Chapter I, at first I will compare History with Japanese Folklore, and then Ethnology, Anthropology with Japanese Folklore. In the former case, many students argue whether Folklore is a historical science or a modern science, and how to treat literal data in Folklore. And they define that Folklore is a historical science, not a study of history or History, and as an original science which explains Japanese racial characteristics and heart, or folk culture. This definition is a common opinion in the Folklore Society of Japan. On the contrary, Azio Fukuta and Noboru Miyata say that the problems of a study of history and Folklore are still unsolved.

In the latter, Eiichirô Ishida and Masao Oka suggest their close exchange. Ishida says that

* This paper is an English summary of my master's thesis presented to the Faculty of Letters, Kumamoto University in January 1987. I have partly amended it and have omitted the bibliography and reference.

Folklore forms a field of Anthropology in the broad sense of the term. Oka says that the object of Japanese Folklore is the basic life-culture of the Japanese race, which has been formed and developed historically, as well as the real community-culture that has a structural and functional character. Therefore these two points of view should not be antagonistic but complementary. He further states that Folklore is a science of ethnos as well as Ethnology and is a fundamental field of a study which constructs Ethnology as the study of one race and one regional ethnos, and as the comparative study of races.

Later Katsuhiko Yamazi says that Folklore especially needs to cooperate with Social Anthropology in Anthropology. Takenori Noguchi says that Kunio Yanagita fundamentally did not deny Ethnology and that on the contrary he widely read about evolutionism, diffusionism and functionalism including J. Frazer, and was influenced by them. Miyata said that a point of contact with Japanese Folklore and Social Anthropology in Japan is the problem on modernization.

In this way, though it has been said since older times that these sciences are inter-related, there has been little positive exchange among them. But the influences from evolutionism, the introduction of functional method which regards folklore as a complex, the criticism to the ethnography that enumerates many items, the proposition of a comparative Folklore should be recognized as influences from Ethnology and Anthropology.

In Chapter II, I examine the change of "jomin" concept. It started as a substantial concept, but when the substance of "jomin" disappeared, it changed into a cultural concept. In this connection Miyata pointed out that to tell the truth each scholar chose between a substantial concept or a abstractive concept, depending on whether he was making a regional study or pursuing an ethnos. Some scholars emphasized that they needed to study the culture of "hijomin" (uncommon people).

In Chapter III, I state that the folk study which started with Yanagita's original view changed as it was criticized because it despised folk. Yanagita did not try to study a folk in folk but Japan in folk. On the other hand, Asatarô Yamaguchi stressed the importance of comprehending the character of a village as the starting point of study and advocated the establishment of Regional Folklore.

Later, the viewpoint became stronger that we should clearly define the region that organizes "jomin" and base our analysis on the social and economic conditions such as the exploitation and transition of the region. Tokutarô Sakurai tried to amend jûshutsurishôhō (the super-imposed method) and apply it to regional folklore study in order to overcome the criticism that Folklore had despised a folk. Tokuzi Chiba, through chiikihenkanhō (regional exchange method) tried to show that jûshutsurishôhō could be made use of by recognizing folk data structurally. Fukuta said that ideal Folklore should analyze folk materials handed down mutual relationally in the traditional nucleus and use kobetsubunsekihō (individual analytic method) which presents a

hypothesis about a historical process of development.

Miyata stated that the folk study of Yanagita developed with two sides, the study of "folk in folk" and the study of "Japan in-folk." The former suggested a study of local culture and the latter, a study of national life graphy. As Japanese Folklore was descended from the latter, it tends therefore to the theory of Japanese folk culture which despises a folk.

Here, he says that it is a future role to systematize local culture from a current of "folk in folk" and link it to a study of national life graphy by means of establishing Regional Folklore. Its role contributes a study of local history in Japanese Folklore. Furthermore he divided Folklore into a section of General Folklore and that of individual Folklore, and added field of Regional Folklore to a section of individual Folklore. He stated that the purpose of Regional Folklore is to analyze a individual folk culture in a limited regional society, at first they complete a monography about a village community, and at that time they describe various types of folklore while relating with it.

In Chapter IV, the basis of the super-imposed method has the recognition that a difference in a region represents a difference in an age and its method premises that by means of a comparison of the differences in each types they understand all stages of a transition. Some students pose questions and criticism about this method. Keigo Seki criticized that the thing which Tarô Wakamori explains the super-imposed method by means of G. L. Gomme's diagram applies Japanese basic culture to a diagram of the evolutionismic development.

Later in 1970 "a special number, the methodology of Japanese Folklore" was planned in "Nihonminzokugakukaihō" (A Bulletin of Japanese Folklore) number 60, and the super-imposed method and shûkenron (the method of wave of diffusion) was reexamined. Through these reexamination they confirmed that the super-imposed method isn't almighty, to the contrary they reconfirmed that the super-imposed method makes a transition of folk materials clear within the limits of its possibility.

On the one hand, Fukuta said that the super-imposed method can't make the transition of a folk materials and a history clear. The followings are four reasons for his opinion, (1) how to rank among each types, (2) it can not make a factor of transition among each types clear, (3) why the rank among each types are transition, (4) it can not make a mutual and relative transition of a race clear. Furthermore, he stated that it can not make "racial characteristics and hearts of Japanese or ethnos" clear. In place of it he proposes "the individual analytic method."

Sakurai tried to apply the super-imposed method by means of amending a part of it. He presented a concrete instance in which he studied a folklore about marriage in the limited local community while paying attention to the relation among a social function of a buraku (a village), and classifies. It seems that this challenge is successful and the application of the super-imposed method by amending it is recognized. On that point Chiba said that Sakurai's trial only substituted it for the formal process of managing data.

Hôgenshûkenron (the dialectal method of wave of diffusion) on which Yanagita wrote in "Kagyûkô (A Study on a Snail)" is based on the recognition that a difference in a region is equal to that in an age. It tried to make all stages of a historical transition clear from the phenomenon of a specific diffusional form. They say Yanagita limited this application to an oral tradition which can diffuse freely and admonishes everyone not to apply it to specific ground conditions, for example, a custom and a religion influenced by a climate and a production. But Yanagita's pupils magnified from the method of wave dialectal diffusion to the method of wave folklore diffusion, Yanagita's method was recognized as a method of folklore with the super-imposed method.

On the other hand, Chiba posed a question from the real application. Jûrô Ono made a research in every village in Kagoshima prefecture, made the figures of its distribution, considered from their aspect, and in this way examined the method of wave of diffusion.

Though the instances which Ono treated are an only one time's diffusion from a center, it proved that its diffusion organized the distribution of a concentric circles, therefore the conventional theoretical premise that the distribution of concentric circles is equal to the process of transition doesn't come into existence. Tôru Ogawa stated that it is possible that innumerable sub-centers mediate and a local wave of a diffusion comes into existence, he calls the thing, which folk materials are the specific spatial arrangement, the structure of distribution.

In Chapter V, the visible folk materials, Buddhism and folklore, the folklore in an urban area, the change and transformation of a folklore and the folklore of an urbanization, Comparative Folklore and a study of south islands, I examine these five points. The visible folk materials were stored up the various studies before the war by the activity of Attic Museum in which Keizô Shibusawa took a leading part. But after war we considered it important to collect, record and preserve folk crafts which under a rapidly social vicissitude had disappeared. When the Folk Crafts Society of Japan was established in 1975, the visible folk materials were barely shifted to a systematic study. Therefore there are problems, such as the belated start in the theoretical side such as a definition and a method of study of "folk crafts" and the accumulation of a separate study. Moreover the availability of study of folk crafts in Folklore attracts much attention. It is the greatest problem that Folklore of "matter" and Folklore of "mind" are cooperated, because at present they are remarkably unbalanced.

In Buddhism and folklore, until now a section of Buddhistic folklore has seemed to despise a research of folklore and a study of folklore, but there is a movement that they try to assign its section a proper place in the system of folk culture. Sakurai tried to recognize Buddhism in a level of life in a village by a concept of a native or an acculturation. Toshikazu Shinno divided Buddhism and folklore, and described the connection with them. Miyata insisted that we should describe Japanese folk culture properly by paying attention to how Buddhism mixes with each side such as "jomin" and "hijomin."

"Urban Folklore" comes into existence because of the reexamination that an usual Folklore gives too much importance to a village community and the transfiguration of field. In it there are two trends, one is a study of the folklore whose field is a space of an urban area, the other is a study of a folklore that seizes the change and transformation of a folklore owing to an urbanization in the current of the time, but they are distinguished and are gathered in one field "Urban Folklore," so two trends become one of cause for a confusion of the theory of Urban Folklore. Therefore, here I distinguish a folklore in an urban area from the change and transformation of a folklore and a folklore of an urbanization.

Kazuo Ueno said that the meaning of Urban Folklore is to enhance or to amend the availability of the theory, which is induced from the conventional Folklore about a village. And he examined the method to limit an object in a conventional Folklore, proposed the abandonment to the limitation of a region and the concept of "jomin," and the partial amendment to the concept of "minzoku" "minkandenshō." In conclusion, he stated that Urban Folklore should correspond with Village Folklore as well as the relation of Rural Sociology and Urban Sociology.

Miyata expressed his opinion that a study of folklore in an urban area comes into existence owing to the necessity of recognizing the actual state in "hijomin," and proposed that in an actual research it was necessary to distinguish the stage of an urbanization about the field, to recognize the structure of a nucleus of a tradition which maintains a folklore, to distinguish clearly whether the object of a study folklore is native in an urban or it is the urbanized folklore, and describes that Urban Folklore could be assigned a proper place in Regional Folklore.

The subject of the change and transformation of a folklore is divided into two points of view. One is to pay attention to the subsidence and rise of a culture and the other is to pay attention to the imminent change. The latter is further divided into two fields, a traditional village and an urbanized community. Senichi Tanaka and Katsuhiko Tanakamaru treated the change in the traditional village. Tanakamaru said that it is impossible to study a folklore individually, in a sense a folklore is related with others organically, and it effects the change and transformation of one folklore, therefore by means of recognizing the organic relation among these each folklore without a break of times, the aspect of the change and transformation make clear. And he researches the region where Takayoshi Mogami researched after 30 years, treats the change and transformation for 30 years.

In comparative Folklore and a study of a south islands I describe in recent years the situation oriented to Comparative Folklore is forming in Japanese Folklore which has persisted in a point of view of Ethnology of one nation, and overlapping this, I examine the reconsideration on the proper place of the study of south islands in Japanese Folklore.

I mention four problems of the research of Folklore in Japan, and they are (1) the purpose of a research, (2) the object of a study, (3) the matter of a field, (4) a history of the research of

Folklore in Japan. In (1), the purpose of a research is divided into to making an ethnography of the field and having a concrete theme such as a social organization of mura (a village) and a rite of a tutelary deity. And each purpose is related to a method of a regional and comparative study. The former is closely related to a method of a regional study. The other has a meaning that offer many data of a method of comparative method.

In (2), until now the object of Folklore is a "minzoku" or "minkandenshō," which has been a common recognition, and a research and a study have been done, but in the course of the examination of a methodology and concept on Folklore, we consider what is folklore and how to define. For example there are some definitions from a character and an attribute of a folklore such as a denshōsei and a jominsei by Ichirō Hori and Shigeru Makita and so on. Chiba said that a folklore has a context as a background and that similarly it becomes a context of other folklore. He modeled a folklore structurally. Moreover he presented the hypothesis of the process of an establishment, a formation and a tradition of a folklore (or a context). Besides there is a person who divides characters of folk materials from the relation to a nucleus of a tradition and considers Hirofumi Tsuboi, presents a hypothesis about a historical formation of the word "minzoku."

In (3), the selection of a field is determined whether there are plural fields or one field owing to a case of a comparative study of specific folk materials or making an ethnography. In one field, a specific "mura" is the object of a field, but according to the purpose there are two ways to select a field. One is to research all section of folklore without limiting a specific theme of a research. In this case they don't limit for the selection what subject they can research, and mainly carry out the research of the region where we don't examine so much until now.

The other is to carry out the ethnographical research, establishing a specific theme or a main object of a research, in this case according to the theme a selection of a field is directly limited. Though there are these common recognitions, as to an abstractive level we examine diversely what a "mura" is or what a religion is.

Fukuta said that a village is a priori for a folklorist still now and the confusion on the term "village" is the most direct manifestation. He put the meaning of each term in order. "A nucleus of a tradition" is an available concept in a study of Urban Folklore, which is defined by Fukuta and can be extended to a besides village. Chiba used the concept of "chiikishakai" (a local community), he includes from a scope of one family to a nation or a scope for a residence of a race over a nation. Moreover he supposes a concept while can include a folklore in an urban area.

Recently Kenzō Matsuzaki, who is a folklorist, took a position of Regional Folklore and sets up a region paying attention to a homogeneous cultural basis.

In (4), the early days a research of a folklore gives a priority to the accumulation and recognition of data where and what folklore exists than an establishment of methodology.

In the age of Showa, when Folklore begins establishing a form as a study, the interest to a method of a research of folklore is rising, after a series of synthetic research such as the research

of a mountain village and a seaside village, various reexaminations and criticism have been repeated. For example, owing to the influence from Anthropology we introduce a method of a functionalism to a research of folklore, or change and get close items of a research for a variety of subjects in a study of Folklore. It is the greatest change that a way of a research that extensively investigates only a part of a specific field such as marriage, delivery and nursing in a short time changes to the way of a research that intensively investigates in a fixed region over an extended period of time, as we recognize folk materials as a whole, and consider the organic relation. At present, it is a time when a trend like this reaches its peak.

The change of a purpose of Folklore and ideal way to research a folklore effects the ideal form of an ethnography which make a comprehensive survey of a research in a folklore, various criticisms and examinations have been done, but still now a discussion about a methodology on making an ethnography is not ripe. The following I express the problems of ethnography in two parts, (1) a history of an ethnography in Japan, (2) a development of an opinion of an ethnography.

(1) At first, the ethnography starts as a collection of fragmentary data such as "rohen susho" in 1921. Afterwards while a theoretical system of Japan Folklore and an ideal way of a research of a folklore change, an ethnography changes to the thing that comprises all items and folk materials organically relate each other. But an ethnography like an "organic relation" has not been seen until now. Moreover it is not enough to examine methodology, such as a role of ethnography in Japanese Folklore, an ideal form of an ethnography and so on. Under this situation, many ethnographies and reports are made.

When we consider the ideal form of ethnography, "Kitakoura minzokushi" by Yanagita and a series of reports of "synthetic research" by Tarô Wakamori are especially important. The estimation of "Kitakoura minzokushi" is separated right in half. Kanji Itô and Chiba estimate highly, to the contrary Fukuta and Sakurai low. Chiba said that when Yanagita wrote "Kitakoura minzokushi," he thought that it is not possible to construct a whole from a part, to the contrary many folklorists have a wrong thought of an ethnography, which if they stores up classified items of a folklore as a part, they can reconstruct a local community of "mura," and these are Fukuta's thought.

The contents of an ethnography change according to its purpose, so it is natural that the estimation is different. But as Yanagita contents himself, the publication of "zenkoku mizokushi susho" is the previous process of the work of a compare and a synthesis in order to ascertain all over the country, it is necessary to describe each characteristic region. When such ethnographies are stored from 30 to 50, he makes a synthetic index, check a duplication in each region, a characteristic of every folk is not conspicuous and rather common or equal, which is his aim.

Considering these situation I think that "Kitakoura minzokushi" by Yanagita is excellent in a methodology, but it doesn't play a part to produce data for the main method. 'Synthetic

research' by Wakamori puts together nine reports. They responds sensitively to a trend of those days, for example at first the report starts as a collection of data (including a kind of a modesty), against a discontent and criticism from outside for the form of a conventional ethnography, they change into the contents that firmly consider the relation of every folklore, they distinguishes clearly Folklore from Ethnology expressing "Shuzokumin bunka fukugô" (a cultural complex of races) by Masao Oka, interests of a trend in Cultural Anthropology, approaches to a study of a local history, and so on.

These reports are different from the former ethnography, at first the extent of a field is based to the ancient administrative division and is wide. Secondly, items of a research are divided among about 30 researcher and researchers try to bring all items together, but when they describe in two style, one is according to the conventional item, another is topical. So it is possible to research wide extent of a field, to the contrary there are many criticism for the effect, for example there is no description about the regional unity as a whole, on account of lack of contacts among researchers there are some parts of a duplication and lack in contents of these reports. But it should be estimated that this series of reports present a style of an ethnography and intend to systematize Japanese folk culture.

(2) The methodological examination of an ethnography have been done by several scholars, but they don't expand into the animated discussion or a trade of opinions. They confine themselves to stating their views.

Takenori Noguchi expresses that they should persuit the ethnography that an ethnography of one village (buraku) forms on theory, he gives examples like a series of studies by Malinowski, B. K. and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Chiba asks it is possible that people lived in wide extent including urbanized region and nation make an universal racial culture clear by means of only developing the logic of Regional Folklore. Moreover he states about a pursuit of an ethnography as data of Comparative Folklore. Miyata expresses Regional Folklore and assigns an ethnography as the first step that recognizes a folklore in a region. About a way of making an ethnography, he expresses that there are a structural method and a historical method, and they are supplementary each other.

Fukuta proposes an individual analytic method, he stands the position to inquire the approach to a study of a local history. He criticizes severely an ethnography that enumerates items, insists on the organic relation of folk materials and the relation to the nucleus of a tradition. Though the concrete instance has not been seen, now some students such as Fukuta and Kenzô Matsuzaki, in a section of a folk study in national history and folklore museum continue a joint study about an ethnography, in March 1987 the effect of a study is planned to publish. In the purpose of a joint study, Matsuzaki states "while examining a technique and a methodology of a research of a folklore and theories of making an ethnography, we reconfirm an availability of an ethnographic study as a method of a regional analysis" and he mentions four problems about the ideal form of

an ethnography. And according to this view, they try to make an ethnography in concrete fields. Matsuzaki assigns an ethnography in a regional study as well as Miyata and Fukuta, and he thinks that the ultimate purpose is establishing some cultural ranges in Japan. Moreover about what is called the ethnography that enumerates items, which is described in accordance with items of a research, he doesn't deny it, but it is practically impossible to make a perfect collection of data, he thinks that the thing that describes only a part of folk materials related to the specific theme is included in an ethnography. Tsuboi requires not only a function to fill a cave of people's mind but also a role to create a new sense of values from an ethnography.

Besides various opinions are stated. I arrange them in some points of view.

(1) On the criticism and reexamination to a conventional ethnography

- i) It is a description to enumerate items and merely a collection of fragmentary data.
- ii) It is difficult to find out the feature and the whole image of the region.

There is the reexaminations of a way to research a folklore behind these criticism, which is to recognize a whole of mura, to pay attention to an intensive research, and so on. Especially the effects of anthropologist of functionalism like A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, B. K. are great.

(2) On the assignment of an ethnography

- i) An ethnography distinguishes Folklore from Ethnography.
- ii) An ethnography is assigned in Regional Folklore.
- iii) An ethnography is conscious of Comparative Folklore.

(3) A definition of an ethnography

- i) It enumerates all items.
- ii) It includes ethnography which classifies by section or treats only items related to a specific theme.
- iii) It is not only a collection of data in a folklore, but also forms itself a theory.

(4) An ideal form of ethnography

- i) It only satisfies an interest of the person, who makes an ethnography.
- ii) It is possible to grant various requests as being conscious of a reader.
- iii) It sums up i) and ii).
- iv) It has a function to fill a cave of a modern people's heart and a role to create a new sense of values.

(5) Other proposal

- * What basis is a new culture selected and introduced into a folklore?
- * A basis to establish a region
- * To make an ethnography according to an extend of a local
- * How to define a folklore
- * An user should make an effort to grasp contents of an ethnography.

In this way, there are many opinions that are worth heeding about an ethnography. But many of them don't have an ethnography as a concrete instance on the basis of an opinion of themselves. There is only a joint study by Fukuta and Matsuzaki and so on.

I arrange my opinion about an ideal form of an ethnography. At first, I define in a wide sense that an ethnography is a collection of data in a folklore for data to research in Folklore. But, for my ideal, paying attention to the organic relation of folk materials that exists in a region limited of a extent, we grasp a social structure and function of the region, and by reading of its ethnography, needless to say that readers can recognize the contents of respective folk materials, I think that I have to pursuit above mentioned.

It is impossible to deny that according to a conscious of a subject and an ability by a researcher, contents of folk materials described in an ethnography are influenced. But to the contrary it is true that students can't work by only data of themselves. So a researcher should be conscious of an user enough and pursuit an ethnography that can grant as various requests as possible. For it I think it is necessary to grasp the fundamental elements that organize respective folk materials, to research as considering what subject becomes clear by the data.

I think that it is impossible to overcome a criticism to the description to enumerate items only by a way of a description and a construction. The content of an ethnography depends on recognizing a folklore in its context at the stage of a research as Chiba says, in other words it depends whether a researcher can recognize the relation of a respective folklore. So it depends on a researcher's academic level of Folklore. The classified items of folk materials have a role to enumerate folk materials systematically and easily, and in the process of a research, a researcher reconstructs folk materials in his head. So he recognizes the relation of a respective folklore enough by his research, even if he uses the way to enumerate items in his description, it is expected to find out the relation among items. But the above mention is strictly an ideal view, it is necessary that a researcher is well versed in all section of Folklore to carry out in practice.

I mention four points for the purpose of making an ethnography.

- (1) To get fundamental data which pursuit ethnos of an ultimate aim in Japanese Folklore.
- (2) To enumerate folk materials generally, extract some problems and themes and complete articles.
- (3) To research disappearing folklore systematically record, and preserve.
- (4) To return to a local.

I select my field Iki island in Nagasaki prefecture by the following four points.

- (1) The three ethnographies have already made, a part of history of an ethnography in Japan has existed from an early time.
- (2) These are various reports of a research and papers besides three ethnographies. They are

useful to carry out pre-research and collect a literature.

(3) There are many literatures and ancient manuscripts, it is possible to use the historical approach.

(4) It is easily to recognize many regions which exist in Iki island as a big region, and there are three regions in it, which are "machi" (marchant's area), "ura" (fisherman's area) and "inaka" (farmer's area).

Many of studies in Iki island have been done by students lived there, there are few systematic materials, and a result I determine Honmura-fure Ishida-chô (town) as the main field by the following three points.

(1) Shôya (a village headman) sets up at the age of the government by a fief and since Meiji Ages there are not a great change of the movement in a population and an economic base, so it is expected that a tradition of a folklore is excellent.

(2) Honmura-fure is located near by machi and ura, so it is suitable to consider an exchange among a fishing village and a farm village as the theme.

(3) The number of houses is about forty, so it is suitable for an individual to research intensively.

I carry out a research in Honmura-fure mainly, and Kimigaura (ura) and Indôji (machi), too. I find out an outline by hearing, conducts a participant observation of rituals at a Shito shrine and rites in kôjyû (neighborhood) and recognize in quantity using many kinds of statistical materials, a land ledger and a land registered map. I understand times and figures from documents written by an individual or a kôjyû. I try a historical approach by using historical documents.

I have a point of view that the Iki Island is one region, in it there are many regions together. In this time the main field Honmura-fure is one of them, I think it is equal to ôaza (a larger section of a village). So to compare other regions in the Iki Island, I carry out a research in Hakoza-kiesumi-fure, Ashibe-chô located on the northern rim, Honmura-fure located on the southern rim, and Yudakekonzaka-fure Ashibe-chô located on the middle of them. Moreover I inquire round in Iki Island about a tug-of-war of a specific folk material, and collect about fifty data. In that process, I go in the direction of Watara Gônoura, and visit Kozaki-ura, which is different from others of Iki Island in a temperament and a level of life. At the spring equinox in 1986 I carry out the participant observation of Minonotani-mairi (a visit to Minonotani). I am convinced that a folk material of Minonotani-mairi should consider Iki Island as one region.

In this time the ethnography in Honmura-fure lacks items of visible materials, an oral literature, and folk performing arts, but I think essentially that we describe all items in an ethnography. I choose the way to enumerate the items from the following three points.

(1) All folk materials are not always related to each other organically, there are independent existences such as folk tales, legends and folk performing arts.

(2) In the way of a topical description, there is a folklore which don't belong to any theme.

- (3) To adopt the way to enumerate items is not equal to separate folk materials without relation of them, rather it depends on whether they can recognize the relation among folklore at a stage of a research.

The Iki Island is located in the north of Nagasaki prefecture, which lies in the north of the Kyûshû, and it is faced to the Tsushima Island. Ishida-chô is located in the south-east of Iki Island, a south of it faces to the Sea of Genkai, a west and a north-west of it borders on Gônoura-chô, and a north of it borders on Ashibe-chô. Honmura-fure borders upon six fure on all sides, it is from ten to fifteen minutes' distant on foot from Indôji and Kimiga-ura. Honmura-fure is a scattered settlement, consisted of 43 households with a population of 187 in October 1985, is a farm village, they say it is a remains of a land divisional system in the age of a government by a fief. Kimiga-ura is a collective village, where many houses stand on the narrow land among an approached behind and a coast, consisted of 149 households with a population of 530 in March 1986. They have made a living at fishing and farming until in thirty ages of Showa, at present there are few people who make a living at farming.

Iki Island mediates between Japan and the Asiatic Continent as well as the Tsushima Islands since olden times. The oldest literature about Iki is "Gishi wazinden." It is managed by the Hirado clan in the age of a government by a fief, separated zaikata (a farm village) and urakata (a fishing village). In zaikata, people are given fixed cultivated areas according to a divisional system of a land and prohibited from do fishing. In urakata, every household is given uraukechi (contracted lands by people in a fishing village), makes a living at a fishing or a shipping trade. It is prohibited from marrying by urakata and zaikata. Since age of Meiji, a divisional system of a land abolished, but they say that the reason why there is not a great landlord until the agrarian reform is a effect of the system.

After these several views, I describe a folklore in Honmura-fure and Kimiga-ura. In Honmura-fure I set up seven items, (1) a social life, (2) rites of passage, (3) a food, a clothing and a dwelling, (4) a product and a subsistence, (5) a traffic and a trade, (6) annual rites, (7) a belief. In Kimiga-ura I set up five items, there are (1) a social life, (2) rites of a passage, (3) a product and a subsistence, (4) annual rites, (5) a belief.

Next, from these ethnography I extract the exchange among machi, ura and inaka as my theme, try to analyze it. The economical and social relations exist among three, for example, a labor force, a keeping cattle, a marriage, a peddling, a market, a shopping, a ladling of human manure, a kô (a fraternity) of Buddhist prayer, and a tug of a war in the Bon Festival. Owing to the difference in a subsistence, a geographical landscape and a way of life which is accompanied them, they are conscious of the difference in a personality each other as a different being. 'Ashibe karasu ni Seto tonbi, Katsumoto Waa, Waa' (people in Ashibe are like crow and people in Seto are like a kite, people in Katsumoto make only a fuss), 'Indôji botoke ni yudan suruna' (people in Indôji are like the Buddha, but don't be careless), they are worthy as expressions of a tempera-

ment in each ura or machi. From now on I would like to classify of an exchange among machi, ura and inaka in Iki Island.

In conclusion, I arrange my problems in the future. They are to describe all items, to study in depth about the point of issues extracted from my ethnography, to introduce a point of view about a change, a transformation and a disappear of a folklore, to apply historical documents, and to research a personality of machi, ura and inaka. Besides I mention a reexamine of questions as my greatest problem. The conventional questions are arranged systematically by a section such as a village system, a family and a kinship and so on, but many of them aren't clear what we understand from its question and what items are needed to study a certain issue. So I think that it is necessary to make items of questions which are supported by a theory. In this respect I am given much suggestion from "Sonraku chōsa saimoku" (A Field Survey Guidebook: The Japanese Village) written by Jishō Usui. And it has been long since we consider it important that each researcher should make his items of questions according to his conscious of an issue or matters of a field, but in fact this proposal is not thorough still now. In this respect, 'Seinangakuin daigaku minzokugaku kenkyūkai Iki-gun Ashibe-chō minzoku chōsameyasu' written by Katsuhiko Tanakamaru, which makes outline by various literatures about Iki Island and pre-research and is remended in the process of a research, so is remarkable, I am given much suggestion.