SILVA IAPONICARUM 日林

FASC. LII/LIII/LIV/LV

第五十二・五十三・五十四・五十五号

SUMMER/AUTUMN/WINTER/SPRING　夏・秋・ 冬・春

2017/2018

SPECIAL EDITION

SILVA ANNIVERSARY: 50 FASCICLES

edited by Arkadiusz Jabłoński

Posnaniae, Cracoviae, Varsoviae, Kuki MMXVIII

ISSN (Online) 2543-4500

Drodzy Czytelnicy.

I oto *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 ukazuje się już jako pięćdziesiąty kolejny zeszyt. Dziękujemy czytelnikom i autorom za stałe wsparcie.

Zeszyt niniejszy zawiera artykuły autorstwa członków kolegium redakcyjnego kwartalnika.

Redagowanie kwartalnika poświęconego tematyce ogólno-japonistycznej, wobec wymogu uwzględnienia tematyki wielu różnych dziedzin dotyczących Japonii i japonistyki, nie jest rzeczą łatwą, jednak od niemal piętnastu lat staramy się sprostać temu wyzwaniu i mamy nadzieję podejmować je także w przyszłości.

Jednocześnie staramy się stale dostosowywać kwartalnik do nowych wymogów edycyjnych. Od niniejszego zeszytu publikujemy numery ORCID autorów tekstów. Obecny zeszyt jubileuszowy to także pierwszy zeszyt, który ukazuje się wyłącznie w wersji elektronicznej.

Mamy nadzieję, że te i kolejne nasze publikacje zyskają Państwa uznanie.

Kolegium redakcyjne E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl

Kraków – Poznań –Toruń – Warszawa – Kuki
marzec 2018

Dear Readers,

we are happy and proud to announce that *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 has successfully reached the 50th edition. We would like to cordially thank all our readers and contributors for their constant support.

This fascicle contains the papers contributed by members of the Editorial Board.

It is not an easy task to edit a quarterly on variety of subjects related to Japanese studies, or as we sometimes call it, especially in Europe, the japanology, taking into account the requirements of various study areas. We have been trying to live up to this demanding challenge for almost 15 years, and hopefully will continue in the future.

At the same time, we keep on adjusting the quarterly to new editorial requirements. Since this fascidle, the authors' ORCID numbers will be added. The current fascicle is also the first one to be issued only as an electronic version.

We hope you will find these and forthcoming articles inspiring and useful.

The Editorial Board E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl

Cracow – Poznań –Toruń – Warsaw – Kuki
March 2018

読者のみなさまへ

「Silva Iaponicarum 日林」は創刊号から数えて第五十号番目の冊子を刊行することになりました。ここに至るまでの、読者並びに投稿者のみなさまの長年にわたるご支援に、心よりお礼申し上げます。

本号の投稿論文は、すべて編集委員が執筆したものです。

日本学の学術誌に課せられるさまざま条件を満たしつつ、編集と刊行を継続するのはけっして容易ではありませんでしたが、その目標を達成すべく 15 年近く、たゆまぬ努力を重ねてまいりました。

私たちの季節詩を時代の新しい要求にかなうものにすることも、その一つです。ここに届ける冊子は、電子版のみで配布される最初の号ですが、同時に初めて投稿者のＯＲＣＩＤ番号を付記した合でもあります。

本号・これから刊行予定の冊子の内容が読者のみなさまの御期待に添えるものになるよう、期待しています。

編集委員会　E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl

2018 年 3 月　クラクフ・ポズナニ・トルン・ワルシャワ・久喜

Silva Iaponicarum *日林*

Kwartalnik japonistyczny / Quarterly on Japanology / 日本学季刊誌

ISSN (Online 2543-4500)

THE ELECTRONIC VERSION IS THE PRIMARY VERSION OF THIS PERIODICAL

Silva Iaponicarum
Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza
Katedra Orientalistyki, Zakład Japonistyki
ul. Grunwaldzka 6
60-780 Poznań, Poland
E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl
www.silvajp.amu.edu.pl

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS / 目次

Yoshiakira Ashikaga

Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi

Tłumaczenie/translation/翻訳: Adam Bednarczyk
ORCID: 0000-0002-9634-7011

DOI: 10.14746/sijp.2018.52/53/54/55.1

ABSTRACT

Sumiyoshi mōde 住吉詣 (Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi) is an example of a travel diary from the early Muromachi Period that includes only fifteen *waka* poems interwoven with descriptions of places visited by the second Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330–1367, r. 1358–1367). According to the title, the work describes a journey made in 1364 to the Sumiyoshi Shrine located in Settsu province (now in the Osaka region). The itinerary ran along the most famous inland waterway of medieval Japan, namely Yodo River, which connected the capital with Naniwa Bay (the eastern part of the Seto Inland Sea). From there, making frequent stops along the way and entering Shitennōji Temple, the travellers were able to easily reach the complex of the Sumiyoshi Grand Shrine. The reason for visiting Sumiyoshi was the shogun-pilgrim's desire to win a favour of the god who was "a great protector of those who are deeply devoted to the Way of Poetry [*uta no michi*]". Aspiring to be an excellent poet the shogun wanted to bow before the deity, recite his vow in the hope that he also will find success in "Way of the Myriad Islands [*Shikishima no michi*]".

KEYWORDS: Sumiyoshi, pilgrimage, travel, poetry, Ashikaga Yoshiakira, Muromachi Period

Introduction

The account of the pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi (*Sumiyoshimōde* 住吉詣) is a short work that includes only fifteen *waka* poems interwoven with descriptions of places visited by the author/narrator. Most of the accounts are characterized by *kotobagaki* (preface or explanatory prose passage) style. In reference to the work composition, it does not differ from other Japanese medieval travel diaries (*kikō*), and because of the explicitly determined goal of the journey it can be classified as a subgenre called *mōde* (or *sankei*) *[no] ki* (account of a pilgrimage) (Araki 1944: 263–279). According to the title, the work describes a journey made in 1364 (in the middle of the Nanbokuchō period [1336–1392], during the reign of

Emperor Gokōgon from the North Court) to the Sumiyoshi Shrine located in Settsu province (now in the Osaka region). The itinerary ran along the most famous inland waterway of medieval Japan, namely Yodo River, which connected the capital with Naniwa Bay (the eastern part of the Seto Inland Sea). From there, making frequent stops along the way and entering Shitennōji Temple, the travellers were able to easily reach the complex of the Sumiyoshi Grand Shrine. In the Yamato period, the shrine was adjacent to the waterfront and bordered with Suminoe no Tsu – the oldest international port in Japan.

Travelling down the Yodo River to its estuary, the author stopped at many places along the way. Some of them – known as *meisho* (famous places) – were often recalled in classical Japanese poetry. Yoshiakira, the alleged author of the diary, does not pretend that he enjoys the possibility of seeing these places with his own eyes. He also gladly evokes masters of poetry (Ariwara no Narihira, Buddhist priest-poet Saigyō) and their poems. However, Yoshiakira views all the places not only through the lens of the past and the greatness of ancient times, but also from the point of view of contemporaneous events. When he sees Awaji Island, Suma, Akashi bay, he sadly concludes that "I considered taking the boat to go over and look, but of course, taking into account people's fears as a result of the conflicts in this world, I did not" (Strand 2015: 189). Most of the places in Kinai region that are described in the account can still be easily located today.

The work has traditionally been attributed to the second Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330–1367, r. 1358–1367). The period of his reign took place over difficult times – after the Kamakura shogunate was overthrown and the Kenmu Restoration by Emperor Godaigo. Shortly after Yoshiakira came to power in 1358, he tried to bring the situation in the country under control. However, three years after the pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi, his poor health forced him to renounce his powers to his son Yoshimitsu. One month later he died. Although it is hard to imagine when Yoshiakira had time for travelling or writing during his brief life, he undoubtedly had great knowledge of classical literature. Thus, one should not be surprised by his clearly specified reason for visiting Sumiyoshi. As the author highlighted, "It has been passed down since times long ago that this god is a great protector of those who are deeply devoted to the Way of Poetry [*uta no michi*]. If a person who aspires to excellent poetry makes a pilgrimage to this deity and recites his vow, he will surely find success in that Way [...]" (ibid. 184). It means that the shogun-pilgrim also desired to win the deity's favour for his own "Way of the Myriad Islands" (ibid. 185) [*Shikishima no michi*].

As Strand suggests, the work by Yoshiakira "deals with the question of investing geographic space with sacred power through pilgrimage, accessing and asserting proficiency in the elite literary culture of the imperial court, and claiming political authority over the land by looking at it" (ibid. 186) (by referring to the ancient Japanese practice of *kunimi*). And the author himself "is at times pilgrim, poet, reader, and shogun, and these overlapping roles are combined into the larger category of "traveller" as represented in the lines of a travel journal text" (ibid.). From the very beginning, miscellaneous journeys served as an inspiration for traditional Japanese poetry, but asking the deity for support in composing poems was quite unusual, let alone in case of severe Yoshiakira. His example shows, however, how the courtly culture became more widespread among warriors in the Middle Ages.

The travel account ends with the words: "In this single scroll, I yielded to my brush and recorded the appearance of these various places, thinking that perhaps it will be of interest in another time" (ibid. 375). Against the backdrop of a country being torn apart with anxiety, shogun Yoshiakira shows the readers a glimpse of ancient culture, which had still not yet disappeared. And due to the fact that he describes his pilgrimage using refined language, nobody who is familiar with old Japanese literature – as Keene aptly pointed out – would see "in these words not the fierce soldier but a dilettante in the Heian manner" (Keene 1999: 192–193).

Working on the following translation, the author used an original text of *Sumiyoshi mōde* included in the eighteenth volume (part "Kikō") of the series "Gunsho ruijū" edited by Hokiichi Hanawa, published in 1941 by Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai.

References

Araki Yoshio 1944. *Muromachi jidai bungakushi* [History of Muromachi period literature]. Vol. 1. Tōkyō: Jinbun shoin (荒木良雄『室町時代文学史』東京：人文書院).

Ashikaga Yoshiakira 1941. *Sumiyoshi mōde*. „Gunsho ruijū". Vol. 18. Hanawa Hokiichi (ed.) Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai (足利義詮『住吉詣』羣書類從第拾八輯。塙保己一編。東京：續群書類從完成會).

Keene, Donald 1999. *Travelers of a Hundred Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Strand, Kendra D. 2015. *Aesthetics of Space: Representations of Travel in Medieval Japan*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Pielgrzymka do Sumiyoshi

寶篋院贈左大臣義詮公
Szacowny Hōkyōin, pośmiertnie wielki minister lewej strony, Yoshiakira

Na początku czwartego miesiąca 3 roku Jōji[1] wszedłem na pokład łodzi na rzece Yodo[2], aby obejrzeć zatokę Naniwa[3] w prowincji Settsu[4] i stamtąd udać się na pielgrzymkę. Podziwiając lustro wody w rzece, ciągnące się wzdłuż niej wzniesienia, ujrzałem na jej brzegach całkiem już przekwitnięte krzewy złotlinu[5]. Widok resztek wiosny był doprawdy nie do zniesienia! Za to żylistki były obsypane kwieciem, białym niczym śnieg pokrywający żywopłot, a wśród ich gałęzi rozbrzmiewały głosy kukułek[6].

[1] Era Jōji 貞治 przypada na lata 1362–1368, w okresie sprawowania władzy przez cesarza Gokōgon 御光厳(1338–1374, panował: 1352–1371) z Północnego Dworu. Trzeci rok Jōji to rok 1364, zaś początek czwartego miesiąca, według kalendarza lunarnego, oznacza przejście z wiosny do lata.

[2] Rzeka Yodo 淀 była w starożytności i średniowieczu najważniejszym szlakiem podróżniczym z prowincji Yamato do prowincji Ōmi, Yamashiro czy Hokuriku. Jej długość wynosi 75,1 km i jest to jedyna rzeka wypływająca z jeziora Biwa. Uchodzą do niej rzeki Uji 宇治, Kizu 木津 i Katsura 桂. Jej nazwa wzięła się prawdopodobnie od jej szerokości i głębokości, które powodują, że wygląda jakby trwała w zastoju (od czasownika *yodomu* 淀む – być w stagnacji; osiąść; usadowić się).

[3] Jap. *Naniwa no ura* 難波の浦 – dawna nazwa Zatoki Osakijskiej (Ōsakawan 大阪湾), stanowiącej część Morza Wewnętrznego (Seto nakai 瀬戸内海).

[4] Prowincja Settsu 摂津 to nazwa dawnej prowincji, która obejmowała współczesne płd.-wsch. część prefektury Hyōgo i płn. część prefektury Osaka. Nazywana była również prowincją Tsu 津 lub Sesshū 摂州.

[5] Chodzi o *yamabuki* 山吹 (*Kerria japonica*), czyli złotlin japoński (lub złotlin chiński) – gatunek krzewu z rodziny różowatych (Rosaceae). Dorasta od 1 do 3 metrów wysokości. Ma jaskrawożółte kwiaty, które kwitną na przełomie maja i czerwca. Dziko rosnąca odmiana ma pojedyncze, a ozdobna pełne kwiaty.

[6] Drobne, białe, zebrane w wiechy i baldachogrona kwiaty żylistka (*Deutzia* Thunb.; jap. *unohana* 卯の花) to poetycki element wzkazujący porę roku (jap. *kigo*), w tym przypadku lato. Pierwotna nazwa rośliny wzięła się od słowa *uzuki* 卯月 (4 miesiąc według kalendarza lunarnego), czyli pory, kiedy krzew zaczyna kwitnąć. Już od okresu Nara w poezji *unohana* występuje w połączeniu z kukułką (*hototogisu* 山郭公) – symbolem wczesnego lata. Żylistek jest ponadto wpisany w historię świątyni Sumiyoshi. Rokrocznie w maju odbywa się tam ceremonia *unohana shinji* 卯之葉神事, czyli uczczenie rocznicy założenia chramu (zgodnie z tradycją miało to być w 11 roku panowania cesarzowej Jingū 神功), podczas której bóstwu ofiarowane się m. in. gałązki żylistka.

Rozglądając się po wzgórzach porośniętych letnią gęstwiną zieleni, zauważyłem szczyt Yamabato Hachimana[7]. Pomodliłem się do niego na odległość tymi słowy:

いはし水 たえぬ流を くみてしる 深きめくみ そ代々に變らぬ

Iwashimizu	Iwashimizu[8]
taenu nagare o	wody bez końca potok
kumite shiru	piję i już znam
fukaki megumi zo	twą ogromną łaskawość,
yoyo ni kawaranu	co nigdy się nie zmieni.

Dalej mijaliśmy Yamasaki i świątynię Takara[9]. Dotarliśmy również do wsi Tabe[10]. Na krótki postój zawinęliśmy łodzią dopiero w wiosce zwanej Eguchi[11], gdzie spędziliśmy resztę dnia na zwiedzaniu tamtejszej okolicy. Przypomniałem sobie, że dawno temu mnich Saigyō[12] nocował w tym miejscu[13], co mnie zainspirowało do skomponowania tego wiersza:

---

[7] Nazwa szczytu Yamabato Hachimana (*Hachiman yamabato no mine* 八幡山鳩の峰) to inna nazwa góry Otoko (*Otokoyama* 男山) lub *Hatogamine* 鳩ヶ峰, który znajduje się na granicy między dzisiejszym prefekturami Kioto i Osaka. Na szczycie tej góry położona jest świątynia Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮, poświęcona bóstwu Hachiman (lub Yahata) 八幡. Nazwa góry w formie występującej w *Sumiyoshi mōde* wzięła się od górskiego gołębia (*yamabato* 山鳩) i wydaje się być zwyczajowym jej określeniem. Być może Yoshiakira umyślnie posłużył się nazwą popularną, gdyż górski gołąb jest *kigo* związanym z latem.

[8] Jest to bezpośrednie odniesienie do świątyni Yahata (Iwashimizu Hachimangū). Fraza *kumite shiru* 汲みて知る (zaczerpnąć i wiedzieć) występuje w nawiązaniu do Iwashimizu również w znanych antologiach poezji z późnego okresu Heian i Kamakury m. in. w *Goshūishū* 後拾遺集 (Późne pokłosie, 1086; wiersze nr 615 i 1174), *Shikashū* 詞花集 (Zbiór kwiatów słów, 1151; wiersz nr 377), *Shokushūishū* 続拾遺集 (Ciąg dalszy pokłosia, 1279; wiersze nr1359 i 1419), czy *Gyokuyōshū* 玉葉集 (Zbiór drogocennych liści, 1311–1314; wiersz nr 2781).

[9] Świątynia Takara (Takaradera 宝寺) to inna nazwa Hōshakuji 宝積寺, świątyni sekty shingon na górze Tennō 天王 (góry Tennō i Otoko znajdują się naprzeciw siebie względem rzeki Yodo), położonej w dzisiejszym okręgu Otokuni 乙訓 w pref. Kioto, w miejscowości Ōyamazaki 大山崎. Yamasaki 山崎 to miejsce niedaleko świątyni Takara.

[10] Wioskę Tabe (*Tabe no sato* 田邊の里) trudno zlokalizować. Sądzi się jednak, że znajdowała się gdzieś pomiędzy wioską Eguchi a okolicami Yamasaki i świątynią Takara.

[11] Wieś Eguchi (Eguchi no sato 江口の里) to dawna nazwa miejsca rozciągającego się po obu stronach rzeki Kanzaki (Kamusaki) 神崎, łączącej rzęki Yodo i Ai 安威. Było to ważna, śródlądowa miejscowość portowa i przystanek dla podróżujących między Morzem Wewnętrznym a jeziorem Biwa. Pełna zajazdów i domów publicznych była już od środkowego okresu Heian popularnym miejscem noclegu pielgrzymujących do Kumano 熊野, na górę Kōya 高野, do świątyń Shitennōji 四天王寺 i Sumiyoshi.

[12] Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190), znany jako *Saigyō hōshi* 西行法師 (mistrz Prawa Saigyō), a właściwie Satō Norikiyo 佐藤義清, był słynnym poetą końcowego okresu Heian. W wieku 22 lat został mnichem, z czasem zaczął wędrować po kraju, szczególnie do miejsc wzmiankowanych w

惜みしもおしまぬ人もとゝまらぬ假のやとりと一夜ねましを

oshimishi mo	Wspaniałomyślni
oshimanu hito mo	ale i ci mniej zacni
todomaranu	zaszliby pewno
kari no yadori to	do tej marnej chateczki
hitoya nemashi o	na jeden choćby nocleg...

Świtało już, gdy dotarliśmy do miejsca zwanego Nagara[14]. W dawnych czasach w tym miejscu znajdował się most, przez który przechodziło wielu

---

klasycznej poezji japońskiej (tzw. *utamakura*). Jest autorem m.in. tomu poezji *Sankashū* 山家集 (Zbiór z górskiej chaty, ?1185), wierszy, które cechuje świadomość przemijalności świata (*mujō*) oraz prostota i rustykalność (*wabi*). Jego twórczość jest najliczniej zaprezentowana w *Shinkokinwakashū* 新古今和歌集 (w skrócie: *Shinkokinshū* 新古今集, czyli Nowy zbiór japońskich wierszy dawnych i współczesnych, 1205), gdzie można odnaleźć 94 utwory jego autorstwa. Był cenionym poetą zarówno przez sobie współczesnych, jak i późniejszych m.in. Fujiwarę Teikę (Sadaie) 藤原定家 (1162–1241) czy Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694).

[13] Zgodnie z relacją z *Senjūshō* 撰集抄 (Wybór, ?1183) – w antologii *setsuwa*, stanowiącej przykład *inja bungaku* (literatura eremitów) – Saigyō spotkał w Eguchi pewną leciwą „kobietę do towarzystwa" (jap. *yūjo* lub *asobime* 遊女), która ubolewała nad swą przeszłością, tłumacząc mu, czym jest buddyjska idea przemijania (por. Janet R. Goodwin, "Shadows of Transgression: Heian and Kamakura Constructions of Prostitution", *Monumenta Nipponica* 2000, vol. 55, no. 3, s. 353). Być może owocem tamtego spotkania są wiersze zawarte w 10 rozdziale *Shinkokinwakashū* (utwory 978 i 979):

„Podczas pielgrzymki do Tennōji, z powodu nagłego deszczu, [Saigyō] wynajął chatę w Eguchi, gdzie skomponował następujący wiersz:

世中を いとふまでこそ かたからめ かりのやどりを おしむ君かな

yo no naka o	Ten świat doczesny
itou made koso	znienawidzić, by uciec,
katakarame	ach jakże trudno!
kari no yadori o	Lecz najmująca chatę
oshimu kimi kana	tyś mnie pożałowała?

Yūjo Tae odpowiedziała:

よをいとふ人 としきけばかり の宿に 心とむなと 思ふばかりぞ

yo o itou hito	Słysząc, że jesteś
to shi kike bakari	tym, kto od świata stroni,
no yado ni	pomyślałam wnet,
kokoro tomu nado	czy twe serce zagości
omou bakari zo	w tej jakże marnej chacie!?"

Por. *Shinkokinwakashū*, elektroniczna wersja *Tamesukebon*, zamieszczona na stronie „Japanese Text Initiative", The University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center [dostęp: 25.06.2017].

[14] Most Nagara 長柄 znajduje się obecnie w Osace, choć jego dokładna lokalizacja z okresu Heian nie jest potwierdzona. Z pewnością była to znana przeprawa na rzece Yodo i jedno z miejsc opiewanych w poezji. Pojawia się już w antologii *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集 (w skrócie: *Kokinshū* 古今集, czyli Zbiór japońskich wierszy dawnych i współczesnych, 905); chodzi o wiersze nr 826, 890, 1003, czy nr 1051 autorstwa damy Ise 伊勢, który brzmi następująco:

難波なる長柄の橋もつくるなり今はわが身を何にたとへむ

ludzi. Obecnie już tylko jego pozostałości po trosze świadczą o dawnej świetności tego mostu. Szczerze, takie coś zaiste przyciąga człowieka, aby mógł posmakować przeszłości!

くち果し長柄の橋の長らへてけふに逢ぬる身そふりにける

kuchihateshi	Całkiem zniszczony –
Nagara no hashi no	lecz wciąż jeszcze ostał się
nagarahete	ów most Nagara,
kyō ni ainuru	który dziś napotkało
mi zo furinikeru	me podstarzałe ciało![15]

Naniwa naru	Tam gdzie Naniwa,
Nagara no hashi mo	tam także most Nagara
tsukurunari	znowu powstanie,
ima wa waga mi o	a ja – z czym mogę teraz
nani ni tatoemu	porównać moje ciało?

O moście wzmiankuje też Ki no Tsurayuki w japońskiej przedmowie do *Kokinshū*, czyli *Kanajo* 仮名序, w której czytamy, że: „[…] i gdy słyszał, że nad Fuji nie unosi się już dym;/ i że most Nagara został odbudowany/ – właśnie w takich chwilach nic tak nie koiło ludzkiego serca, jak poezja japońska."; por. Ki no Tsurayuki, „*Kanajo*, czyli przedmowa do *Kokinshū*", przeł. Krzysztof Olszewski, *Japonica* 2000, nr 13, s. 169. Ponadto, występuje on u Sei Shōnagon w *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (Zapiski spod wezgłowia, ?996), jak również w opowieściach zawartych w zbiorach *Fukuro zōshi* 袋草子 (Notatnik z worka, ?1159) i *Kokonchomonjū* 古今著聞集 (Zbiór zasłyszanych opowieści dawnych i dzisiejszych, 1254).

[15] Wydaje się, że wiersz jest odwołaniem do wiersza nr 826 z *Kokinshū*:

あふ事をながらのはしのながらへてこひわたるまに年ぞへにける

au koto o	Nasze spotkania
Nagara no hashi no	– jako ten most Nagara –
nagaraete	również przetrwały,
koiwataru ma ni	a z miłością przeszliśmy
toshi zo henikeru	lata, które minęły!

Por. *Kokinwakashū*, red. Saeki Umetomo, seria Nihon koten bungaku taikei" t. 8, Iwanami shoten, Tokio 1965 s. 264.

Innym możliwym odniesieniem poetyckim może być wiersz Fujiwary Kiyotady 藤原清忠 (?–958) z 8 księgi *Shūishū* 拾遺集 (Pokłosie, 1005–1007), który przywołuje inną miejscowość w prowincji Settsu, Ashima 葦間 (znaną ze stawu Ashiya i góry Ashima), bądź też wioskę Ashiya 芦屋 (lub 葦屋), która znajdowała się nieopodal. Wiersz Kiyotady z *kotobagaki* brzmi następująco:

Na parawanie ozdobionym malowidłami z okresu Tenryaku [947–957] widniały pozostałości drewnianych pali mostu Nagara:

蘆間よりみゆる長柄の橋柱むかしの跡のしるべなりけり

Ashima yori	Od Ashimy – przez
miyuru Nagara no	trzciny – widziane pale
hashi hashira	mostu Nagara
mukashi no ato no	były nam przewodnikiem
shirube narikeri	po śladach dawnych czasów.

Por. *Shūishū*, na podstawie wersji zawartej „Shinpen kokka taikan", zamieszczonej na stronie „Japanese Text Initiative" [dostęp: 27.06.2017].

W końcu wpłynęliśmy do zatoki Naniwa. O wiele wspanialej było na nią spoglądać, niż o niej słuchać. U brzegów wsi Ashiya[16] i w zatoce Mitsu[17] podziwialiśmy dzikie gęsi i kaczki, które unosząc się na falach bawiły się i pluskały w wodzie, co wyglądało niezwykle ciekawie.

難波がたあしまの小舟いとまなみ棹の雫に袖ぞ朽ぬる

Naniwagata	Mała łódź pośród
ashima no kobune	trzcin przy brzegu Naniwa,
itoma nami	co rusz – falami –
sao no shizuku ni	rwana, jak rękawy szat
sode zo kuchinuru	wioseł kroplami darte![18]

Z zatoki Mitsu popłynęliśmy dalej, aby rozejrzeć się po różnych miejscach.

聞しより見るはまされりけふ社は初てみつの浦の夕なみ

kikishi yori	Słyszałem o niej,
miru wa masareri	lecz widzieć ją jest cudniej –
kyō yashiro wa	świątynię tę dziś
hajimete mitsu no	pierwszy raz ujrzałem jak
ura no yūnami	wieczorne fale Mitsu.

[16] Miejscowość Ashiya no sato 蘆屋の里 w prowincji Settsu była dawniej zlokalizowana na nieco większym obszarze niż obecne miasto Ashiya. Sam toponim nie funkcjonuje jako *utamakura*, jednak pojawia się w 87 epizodzie *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (Opowieści z Ise, X w.) czy wierszach zawartych w *Shinkokinshū* (nr 1590, 1591).

[17] Zatoka Mitsu (Mitsu no ura 御津の浦) to jeden z poetyckich toponimów prowincji Settsu. Wyraz „Mitsu" często występuje w poezji jako *kakekotoba* (słowo o podwójnym sensie i funkcji), które – poprzez homofonię z czasownikiem „zobaczyć" w formie dokonanej, czyli *mitsu* 見つ – oznacza również „ujrzałem/ zobaczyłem".

[18] Naniwagata 難波潟 to inna nazwa zatoki Naniwa, a w zasadzie jej nadbrzeży, znanych z pięknych zarośli trzcinowych. Sam wiersz wydaje się być nawiązaniem do utworu damy Ise zawartym w *Shinkokinshū* (księga „Miłość 1", nr 1049) oraz w zbiorze *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (Po jednym wierszu od stu poetów, 1235); wiersz nr 19:

難波がたみじかきあしのふしのまもあはで此よを過してよとや

Naniwagata	Nawet na chwilę,
mijikaki ashi no	tak krótką, jak źdźbła trzcin przy
fushi no ma mo	brzegu Naniwa,
awade kono yo o	nie spotkamy się? Chcesz, by
sugushiteyo to ya	tak minęło me życie?

Por. Fujiwara no Teika, *Zbiór z Ogura – po jednym wierszu od stu poetów*, przeł. Anna Zalewska, jeżeli p to q wydawnictwo, Poznań 2008, s. 35.

Dobiliśmy do wyspy Tamino[19], aby przyjrzeć jej się z bliska. Było tam wiele łodzi rybackich, które pływały u jej brzegów. Można tam było zobaczyć mokre liny i sieci rybackie porozwieszane na gałęziach drzew.

雨ふれとふらねとかはくひまそなき田蓑の嶋の蜑のぬれ衣

ame furedo	Deszcz pada czy nie
furanedo kawaku	pada – czasu brakuje,
hima zo naki	aby wysuszyć
Tamino no shima no	zmoczone ubrania
ama no nureginu	rybaków z wyspy Tamino.

Dalej kierowaliśmy się na południe, gdzie znajdowało się miejsce o nazwie Tamakawa w Noda[20]. Wzdłuż jego nadbrzeży rosły wistarie, których kwiaty były w pełni rozkwitu.

紫の雲とやいはむ藤の花野にも山にもはひそかゝれる

murasaki no	Czy można o nich
kumo to ya iwamu	mówić chmury fioletu?
fuji no hana	Kwiaty wistarii
no ni mo yama ni mo	po równinach, po górach
hai zo kakareru	płożą się i zwieszają.

Stamtąd ruszyliśmy już z pielgrzymką do Sumiyoshi[21], po drodze wstępując jeszcze do świątyni Tennōji[22]. Rozejrzeliśmy się po niej.

[19] Wyspa Tamino 田蓑 znajduje się obecnie w Zatoce Oskijskiej. Toponim te pojawia się w 14 rozdziale *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (Opowieść o księciu Genji, 1008) – „Miotsukushi" 澪標 (Oznaczona droga). Dawniej wyspa była jednym z najbardziej znanych miejsc zsyłki ze stolicy.

[20] Noda no Tamakawa 野田の玉河 – miejsce współcześnie trudne do zlokalizowania, oznaczające dosłownie „rzeka klejnotów pośród pól".

[21] Kompleks świątynny Sumiyoshi taisha 住吉大社 jest przybytkiem czterech bóstw: Sokotsutsu no Onomikoto 底筒男命, Nakatsutsu no Onomikoto 中筒男命, Uwatsutsu no Onomikoto 表筒男命 i Okinagatarashihime no Mikoto 息長帯比売命 (cesarzowa Jingū), które zbiorczo określa się Wielkim Bóstwem Sumiyoshi (Sumiyoshi Ōkami 住吉大神 lub Sumiyoshi no Ōgami no miya). Zgodnie z tradycją, świątynia została założona na początku III wieku (za panowania cesarza Chūaia 仲哀) przez Tamomi no Sukune 田裳見宿禰. W okresie Yamato Sumiyoshi taisha była zaangażowana w poselstwa wysyłane do Chin, które wypływały z Suminoe no Tsu 住吉津 – najstarszego zamorskiego portu w Japonii (otwartego przez cesarza Nintoku 仁徳), zlokalizowanego od południowej strony kompleksu świątynnego. W okresie Heian objęta cesarskim patronatem, została mianowana najważniejszym przybytkiem sintoistycznym (tzw. *ichinomiya* 一宮) w prowincji Settsu. Obecnie cały kompleks otoczony jest zabudową miejską, jednakże do okresu Edo przylegał do zatoki, a jego otoczenie było znane z pięknego krajobrazu „białego piasku i zielonych sosen" (jap. *hakushaseishō* 白砂青松).

Znajdowali się tam Czterej Królowie Niebios[23] księcia Shōtoku[24]. Posąg jego samego również tam stał. Spojrzałem na kamienną bramę świątyni, wodę w Żółwim Stawie[25], a w mym sercu zagościł spokój.

万代をかめ井に水に結ひをきて行末長く我もたのまむ

yorozuyo o	Tysiące wieków
kame'i no mizu ni	w wodzie Żółwiego Stawu
musubi okite	spajają więzi –
yukusue nagaku	ja też pragnę prosić, by
ware mo tanomamu	ma przyszłość trwała długo…

Potem udałem się już wprost do Sumiyoshi. Stanąłem przed obliczem bóstw czterech świątyń i oddałem im cześć.

四方の海深きちかひやひのもとの民もゆたかに住吉の神

yomo no umi	Rozległa morza
fukaki chikai ya	głębia jak ich przysięga!
hi no moto no	Niech i lud źródła
tami mo yutaka ni	słońca[26] żyje w dostatku
Sumiyoshi no kami	ku czci bóstw Sumiyoshi.

Od dawien dawna mawia się, że tamtejsze bóstwo łaskawie udziela swojej ochrony dla wszystkich, którzy żywo są zainteresowani drogą poezji[27]. W szczególności ci, którzy lubują się w doskonałych wierszach i pielgrzymują do niego, jeśli wypowiedzą swoją intencję, niezawodnie odniosą sukces.

---

[22] Chodzi o Shitennōji 四天王寺 (świątynię Czterech Królów Nieba), uznawaną często za najstarszą świątynię buddyjską w Japonii (powstała w 593 r.). Znajduje się w jednej z centralnych dzielnic Osaki.

[23] Czterej Królowie Nieba (Shitennō) są buddyjskimi bóstwami opiekuńczymi czterech stron świata.

[24] Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (574–622) był regentem na dworze cesarskim i wielkim propagatorem buddyzmu w Japonii, który chciał wykorzystać jako narzędzie dla umocnienia autorytetu władzy. Po zwycięstwie nad rodem Mononobe (przeciwnemu buddyzmu), zaczął wspierać budowę klasztorów i wielu świątyń m.in. Shitennōji czy Hōryūji. Szerzej na temat roli i politycznego znaczenia księcia Shōtoku zob. Maciej Kanert, *Buddyzm japoński. Jego polityczne i społeczne implikacje w okresie 538-645*, Trio, Warszawa 2005.

[25] W oryginale: Kame'i 亀井 (dosł. Żółwia Studnia) – jest to jedno z charakterystycznych miejsc całego kompleksu świątynnego Shitennōji, które – ze względu na dziesiątki żyjących tam żółwi – współcześnie nazywane jest *Kame no ike* 亀の池 (Żółwi Staw).

[26] Fraza *hi no moto no tami* 日のもとの民 („lud [ze] źródła słońca") odnosi się do narodu japońskiego.

[27] *Uta no michi* 歌道 (droga poezji) to określenie sztuki/umiejętności komponowania wierszy.

神代より傳へつたふるしき嶋の道にこゝろもうとくも有哉

kamiyo yori	Od boskich czasów
tsutaetsutauru	droga Shikishimy[28] jest
Shikishima no	przekazywana –
michi ni kokoro mo	czyż serce kogokolwiek
utoku mo are ya	mogłoby jej zaniechać?

Później zeszliśmy na plażę i stanęliśmy w cieniu sosen. Widok tamtego miejsca sprawił, że przypomniałem sobie pejzaż z kompozycji kapitana średniej rangi Ariwary[29], gdzie naprawdę gęgały dzikie gęsi i kwitły chryzantemy[30].

住よしの岸によるてふしら浪のしらす昔を松にとふらん

Sumiyoshi no	O Sumiyoshi
kishi ni yoru chō	brzegi rozbijają się
shiranami no	morskie bałwany –
shirazu mukashi o	czy mam pytać sosny o
matsu ni touran	dzieje, których nie znają?

Spoglądałem daleko w morze, gdzie na zachodzie znajdowały się wyspa Awaji[31], Suma[32], zatoka Akashi[33] i inne miejsca. Myślałem, aby popłynąć

[28] *Shikishima no michi* 敷島の道 (droga Shikishimy) to inne określenie *uta no michi* (sztuki komponowania rodzimej, japońskiej poezji). Sam wyraz Shikishima 磯城島 (lub 敷島) jest synonimem Japonii.

[29] Chodzi o Ariwarę Narihirę 在原業平 (825–880), który nosił przydomek *chūjō* 中将, czyli „kapitan rangi średniej". Był to jeden ze stopni wojskowych w urzędzie Ukon'efu (Wewnętrzna Straż Pałacowa Prawej Strony). Narihira był cenionym poetą okresu Heian i bohaterem *Ise monogatari*, a w *Kanajo* został zaliczony do „sześciu mistrzów poezji" (*rokkasen*). Więcej zob. Mikołaj Melanowicz, *Literatura japońska*, t. 1, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1994, s. 132–134.

[30] Jest to nawiązanie do wiersza Narihiry zawartego w 68 epizodzie *Ise monogatari*, gdzie czytamy:

雁なきて菊の花さく秋はあれど春の海辺に住吉の浜

Kari nakite	Dzikich gęsi gwar,
kiku no hana saku	kwiecą się chryzantemy
aki wa aredo	i choć już jesień
haru no umibe ni	na tej wiosennej plaży
Sumiyoshi no hama	Sumiyoshi miło żyć…

W powyższym utworze toponim „Sumiyoshi" funkcjonuje jako *kakekotoba*, gdyż jest to homonim przymiotnika *sumiyoshi* 住み良し, co oznacza „miły, przyjemny do mieszkania/życia". Por. *The Ise Stories*, transl. Joshua S. Mostow and Royall Tyler, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu 2010, s. 146–147.

[31] Wyspa Awaji 淡路 jest położona pomiędzy Honsiu i Sikoku, we wschodniej części Morza

w tamte strony łodzią, jednak zaraz wyobraziłem sobie, jakie bym wywołał przerażenie wśród miejscowej ludności, biorąc pod uwagę dzisiejsze niespokojne czasy. Dlatego na noc zostaliśmy tam, gdzie byliśmy, i skoro świt ruszyliśmy z powrotem do stolicy.

あはちかた霞をわけて行舟のたよりもしらぬ波のうへ哉

Awaji kata	Brzegi Awaji,
kasumi o wakete	przy których mgły rozdziera
yukufune no	płynąca łódka,
tayori mo shiranu	co nie zna swego celu,
nami no ue kana	niesiona jest na falach.

Wtedy ujrzałem zatokę Suma, nad którą unosiły się kłęby dymu warzącej się soli.

立のほるもしほの煙徒らにたかおもひよりくゆるなるらむ

tachinoboru	Wznosi się w górę
moshio no keburi	dym palonej z alg soli
itazura ni	– lecz nadaremnie –
taga omoi yori	czyjąś chyba tęsknotą
kuyurunaruramu	tli się tak nieustannie…

Popatrzyłem też na zatokę Akashi.

よみをきしことの葉はかり有明の月もあかしの浦の眞砂地

yomiokishi	Skomponowałem,
koto no ha bakari	ot tak, pewien poemat,
ariake no	gdy jutrzenkowy
tsuki mo Akashi no	księżyc lśni nad zatoką
ura no masago ji	Akashi pełnej piasku.

Wewnętrznego.

[32] Plaża w Suma 須磨 to współcześnie jedna z dzielnic Kobe. Nadbrzeże to funkcjonowało jako *utamakura* i *meisho* (słynne miejsce), często opiewane w klasycznej poezji *waka*. To również miejsce pojawiające się epizodycznie w wielu zabytkach dawnej prozy m.in. *Ise monogatari*, *Genji monogatari* czy *Heike monogatari* (Opowieść o rodzie Taira, ok.1240).

[33] Zatoka Akashi 明石 przylegała do plaży o tej samej nazwie, nieco dalej na zachód od Suma. Jej nazwa pojawia się już w *Nihon shoki* (Kronika japońska, 720) czy *Genji monogatari*, jednak trudno ustalić jednoznaczną lokalizację tego miejsca, które obecnie, co najmniej częściowo, pokrywa się z dzisiejszym obszarem miasta Akashi.

Przed odjazdem raz jeszcze udałem się przed oblicze bóstwa, aby pozdrowić je na pożegnanie. Potem opuściliśmy świątynię i udaliśmy się w drogę powrotną.

みつかきのいく千代まてもゆくすゑを守らせ給へ住吉の神

Mitsu kaki no	W Mitsu widziałem
iku chiyo made mo	żywopłot – tam przez wieki
yukusue o	baczy na przyszłość,
mamorasetamae	roztacza swą opiekę
Sumiyoshi no kami	to bóstwo z Sumiyoshi

W tym jednym zwoju, zdając się na mój pędzel, spisałem, jak wyglądają różne miejsca. Można by też zapewne rzec, że stało się to dla mnie powodem do chwilowej rozrywki w podróży.

Początek czwartego miesiąca

Yoshiakira [pieczęć]

TRANSLATOR'S PROFILE

Adam Bednarczyk
M.A. in Oriental philology (Japanese studies), Jagiellonian University (2006). Ph.D. in Japanese language and culture, Osaka University (2010). Currently assistant professor at the Department of Japanese Studies, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Research interest: classical Japanese literature (prose from Heian to Muromachi), Japanese court culture, history of Japanese ludic culture.

Beata Bochorodycz
ORCID: 0000-0002-9415-8129

Policy Entrepreneurs and Policy Proposals: The Gulf War Experience and Foreign Policy Change in Japan after the Cold War

DOI: 10.14746/sijp.2018.51/52/53/54.2

ABSTRACT

The article analyses factors contributing to policy change aftermath the Gulf War of 1990-1991, using the Multiple Stream Framework (MSF). The framework allows to grasp the policy process from a new perspective, refuting some misconceptions and deconstructing the myths surrounding Japan's participation in the war by clarifying the issues of policy problems and solutions, actors and mechanisms for the change of policy.

KEYWORDS: Gulf War, Policy Entrepreneur, foreign policy, Multiple Stream Framework

Japan's foreign and defense policy-making has changed incrementally since the end of the Asia Pacific war in 1945, marked by more radical shifts undertaken in response to the international situation. Among those events, the end of the Cold War, and in particular the Gulf War of 1990-1991, has been pointed out as one of the major factors bringing about a fundamental change in Japan's postwar defense and foreign policy. The decisions taken during and in the aftermath of the Gulf War signaled a departure from the postwar Yoshida doctrine, which limited Japan's international posture predominantly to economic affairs.

But what actually happened during the Gulf War? There are numerous accounts that have analyzed the Gulf War crisis from various perspectives. Many focus on the decision-making process on the Peace Keeping Operation (PKO) bills, including the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) (Shōji 2011), of Kantei - that is the prime minister's office (Shinoda 2007: 50-62; Zakowski, Bochorodycz & Socha 2018: 34-37), the influence of the mass media (Nakamura 2005), or public opinion (Midford 2011: 68-81, 2006: 14-17), the pressure exerted by the US (Cooney 2002: 39-45), the constitutional debate (Yamaguchi 1992), and more (Kitaoka 1991). They contribute to deepening our understanding of various aspects of the situation. Nevertheless, the majority rest on the assumption that Japan's response was a failure, following the leading narrative of the Gulf

War as a "failure" and "trauma", and limit the analysis mostly to the PKO bills. The narrative of the Gulf War itself will be analyzed in the forthcoming article, while the purpose of this analysis is to look at factors contributing to policy change systematically and synthetically, using the Multiple Stream Framework (MSF). The framework allows to grasp the policy process from a new perspective, refuting some misconceptions and deconstructing the myths by clarifying the issues of policy problems and solutions, actors and mechanisms for the change of policy. The investigation is based mostly on the personal accounts, diaries and memoirs - which have appeared both in Japan and U.S. in great numbers - of the main decision-makers during the Gulf War, parliamentary records, declassified documents and other primary sources, supplemented with newspaper and academic articles, as well as other existing literature on the subject.

Multiple Streams Framework and Policy Change

The Multiple Stream Framework (MSF) – first devised by John Kingdon (1995) to answer the question of agenda-setting, and later developed to include further stages of policy process, such as decision-making and implementation – tackles the questions of policy change: how the issue was picked up and set on the agenda, and how the policy was adopted (e.g., Herweg, Zahariadis and Zohlnhöfer 2017).

In the MSF, the conditions for policy change require the confluence of several factors, termed as streams of problems, politics and policy, the presence of a policy entrepreneur and a political entrepreneur. The policy entrepreneurs are "advocates who are willing to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, money – to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits" (Kingdon 1995: 179), while political entrepreneurs – a policymaker who will push a given policy proposal through the decision-making process on a governmental level (sometimes this is the same person as the policy entrepreneur). The politics stream consists of elections, the public mood, interests group campaigns, partisan or ideological distribution in legislative organs, cabinet changes; the problems stream is composed of data about various problems facing a given community that are brought into focus by routine monitoring (e.g., changes in governmental expenditures), research studies, political pressure, or dramatic events; and the policy stream includes various ideas and solutions to policy problems.

The streams are usually independent, but are occasionally coupled with "policy windows", also called "windows of opportunity", which are opportunities for certain solutions to policy problems to be set on the agenda or pushed through the decision-making process. Such windows can open in the streams of problems or politics – "agenda windows" on the agenda-setting stage or "decision widows" on the decision-making stage – triggered by some unpredictable events such as natural disasters, accidents, violent crimes or wars in the first instance, or elections, cabinet changes, shifts in national moods, or the actions of interests groups in the latter case (Herweg, Zahariadis and Zohlnhöfer 2017: loc. 544-588). For Japan, the Gulf War became such a window of opportunity.

The Gulf War and the Opening of the Policy Window

The Gulf War was the first major international crisis after the end of the Cold War, symbolically announced in December 1989 by President George H. W. Bush and the leader of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta.

The crisis erupted when Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, quickly seizing control over the entire territory. Under the American initiative, the United Nations adopted several resolutions, which imposed economic sanctions (Res. No 661), and later demanded the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait with the deadline set up for January 15, 1991 (Res. No 678). Saddam Hussein did not respond to the call, and so the American-led multinational forces began military operations bombing Iraq from January 16, and land operations from February 23, which lasted just four days. On February 28, 1991, President George Bush declared the liberation of Kuwait.

The war surprised politicians and the general public alike. Many had remained under the spell of the end of the Cold War, and more immediately most of them in Europe, North America and Japan were enjoying their summer holidays at the time (Murata 2008: 109; Orita 2013: 122). The war posed a challenge to an international community that had only just recently been liberated from the Cold War matrix, but also to the incremental nature of the Japanese postwar defense and security policy. The war became, in terms of the Multiple Streams Framework, a focusing event or "a policy window" that provided a chance for a change of policy. But how were the problems perceived, what were the policy proposals, and who was to push for the policy change?

The Problems, Politics and Japan's Postwar Regime

The main policy problems and challenges that Japan faced during the Gulf War were shaped by two opposing forces: first, Japan's constitutional constraints (particularly Article 9 prohibiting, for instance, the possession of an army or the use of military force), very strong pacifistic, anti-war and anti-militaristic public sentiments – which had pushed Japan inward away from any military involvement in international affairs, and second, the US-Japan security alliance – which, at least since the onset of the Cold War was trying to push Japan outwards towards militarization and stronger involvement in world affairs.

Japan's postwar defense and security policy, initiated by Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru and consequently labeled the Yoshida doctrine, had polarized the domestic arena ever since its adoption. The two opposing camps of the constitutional revisionists – including members of the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and the status quo-supporters (pacifists) – which recruited members mainly from the opposition socialist and communist parties, were almost constantly engaged in debate and conflict over it. As mentioned above, given the strong pacifist sentiments of the general public, changes to the defense and security policy between the end of occupation in 1952 and the end of the Cold War were rather incremental.

By the mid-1980s, when for over a decade Japan had enjoyed its status as the second economic superpower in the Western block, it became clear for some of Japan's policy-makers that adherence to the Yoshida doctrine had started creating problems and tensions, especially with Japan's main ally, the United States. Under Prime Minister Takeshita Noboru (Nov. 1987–June 1989), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) created a plan to allow Japan's Self Defense Forces (JSDF) to participate in UN peace-keeping operations under the framework of the International Cooperation Plan (Kokusai Kyōryoku Kōsō), but the plan was shelved after the collapse of Takeshita's cabinet as a result of the Recruit scandal (Orita 2013: 126-127; Kuriyama 2005: 91). Nevertheless, the notion that it was necessary for Japan to increase its presence in international affairs via the UN – so-called "UN-centrism" – became, if not the dominant, then an important policy solution, especially for MOFA bureaucrats.

When war broke out on August 2, 1990, the US called on Japan, as its ally, for assistance, which created several policy problems. Immediately after the attack, Japan was asked to impose sanctions on Iraq, which Prime Minister Kaifu announced even before the formal adoption of the UN resolution (No 661 on August 6). The Ministry of International Trade and

Industry (MITI) objected to the prime minister's decision but Kaifu, together with top party leaders LDP Secretary General Ozawa Ichirō and LDP General Council Chairman Nishioka Takeo, convinced the ministry to cooperate (Kaifu 2005: 284). Japan was highly dependent on oil imported from the Gulf, but after the oil crisis of the 1970s MITI prepared Japan well for such situations (Kuriyama 2005: 29). Kaifu's prompt show of determination and support for Bush was positively evaluated in Washington (Murata 2008: 109-110; Ishihara 1997: 65).[1]

Later in mid-August 1990, the US requested further assistance from the Japanese government, formally via its Ambassador to Japan, Michael Armacost. The US first called for (1) financial support: (a) for the coalition forces, (b) for neighboring countries affected by the Iraqi invasion, (c) for the US bases in Japan as additional Host Nation Support, and (2) second, for personnel to be contributed to the multinational forces. The second type of assistance became domestically most controversial (Murata 2008: 109-110). Ambassador Armacost, nicknamed "Gaiatsu san" (Mr. Foreign Pressure) by the Japanese, suggested the provision of the following forms of personnel support: medical volunteers, logistics support in transporting personnel and equipment to Saudi Arabia – the US's major ally in the Middle East. At that time, Saudi Arabia was expected to become the next target of Saddam Hussein's aggression, and was where US forces were to be sent to in order help in managing the outflow of refugees from Kuwait (airlift and sea transport), and participation in the multinational naval force through the dispatch of minesweepers to the Gulf (Armacost 1996: 102).

In August 1990, Japan was therefore facing several policy problems. The solution to the first problem of financial support seemed fairly easy although not without its pitfalls, while the second problem of personnel contribution challenged the fundamental principles of postwar foreign policy and became highly contested.

Financial Aid

Prime Minister Kaifu responded positively to the US request for financial assistance. He was known for his close ties with President Bush, who was ironically nicknamed "Busshuhon" (a combination of "push phone" and Bush) in Japanese due to his fondness of phone conversations and frequent calls to Kaifu (Ishihara 1997: 58-61), and who was also famous otherwise for his "telephone diplomacy". Both leaders in fact communicated by

[1] Initially the government and general public were most preoccupied with over 200 Japanese nationals taken hostage by Iraq. The hostages were freed by December 1990 (Orita 2013: 133-135; Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 166).

phone at least ten times between the outbreak of the war in August 1990 and the liberation of Kuwait in February the following year.[2] The actual implementation of the promise however became problematic due to constitutional constraints and some structural problems of the decision-making system in Japan. In the end, Japan provided a total of 13 billion USD: 4 billion USD was promised in 1990, and an additional 9 billion USD committed in January 1991, which became the largest contribution among all the allies.

First Installment of Financial Aid

The first part of the financial assistance was to be announced on August 29, 1990, during the Prime Minister's press conference. Kaifu was expected to present the government's policy towards the Gulf War and make financial commitments. Although the US did not specify the amount, it was clear that it would cost "one hell of a lot of money". At an early stage, the US government sent envoys to all its allies with request for support on the so-called 'tip cup' trips (Bush & Scowcroft 1999: 327-328, 360). The US interagency team of State, Defense and NSC officials – Desaix Anderson, Karl Jackson, Carl Ford, and officers from the armed forces visited Japan in August 1990 to press Japanese decision-makers for a contribution (Armacost 1996: 104).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) – traditionally in charge of foreign, defense and security policy, including US-Japan relations, and strongly committed to the US-Japan alliance, perceiving it as fundamental to Japan's national interest – strongly urged the top decision-makers to meet American expectations. However, the budget and finances were managed by the Ministry of Finance (MOF), known for its dominant position among the ministries, as well as a strong aversion to budget increases, especially unexpected ones. For MOF bureaucrats, the situation was dealt with through the routine yet time-consuming mechanism of budget estimates. The following problem of financial contribution to the Gulf War was to be further complicated by inter-ministerial rivalries.

Shortly before the Prime Minister's press conference, Tanba Minoru, the MOFA North American Bureau director (and later Ambassador to Saudi Arabia), was sent to Washington on August 27-28 to sound out US expectations of Japan, which is common practice amongst Japanese bureaucratic and political officials. After meetings with high-ranking

[2] There were more calls, but 11 were declassified and are now available at the George H.W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, National Archives under the title "Memcons and Telcons". https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

American counterparts Tanba sent a fax, to be known as "the Tanba note", in which he emphasized the high (financial) expectations towards Japan. His note was distributed among bureaucratic and political officials, including Prime Minister Kaifu, Foreign Minister Nakayama Tarō, Finance Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō, LDP Secretary General Ozawa Ichirō and others (Tanba 2011: 74-76). In the following disagreement about Japan's contribution, Tanba and other MOFA officials insisted that Japanese policymakers should have known of the US's expectations (Murata 2008: 110), implying that the decision of financial assistance should have been faster and included larger sums. On the other hand, MOFA Vice Minister Kuriyama admitted that he requested the MOF, asking Finance Minister Hashimoto directly, for 1 billion USD, which was in fact the sum that was provided (Kuriyama 2005: 55). According to Kaifu, Hashimoto was initially not overly happy about such a large contribution, although he eventually agreed to 1 billion USD (Kaifu 2005: 285).

On August 29, after deliberation with cabinet ministers and the LDP's top leaders, Kaifu announced Japan's policy towards the Gulf War, formulated in the document, *Japan's Contribution to Peace Restoration Activities in the Middle East* (Chūtō ni Okeru Heiwa Kaifuku Katsudō ni Kakawaru Wagakuni no Kōkensaku), which was presented by the prime minister during a press conference held in the evening that day. Setting the main goals as the (1) restoration of peace to the Middle East and (2) assistance to neighboring countries, the first set of measures included (a) transport assistance (*yusō kyōryoku*) of food, medicine and other non-military items, (b) material assistance (*busshi kyōryoku*), such as goods for heat protection or water supply, (c) the dispatch of medical staff for medical assistance (*iryō kyōryoku*) and personnel, and (d) financial support (*shikin kyōryoku*). The second goal of assistance to neighboring countries was to include both (e) financial aid to countries affected by the war (Turkey, Egypt, Jordan), and (f) assistance to refugee problems. All the specific sums were to be investigated and decided promptly. Only the last task of refugee aid for Jordan was specified to account "at first" to 1 million USD (National Archives 1990a) (Orita 2013: 125; Kuriyama 2005: 58). The next morning, at 9 am, Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary (CCS) Sakamoto Misoji announced Japan's contribution to multinational forces would reach 1 billion USD.

The way of announcements of financial contribution stirred domestic controversy, while Kaifu's declaration during the press conference was criticized as vague. According to Okamoto Yukio – director of the First North American Division in the North American Bureau during the Gulf

War and one of the strongest critics of the Japanese government's response to the crisis – the MOF must have decided on the contribution the night before the press conference, but had kept the information to itself (withholding it even from the prime minister) in order to win the upper hand in negotiations with the US Treasury (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 170-172; Okamoto 2001: 14-15). Okamoto even indicated that the MOF conveyed its decisions first to the US State Treasury, before forwarding the decision to the Japanese government (Okamoto 2001: 14-15)[3]. The turf battle between MOFA and MOF was well-known. Okamoto claimed that in MOF there was "one official in charge of relations with the US, who was famous for his dislike of MOFA," thereby suggesting a sabotage of MOFA efforts by MOF officials (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 172). Furthermore, Okamoto lamented that the information after the prime minister's press conference was forwarded to the US, and not corrected by the announcement the following morning, which led to Japan's criticism in the US.

The Japanese Ambassador to the US, Murata, voiced similar criticism of MOF for conducting talks with US officials (Under Secretary of State Robert Kimmitt) separately, without MOFA. "I was angry at the fact that there are people at MOF who put the priority of ministerial interests over the national interest" (Murata 2008: 117). In a similar tone, Tanba Minoru, director of the North American Bureau, called Kaifu's announcement on August 29 a big disappointment and the following morning's announcement of a 1 billion USD contribution as a show of power by MOF (Tanba 2011: 74-76). Tanba was frustrated and angry with Japan's response, fearing that Japan, with its slow decisions, would be isolated politically in the international community (Tanba 2011: 74-76).

It is not a coincidence that all the above-mentioned critics came from MOFA, whose officials had a different vision of the solutions to the policy problem that Japan was facing at that time. Less critical was Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary, Ishihara Nobuo, who thought that the delay was a result of routine decision-making procedures inside MOF, focused on preparing careful estimates for which there was no basis at that time (Ishihara 1997: 68).

The transcripts of two conversations between Prime Minister Kaifu and President Bush, both held on August 29 Washington D.C. time (in Tokyo the first call was on August 29 at 9 pm, and the second on August 30

[3] Okamoto criticized top MOF officials who decided on the time of the announcement and not the bureaucrats who made the calculations and prepared the documentations, Taya Hiroaki and Kuwabara Shigehiro (Okamoto 2001: 15)

before 10 am), reveal a less problematic situation.[4] In response to Kaifu's declaration of the above assistance, preceded by a disclaimer that the assistance was to be "with the exception of sending our self-defense forces, which has significant constitutional limitations." (National Archives 1990a) – President Bush evaluated them as positive. Moreover, Bush explicitly asked those measures to be initial, because the US was still in the process of identifying the needs and making estimates.

"The President: Good. These are helpful first steps and will be well received. Later today, I will be meeting with my senior advisors to review total overall needs, both our own – the U.S. has expended many resources – but also looking at more global needs. Though I think your initiatives are well received, I will be back in contact with you after we have adopted our plan of assistance with additional ideas for your help. In this respect, it would be helpful if you could describe your package as an initial one, so we could consult to determine what additional assistance Japan and the United States can provide. (…)

I think Japan's role, globally, and that of the United States, is being carefully watched, and I want to be sure nothing comes out of this that will allow criticism of the U.S./Japan relationship, which both of us consider to be so important." (National Archives 1990a) (underlined by the author).

The following morning Japan time, Kaifu called Bush again to inform him of the amount of financial contribution that was decided overnight.

"PM Kaifu: We have decided two things. With respect to assistance to the Multi-National Force ('MNF'), following my instruction to my Minister of Finance to exercise maximum cooperation, we have decided to extend $1 billion out of this year's fiscal budget for assistance to the MNF for such items as transportation, supply of materials, and the like. Secondly, we will be shortly concluding a package of assistance to the frontline states. Accordingly, I have instructed Mr. Utsumi of the Ministry of Finance to consult with your advisors to try and finalize this package as soon as possible. (…)

The President: We are very pleased with that, and we are also pleased about the first point as well. This is very prompt action and will be very much appreciated in the United States." (National Archives 1990b) (underlined by the author).

Not only was Bush grateful for the contribution of 1 billion USD (at least declaratively), but also considered it to be a prompt decision. It is also important to note that Kaifu promised the money out of the fiscal budget for 1990, meaning the supplementary budget, which generally comes with

[4] In many accounts Bush's response is portrayed as "disappointment" (Arima 2015: 494).

higher limitations than the regular one. Based on the above records of the telephone conversations it is impossible to refute Okamoto's claim that MOF had made the decision about 1 billion USD aid the night before and kept it secret away from the prime minister. The claim, however, seems to be of no importance if we consider the fact that Bush had known that the announcement during the press conference on August 29 would be general, and no specific sums would be given. The two leaders were also aware that the financial contribution was an initial one. How and to what extent this kind of understanding was transmitted to their staff is a different issue.

By September 1990, the US government made further estimates and on September 7 sent another team to Tokyo – Treasury Secretary Nick Brady and Deputy Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger, to persuade Japanese decision-makers such as Prime Minister Kaifu, Foreign Minister Nakayama Tarō, and Finance Minister Hashimoto for further contributions. Japan agreed an additional 1 billion USD for multinational forces (Armacost 1996: 107-108; Ishihara 1997: 69). The Prime Minister announced the decision of the new contribution of a total of 3 billion USD, which together with the previous declarations totaled 4 billion USD in 1990 – 2 billion USD to multinational forces and 2 billion USD on aid to the neighboring states (Kuriyama 2005: 74)[5] on September 14. The timing of the announcement was unfortunate, because it came one day after the US Congress House of Representatives voted 370 to 53 for an anti-Japanese amendment attached to a military spending bill sponsored by Congressman David Bonior that Japan had to pay for all the expenses of the US forces in Japan. The refusal was to be punished with the withdrawal of US forces from Japan. According to the US Ambassador to Japan, Armacost (1996: 109), the amendment was "silly" and "its logic contradictory", but it showed American sentiments at that time. Kaifu was again criticized for acting under US pressure (Orita 2013: 125; Ishihara 1997: 68-69).

The telephone conversion between Kaifu and Bush carried out on September 13, 1990 in the evening in Washington (on September 14, after 9 am in Japan) shows that the issue of the US Congress amendment was marginal in the conversation.

"PM Kaifu: I also want to thank you very much for sending Secretary Brady to brief me on the situation. I have come to understand fully your thinking on the multinational force and the frontline states. I met with the ministers of MITI, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of

[5] Two billion USD for the neighboring countries were provided under the ODA framework as emergency assistance (Kuriyama 2005: 58).

Finance, and we decided the following. With respect to the frontline states, Egypt, Jordan and Turkey, we will provide assistance of $2 billion. (…).
With respect to our assistance to the multinational force, in addition to the $1 billion already decided under a different situation, we have agreed to an additional $1 billion. With respect to timing, we would like to give it extra thought due to budget constraints.
The President: I understand that.
PM Kaifu: With respect to the contribution measures just mentioned to you, George, I will tell the Cabinet members soon. We will then make these measures concrete in a prompt manner. We want to keep solidarity with the U.S. and with the international community to show resistance to aggression.
The President: Toshiki, one, I am very pleased with this. This is along the lines of what Secretary Brady discussed with you and with Hashimoto (Minister of Finance). And there is already feeling in the U.S., in Congress, that somebody else should do more. But I will be glad to announce, when you think it is correct, that Japan is doing its part. (…)
The President: Tomorrow I will find an occasion to tell the press that I am grateful for this support. (…)
The President: Let's stay in touch. I am so pleased we are staying together, very, very pleased with this phone call." (National Archives 1990c) (underlined by the author).
Both leaders by referring to the Bradly visit acknowledged that the decision on an additional contribution was made as a result of those talks and not congressional pressure. President Bush mentioned Congress only vaguely, which is interesting considering the attention it received later in Japan and the US, and the importance attached to it by some analysts, including Okamoto Yukio. Whether it was done out of courtesy is difficult to verify, but the point is that the amount of contribution was set up in mid-September during negotiations with Brady. The American resolution was meant as a warning to its allies (Japan but also Germany and others) to pay appropriate contributions to the Gulf coalition efforts, but it is also important to remember the context of that action. The United States was swept by a wave of "Japan bashing" caused by trade frictions.

Anti-Japan Sentiments in the US in the 1980s

In the 1980s, Japan was at the peak of its economic power while at the same time the United States was facing serious economic and budgetary problems. As a result, financial expectations in the US towards its allies, including Japan and Germany, were very high. Furthermore, Japan became America's largest economic rival.

An article in *The New York Times* published in February 1988 by Martin Tolchin gives a sense of the mood in the US at that time:

"A group of congressmen swinging sledgehammers demolished a Toshiba radio on the Capitol steps last summer, acting out their anger at disclosures that a subsidiary of the Japanese electronics conglomerate had joined a Norwegian consortium to illegally sell submarine technology to Moscow. No similar demonstration was mounted against the Norwegians or, later, against a French arms company that sold similar equipment to the Soviets.

To former Representative James R. Jones, a lawyer who represents Toshiba, the event stands as an example of "Japan-bashing" – unwarranted, irrational, racially tinged hostility towards the Japanese, as the first non-Westerners to challenge America's supremacy in the world marketplace." (Tolchin 1998).

The American dissatisfaction and frustration with Japan, which became more vocal at the end of the 1980s, was rooted in economic issues. It contributed to the adoption of the United States Trade Act of 1988, which called on the US president to identify unfair trade partners and products for negotiations with those countries. At the beginning of 1989, Japan was named as an unfair trader, and three areas of products (forestry, telecommunication satellites and supercomputers) were selected for negotiations. Between July 1989 and June 1990, the US-Japan Structural Impediments Initiative (SII) talks were conducted, which President Bush regarded as very important and strongly pressed for a solution (Ishihara 1997: 59-60), both during the premiership of Kaifu and Miyazawa Kiichi (Mikuriya & Nakamura 2005: 312). In addition, as from the mid-1980s, Japan participated in negotiations under the framework of the Uruguay Round (1986-1994). During these negotiations, agricultural products, and in particular rice, became a contested issue, which dragged on for a long time, also during the Gulf War.

Japan's Ambassador to the US, Murata, explicitly linked the anti-Japanese sentiments in the American Congress during the Gulf War to the US-Japan trade negotiations in the Uruguay Round, and especially frictions over rice. The United States Trade Representative (USTR) Carla A. Hills, and Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan openly criticized Japan for not being flexible on rice. As a result, President Bush formally requested Prime Minster Kaifu show some flexibility. After the incident with the US over rice, which was removed from the fair at Makuhari Messe in Chiba due to claims that it was illegal, Bush sent a secret memo to US trade representatives urging them to protest strongly against it (Murata 2008: 125-126). Murata points out that as a consequence "Bush's frustration

towards Japan [related to trade negotiations and the Mekuhari Messe rice incident] exploded during the Gulf War" (Murata 2008: 126). During a meeting with Foreign Minister Nakayama on March 21, 1991, both Bush and Secretary of State James Baker referred to the rice incident in Makuhari Messe in Chiba, which only certifies the importance of the issue. President Bush also explicitly stated that the anti-Japanese sentiments in the US Congress were the result of trade frictions (Yakushiji 1991: 1).

Japan – perceived as a growing threat to American dominance – was the object of criticism on various occasions during the 1980s. During the 1988 presidential campaign, the Republican candidate Richard Gephardt famously commented that: "The United States and the Soviet Union have fought the Cold War – and Japan has won!" (cited in Green & Igata 2015: 160), pointing to the economic power of Japan, which benefited from the US's military protection. During the same campaign in September of the previous year, during the Democratic candidates' discussion on foreign policy and security issues, the Rev. Jesse Jackson said: "Make Japan use some of that money now" (Dionne 1987).

The anti-Japanese amendment of 1990 was not the first such document, but part of a series that were adopted in the 1980s. In March 1985, for instance, the US Senate unanimously passed a non-binding resolution submitted by Republican Senator John C. Danforth from Missouri which criticized Japan as an unfair trader and urged the President to take appropriate action. In April of the same year, a similar resolution was passed by Congress submitted by Dan Rostenkowski (Orita 2013: 69-70).

The biggest wave of criticism of Japan – but it must be remembered that also of Germany and Saudi Arabia – regarding financial contribution during the Gulf War surfaced in the US between the end of August and first half of September 1990 (Murata 2008: 110-111). Interestingly, according to Okamoto Yukio, the US government and media became so critical of Japan because there was no one in the US government to defend Japan, unlike Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger during the Iran-Iraq war. Okamoto suggested that if American bureaucrats and politicians tried to defend Japan at that time, they would have become the target of criticism themselves (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 198-199). And although at the end of September 1990, during the Kaifu-Bush meeting in New York, the President assured that he would "continue to speak out publicly in the US saying the US and Japan are side-by-side in the UN and bilaterally in response to aggression," and that he was "very pleased with Japan's response" (National Archives 1990d: 1) – public sentiments in the US did not change much.

To sum up, the adoption of the "anti-Japanese" amendment to the budget bill during the Gulf War has to be perceived in the context of trade frictions and the wave of "Japan bashing" which swept the United States in the 1980s. And what is even more important – given the overall criticism of Kaifu's response to the Gulf crisis – Japan was condemned by the US Congress for not providing enough money at that time, and not because Japan was unwilling to send its troops.

Second Installment of Financial Aid

The second part of the financial aid, of as much as 9 billion USD, was announced by Kaifu on January 24, 1991, a few days after the US-led multinational forces had begun their attack on Iraq. As soon as the military operation started on January 17, Kaifu ordered MOFA and MOF to investigate various forms of Japanese support for the US within the existing law, anticipating US request for support (Orita 2013: 138-139).

Before Kaifu's announcement, Finance Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō met the US Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady in New York to discuss the financial contribution. Among Japan's key veto players there was a consensus that Japan had to contribute a substantive amount of money. The meeting between Hashimoto and Brady accompanied only by an interpreter became the subject of several controversies. In Japan, the discussion focused on questions: (a) whether the decision was made by the Japanese or the US side, and (b) the reasons behind the exclusion of Japan's Ambassador to the US and MOFA officials from the meeting; while on the inter-governmental level, the question was whether the promised sum of 9 billion was meant in USD or JPY (a similar problem surfaced with Germany).

According to Kaifu's private secretary Orita Masaki (2013: 129), the sum of 9 billion USD was a political decision made by Finance Minister Hashimoto. Similarly, the Japanese Ambassador to the US, Murata Ryōhei, claimed that the decision was made by Hashimoto, adding that the estimate was based on his calculation. Murata revealed that during his meeting with Hashimoto on January 19 in New York, which preceded the Hashimoto-Brady meeting, he calculated Japan's contribution based on the estimated total cost of the military operations in the war – 500 million USD per day for 90 days, total 45 billion USD – of which he expected the US to demand 20 percent (9 billion USD) from Japan (Murata 2008: 115). And that was the share that Brady in fact requested the next day during a meeting with Hashimoto (Ishihara 1997: 71). At the same time, Germany was asked to contribute 5.5 billion USD.

Based on the above accounts we can conclude that Hashimoto made the decision by himself, but the premises (the cost of war and Japan's expected contribution) were formed based on information gained from American counterparts. It is, however, important to remember that all the key veto players – the Kantei, LDP, and MOFA – were unanimous that Japan had to agree to pay the sum, and even Kōmeitō and Shamintō supported the decision. According to Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Ishihara, Finance Minister Hashimoto made the decision with strong political backup and MOF bureaucrats had to accept it (Ishihara 1997: 72-73). MOF quickly prepared the supplementary budget, which was based on increased tax revenues and cuts in some expenditures (Kuriyama 2005: 99-101). Some years later, Kaifu explained that the money was provided with the support of the largest Takeshita faction, taking into account the scale of Japan's economy and her dependence on oil imported from the region. For the Prime Minister, as he confessed, the financial contribution was a "moral obligation" (*ongi*) to the Western camp to repay them for the assistance Japan received after the Second World War (Kaifu 2010: 120-122). But in addition, as informally conveyed to Kaifu, the high amount of financial contribution was to be a substitute for not sending troops (Kaifu 2005: 291). There was another aspect of controversy related to the inter-ministerial animosity. Regarding the exclusion of MOFA officials or Ambassador Murata from the Hashimoto-Brady meeting, Private Secretary Orita interpreted it as a clear sign of rivalry between MOFA and MOF (Orita 2013: 144). Ambassador Murata himself criticized both diplomats due to later problems of the exchange rate – Japan insisted that the promise of 9 billion was in yen, while the US that it was to be paid in USD. Furthermore, the American side also insisted that the money was promised for the exclusive use of the United States, and not the allied forces. Regarding the second issue, Hashimoto maintained to the end that it was to be used by the multinational forces, including the US, but not exclusively. Japan did not yield to US pressure in this respect (Armacost 1996: 109-110). Some part was in fact used by the United Kingdom and France. The issue of currency resulted from the strong devaluation of the yen, and Japan had to pay an additional 500 million USD. A similar situation happened with Germany, wherein Germany paid the difference without a problem (Murata 2008: 116-117). Interestingly, the Prime Minister's Private Secretary Orita claimed that the problem of currency was in fact created later by MOF bureaucrats, who compete for power with other ministries, while Hashimoto promised the sum of 9 billion to be in USD (Orita 2013: 144).

No other sources confirm Orita's claim, but even if taken as a subjective speculation, it surely certifies to the perception of inter-ministerial relations. The decision to make a financial contribution was one thing, but the actual way of delivery posed new problems. The money could not be used for military operations or the use of force (*buryoku kōshi*), which was prohibited under the Japanese constitution. In the end, the first installment of the financial aid (2 billion USD) was provided in the form of various items (vehicles, medicine, etc.) directly sent to the United States Central Command (USCENTOM) in Saudi Arabia. The transfer of the second much larger installment (9 billion USD) needed a different solution. The question was ultimately solved by forming a special Gulf Peace Fund (Wangan Heiwa Kikin) presided over by Japan's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, the provisions of which specifically excluded usage for military purposes.

Summing up, decisions on financial contributions were made by Political Entrepreneurs (Finance Minister Hashimoto) with back-up from Prime Minister Kaifu, and other LDP veto players. The role of the Policy Entrepreneur in the case of the first 1 billion USD was played by MOFA Administrative Vice Minister Kuriyama Takakazu, while in the second case of the additional 3 billion USD (1 for multinational forces and 2 for the neighboring states) by Finance Minister Hashimoto based on information received from the American side. In the first instance the way it was announced led to domestic controversy, which reflected inter-ministerial rivalry between MOFA and MOF rather than actual inter-governmental conflict.

Contribution to US Forces in Japan

The US demands towards Japan to increase its share of costs of the American forces in Japan, forwarded by the US Ambassador to Japan, Armacost, and included in the anti-Japanese resolution by US Congress, began long before the Gulf War. The so-called *omoiyari yosan* (literally "emphatic budget") started in 1978 under Japan's Defense Director-General Kanemaru Shin, as a result of US pressure (Murata 2008: 123). The consecutive requests on the subject also came from the American side.

During a meeting in New York at the end of September 1990, President Bush personally requested Prime Minister Kaifu increase the cost-sharing of US forces in Japan under the Host Nation Support (Ikeda & Yoshida 1990). The request was unexpected because the special agreement regulating the issue under the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) for the years 1987-1991, was to expire in April 1992. Kaifu ultimately agreed,

although it required signing a new document and the allocation of funds ahead-of-schedule, which is usually strongly opposed by the Ministry of Finance. The decision was also criticized by opposition parties as yielding to US pressure. Japan was to pay all the expenses of Japanese workers employed at the bases, and the utility expenses of the US forces. The agreement was negotiated by the North American Bureau Director Matsuura Kōichirō (Murata 2008: 123-124), which resulted in an increase of Japan's share by 90 billion yen, the equivalent of the cost born by the US side, according to the principle of equal burden-sharing (50-50). However, Japan in fact paid the highest contribution among all the US allies. By 1995, Japan covered over 70 percent of all costs of the US army stationed on Japan's territory.

President Bush was so grateful that he mentioned it during his courtesy phone call to Kaifu on New Year's Eve (in Washington D.C., and on the morning of New Year's Day in Tokyo) in 1990.

"The President: I also want to thank you for what you described regarding Host Nation Support in your December 20 letter. The new agreement will strengthen our alliance. We appreciate that very much and know it was not easy for you. I wish you well and notice your have made some changes in your Government. It looks like you are on top of that too. Good luck there too.

Prime Minister Kaifu: Thank you. With respect to Host Nation Support, based on our discussion in September, when I promised I would do as much as possible, I have done as I said and made the decisions described in my letter. We will get to the 50%-50% point on burdensharing in the final year of the five-year defense plan. We hope to complete the signatures between the U.S. and Japan in January and get the agreement approved by the Diet in the next session. (…)

The President: Thanks very much. (…) I won't keep you because I really called to wish you a happy New Year. I appreciate your help on the Persian Gulf and know it has not been easy for you." (National Archives 1990f: 1-2). (original spelling)

Prime Minister Kaifu complied with the American request, but why was Japan asked for an increase of Host Nation Support during the turmoil of the Gulf crisis? How was it related? The short answer is that the issues were not related. The United States, in terms of MSF, used the Gulf War as a window of opportunity to push for their policy option (a budget increase for US forces in Japan). The broader context was not without significance either: The United States suffered from a budget deficit, a worse economic performance than Japan, a trade deficit with Japan, and in addition was

swept by a wave of "Japan bashing". Moreover, as a Republican Candidate, President Bush had to cope with a Congress dominated by Democrats, making him more susceptible to formal and informal pressure from it. The American policy entrepreneurs made a judgment that the situation was ripe for such pressure, and the results showed that they were right.

Material Assistance

The implementation of policy measures announced by Prime Minister Kaifu on August 29, 1990 proved to be difficult. Formally the easiest task was the provision of material assistance, backed up by the budget of 1 billion USD. In MOFA, which was put in charge, a special taskforce under Watanabe Kōji, MOFA deputy minister (*gaimu shingikan*) and members of the North American Bureau was established to coordinate the work (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 166-168). Okamoto Yukio was among the most active members of the team, who took extra steps to realize the tasks (Arima 2015: 497). Due to their efforts in September 1990, Japan provided 800 four-wheel-drive cars made by Toyota and Mitsubishi to the US army in Saudi Arabia. Following the Japanese suggestion, the US prepared a list of necessary equipment, forwarded by the Defense Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asia, Carl Ford on September 17. The list included trucks, fork lifts, computers, printers and other equipment, which were also promptly delivered (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 186-194). MOFA and MITI cooperated directly with USCENTOM in Saudi Arabia, whose staff were so satisfied with Japan's contribution that it sent a special thank-you letter to MOFA, North American Bureau director, Matsuura Kōichirō via the US Ambassador Armacost (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 199-200).[6] Similar gestures of gratitude were expressed by US army commanders long after the war (Handa 2008: 52; Schwarzkopf 1993: 452). In case of material assistance, MOFA acted as a Policy Entrepreneur swiftly communicating with the USCENTOM and implementing tasks. The cooperation proved to be the most successful in terms of intensity of friction between the US and Japan among the promised measures, but it was also the least controversial in terms of legal constraints.

[6] Some of the requests for items, including those necessary for the construction of a military camp for 140 000 soldiers, was rejected by the Ministry of Construction on the grounds of infringing upon the ban of exports for military purposes. Similarly, the US request for 400 four-ton trucks was declined because the trucks had reinforced roofs, which, according to MITI, could be equipped with machine guns and therefore used for military purposes (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 195-197).

Request for Personnel Contribution

The biggest policy problem, that is the request for the contribution of personnel to the multinational forces, created a deep cleavage among domestic actors. When President Bush called Prime Minister Kaifu on August 14, 1990, asking for financial support and also for personnel assistance, Kaifu excluded the possibility of military assistance due to constitutional constraints, to which Bush showed understanding (Orita 2013: 125; Kaifu 2010: 117-119). The expression of understanding for constitutional constraints by President Bush, Ambassador Armacost and other American officials became one of the motifs of talks during the Gulf War, while at the same time the US side was repeatedly expressing a strong desire for Japan's visible contribution (National Archives 1990d: 2, 1990e: 2).

Prime Minister Kaifu was a "pacifist" (Kaifu 2010: 116, 124), and so his response to the request for personnel assistance regarding military operations followed basically the policy line of Prime Minister Yoshida, as expressed in the mid-1950s.

"Cooperation with the United Nations was only possible for Japan in so far as it was compatible with our Constitution, treaty commitments, and the laws of our country in general, […] beyond that point, the United Nations could not ask us to undertake any commitments, nor did we have any obligations to do so. In short, any such step [overseas dispatch] obviously lay outside the competence of the Government of Japan" (Yoshida 1962: 194).

Yoshida himself did not preclude a change of the policy and Japan's rearmament in the longer run (Yoshida 1962: 194), but he thought that in the mid-1950s the time was not ripe, and that it would ultimately require acquiescence from the Japanese public. On the last point, Prime Minster Kaifu shared Yoshida's stance. Kaifu strongly objected to Japan's participation in military operations, considering it unconstitutional, but at the same time he felt that Japan, as a responsible member of the international community, should participate in UN-led activities. In a phone conversation carried out with Bush on August 29, Kaifu expressed his consideration for making Japan's contribution visible, and mentioned the possibility of creating a new legal framework for the Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF), although it was expressed in very careful terms:

"While there are political and legal difficulties, I will try to increase public support to formulating a new law to allow our self-defense forces to play a role in global situations.

I am fully aware of the need for the Japanese contribution to be very visible. This is not at all easy, and I have to give serious thought as to how I implement the initiatives I have described." (National Archives 1990a: 2) (underlined by the author).

The attempt to provide personnel assistance as visible presence, mentioned during the press conference on August 29, such as transport and medical assistance, became difficult to implement. Since the JSDF could not be used, the Japanese government tried to convince private companies to conduct an airlift and sea transport, but they refused backed by their trade unions. The trade unions, traditionally supportive of communist and socialist parties, were pro-pacifist and hence objected to Japan's involvement on ideological grounds. In the end, the government chartered aircraft from the American company Evergreen (Kaifu 2005: 315). Furthermore, the dispatch of key workers to Bahrain to assess the ship's condition was protested by the seamen's union, and the meeting of Ambassador Armacost with a powerful LDP veto player, Kanemaru Shin and a Diet member Tanabe Makoto from the Socialist Party did not help to alter their stance (Armacost 1996: 106). Similarly, the attempt to send medical volunteers ended with poor results. The government was able to secure seventeen doctors. They were sent to Saudi Arabia but could not be used in a field hospital (Arima 2015: 497-498; Ishihara 1997: 65-67, 70-71).

There was a precedence of a request for military assistance from the US in 1987 during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988). Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro considered a dispatch of JSDF vessels to the Gulf in support of the US and European efforts to provide protection for Kuwaiti-flagged tankers, but due to domestic opposition,[7] he ultimately gave up (Armacost 1996: 103). American pressure did not yield results at that time, and neither was it to be effective during the Gulf War, at least not straightforwardly. Okamoto Yukio goes as far as to regard the incident of the Iraq-Iran war as a key experience that influenced decision-making during the Gulf crisis under Kaifu (Okamoto 2001: 13). The past experience might have been of importance but given the strong pacifistic orientation of Prime Minister Kaifu and also of Vice Minister Kuriyama, it is probable that it only reinforced already strong personal leanings of both decision-makers.

[7] It was CCS Gotōda who blocked all proposals for the dispatch of the JSDF minesweepers, and when it was rejected, the vessels of the Coast Guard, which was consented by Transport Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō (Kuriyama 2005: 44). The dispatch of JSDF minesweepers was interpreted as unconstitutional on the grounds that it fell under the clause of "collective self-defense" (Kuriyama 2005: 44).

The idea of the legal framework that Kaifu mentioned to Bush on August 29, 1990, took a longer time to take shape. Since Kaifu regarded JSDF deployment as unconstitutional, he devised a different solution, the creation of a civilian agency – the Peace Cooperation Corp, modeled after the Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (Seinen Kaigai Kyōryokutai) to support the United Nations operations (Kaifu 2010: 123; Orita 2013: 126; Kuriyama 2005: 53). On September 14, 1990, the Prime Minister officially announced a plan to prepare the legal framework for such an agency, which proved to be a very difficult task. Nevertheless, Kaifu stuck to his vision and objected to the JSDF dispatch until the end of combat operations. Only then, in April 1991, did Prime Minister begin to consider sending minesweepers, which were deployed in April 1991 (Kaifu 2010: 126; Orita 2013: 126).

Policy Options and Policy Advocates

The policy problems that Japan faced during the Gulf War – financial, material and personnel contributions, were met with policy solutions determined by legal constraints, ideological leanings and the public mood. The request for financial assistance, as described above, was promised quickly by Prime Minister Kaifu, although the actual decision-making process was delayed due to routine bureaucratic procedures and inter-ministerial rivalries between MOFA and MOF.

The second policy problem of personnel contribution was much more complex. Prime Minister Kaifu, as mentioned before, was against dispatching the JSDF during military operations due to constitutional constraints and strong political convictions inherited from his political mentor Miki Takeo (Ishihara 1997: 57). Kaifu represented the "pacifist" group (the "Doves") inside the ruling LDP, which included such politicians as Foreign Minister Nakayama Tarō, Kōno Yōhei – chairperson of the LDP Research Commission on Foreign Affairs (Gaikō Chōsakai), Gotōda Masaharu – Chief Cabinet Secretary (1982-1983, 1985-1987) under Nakasone Yasuhiro, and Ide Ichitarō – Chief Cabinet Secretary (1974-1976) under Miki Takeo (Kaifu 2010: 122-123; Orita 2013: 126-130; Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 168), as well as future prime ministers Miyazawa Kiichi (Kuriyama 2005: 65) and Hata Tsutomu (Armacost 1996: 116-117).

The alternative solution to the problem was upheld by the second group of the "revisionists", who favored the JSDF dispatch. It included former prime minister: Nakasone Yasuhiro, LDP Secretary General Ozawa Ichirō, Finance Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō, Katō Mutsuki – Chairperson of the

LDP Policy Affairs Research Council (PARC) (Kaifu 2010: 122-123; Kaifu 2005: 293). Among them the LDP Secretary Ozawa was especially active. He argued that participation in operations sanctioned by a UN resolution did not violate the constitution (Orita 2013: 127).

The objection to the SFD dispatch of the first camp was connected not only to constitutional provisions (Orita 2013: 126-127; Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 166, 168), but also, especially for the older generation, to the trauma of war and Japanese militarism of the 1930s and 1940s (Kuriyama 2005: 63). Kaifu recalls that when he heard revisionists pointing to the Gulf War as a "golden opportunity" (*senzai ichigu*) for a policy change, it reminded him of the Manchurian Incident, which started Japan's fifteen year-long war in Asia and against the US (Kaifu 2010: 122-123).

In addition, the stance of the pacifist group was compatible with the interpretation of the Cabinet Legislation Bureau (Naikaku Hōseikyoku), which for decades upheld a conservative position. During the Gulf crisis, the Bureau even ruled out the transportation of weapon and ammunition – which MOFA strongly argued for – as it was not allowed under the clause of "usage of force" (*buryoku kōshi*) and "collective self-defense" (*shūdanteki jieiken*) (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 179-180). Okamoto Yukio criticized the Bureau for its conservatism and control of the official interpretation upheld by the Japanese government at that time, stressing that as an organ under the supervision of the prime minister it should follow his or her instructions (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 179-180). Given Kaifu's ideological leanings, this criticism somehow missed the point. To put it differently, if Kaifu's convictions were congruent with the Cabinet Legislation Bureau, why would he challenge it. Nevertheless, many MOFA officials, including Vice Minister Kuriyama, were very critical of the CLB conservative interpretation, especially regarding the interpretation of the usage of weapons (*buki shiyō*) (Kuriyama 2005: 63, 86, 89).

The two policy solutions – upheld by revisionists and pacifists – also had supporters among other veto players and the general public. The anti-dispatch camp – which was very influential at that time – included Foreign Administrative Vice Minister Kuriyama Takakazu. Kuriyama was against the JSDF dispatch during the Gulf War, that is during military combat, although he was generally in favor of creating a new legal framework for Japan's participation in PKO long before the outbreak of the war (Kuriyama 2005: 25-26). In terms of the MSF, the policy solution – SDF participation in PKO – was therefore devised before the policy problem,

such as the request for Japan's visible presence which surfaced during the Gulf War.

The pro-dispatch group was composed of MOFA younger officials, such as Yanai Shunji – director of Treaty Bureau, Tanba Minoru – director of North American Bureau, and Okamoto Yukio – director of First North American Division, although they did not constitute a majority (Armacost 1996: 109; Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 166; Orita 2013: 129). Japan's Ambassador to the US, Murata Ryōhei, was also in support of the JSDF dispatch in the PKO operations, although he did not mention it to Kuriyama or others at that time (Murata 2008: 114, 132-133). The official stance of MOFA was controlled by its highest bureaucratic representative, Administrative Vice Minister Kuriyama. Even Okamoto did not exchange his views with Kuriyama during the Gulf crisis (Kuriyama 2005: 83). A group of middle-ranking officials from MOFA would form the core of the "failure" narrative proponents.

The PKO Policy-Making and Political Entrepreneurs

In Japan, foreign policy was routinely formulated by officials from MOFA. As critically assessed by ex-MOFA bureaucrat Okamoto Yukio: "I think that among developed countries, only in Japan do we have a situation that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs directly, and moreover, independently manages the country's top diplomatic activities." (Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 276, 288-289). The same was true for security and defense policy. Until 2007, the Defense Agency was not a fully-fledged ministry, and in addition the public sentiments in Japan were such that it was difficult for JDA to come up with a policy initiative (Kuriyama 2005: 25-26).

Prime Minister Kaifu committed himself to the creation of a new legal framework for Japan's participation in international affairs under the UN, although the details and initial vision of the prime minister were to be changed and negotiated by multiple actors. The legislation process can be divided into three stages, two under Prime Minister Kaifu and one under Prime Minister Miyazawa Kiichi. The first concerned the UN Peace Cooperation Law, while the second and third, the PKO Cooperation Law. The first stage of the policy process lasted from August 1990, when Prime Minister Kaifu announced the formulation of the bill, to November 9, when the bill was withdrawn.

The First Stage of Policy Process: The UN Peace Cooperation Bill

Kaifu mentioned preparation of the bill on August 29, 1990 both in a private conversation with President Bush and following a press conference.

During the conference, Kaifu referred to the enactment of a new law, which was entrenched by references to peace, the international community and responsibility.

"In order to protect peace, constant efforts are required. We are aware that the higher the position Japan occupies in the international community, the heavier the responsibility for defending the peace, and that our country will be asked for an even larger contribution. Japanese action will be required not only for today's situation in the Middle East but also in the future. In the international community, we can more appropriately fulfill the responsibility of our country to cooperate with the UN's activities and the international efforts of member states that support peace preservation and maintenance, by revising existing laws and regulations, and from the viewpoint of fulfilling our responsibility towards the international society within the framework of the Constitution, I think that it is necessary to seriously consider the enactment of laws such as for instance the United Nations Peace Cooperation Law, which is at the moment my private proposal." (Kaifu 1990).

Kaifu requested MOFA prepare the bill, which was put in charge of the United Nations Bureau (Kokurenkyoku). MOFA Administrative Vice-Minister Kuriyama coordinated the work inside the ministry and with JDA and the Cabinet Legislation Bureau, while Deputy CCS Ishihara Nobuo coordinated with the ruling party's politicians (Orita 2013: 128-129). The Government-Ruling Party Liaison Meeting (Seifu Yotō Renraku Kaigi) approved the convention of the special session of the Diet due to efforts of the LDP Secretary General Ozawa (Kuriyama 2005: 59). Ozawa was an important figure in negotiations between Kantei and LDP, backing up Kantei during negotiations on the PKO bill (Ishihara 1997: 62-63). MOFA had one month to prepare the draft.

By September 1990, it was clear or at least very probable, as stated by Vice-Minister Kuriyama, that military force would be used against Saddam Hussein. The bill proposal was based therefore on the assumption that the activities would be carried out during military operations as part of "enforcement action" by the UN, and not as peace-keeping operations (Kuriyama 2005: 57). The main goal was to provide logistic support (*kōhō shien*) to multinational forces behind the combat areas under the framework of the peace cooperation activities (*heiwa kyōryoku gyōmu*). The newly created Peace Cooperation Corps (Heiwa Kyōryoku Butai), composed of JSDF officers under the direct command of the prime minister, was to be sent to build field hospitals, communication infrastructure and other tasks under the condition that there was no direct

involvement in military operations, which was prohibited by the constitution. The Corps members were to be unarmed and protected by multinational forces (Kuriyama 2005: 59-61). The Prime Minister had to give up his idea of a separate organization under pressure from the LDP and opposition from the Defense Agency, especially Defense Vice Minister Yoda Tomoharu, and the LDP Secretary General Ozawa Ichirō (Kuriyama 2005:69-72; Ishihara 1997: 73-76; Orita 2013: 128).

Kuriyama strongly objected to the idea of dispatching armed JSDF (*busō shita jieitai*) for two reasons. First, fearing the reaction of public opinion in Japan, and second, fearing the reaction of neighboring countries, mostly China and South Korea, which could have perceived it as a fundamental change in Japan's defense policy. But most of all, Kuriyama regarded the dispatching of armed JSDF as unconstitutional. The LDP Secretary General Ozawa Ichirō tried to argue that such a dispatch within the framework of UN resolutions would not infringe upon constitutional provisions, but Kuriyama prevailed, at least in the first stage (Kuriyama 2005: 61-63, 87). There was no unity between different ministries and politicians regarding details about the armament of JSDF or the command structure (under prime minister or under JDA), which surfaced during the Diet interpellations (Kuriyama 2005: 85). The draft strongly reflected Kuriyama's personal leanings and understanding of constitutional interpretation. Although the provisions of the bill were congruent with Prime Minister Kaifu's position, it was the product of Kuriyama's efforts, negotiated among a variety of actors. Administrative Vice-Minister was, in other words, the main Policy Entrepreneur at this stage. The proposal was passed to Policy Entrepreneur for adoption.

Kuriyama's concern for public opinion was not without substance. In fact, in October 1990, the public was very cautious about governmental actions. According to *Asahi Shinbun*, as much as 67 percent of the Japanese objected to idea of the JSDF dispatch and only 19 percent agreed (*Asahi Shinbun* 1990a, 1990b, October 1). By November 6, opposition to the JSDF dispatch as stipulated in the drafted bill had risen to 78 percent; such a deployment was regarded as a violation of constitutional provisions (*Asahi Shinbun* 1990a, 1990b, November 6). The newspaper reported that in the same poll 58 percent disapproved of the UN Peace Cooperation Bill, while only 21 percent evaluated it positively. Support for Kaifu's cabinet went down to 33 percent from 56 percent in September that year, while critical voices rose to 55 percent.[8]

[8] *Yomiuri Shinbun* (1990, October 1) reported that Kaifu's cabinet support at 60.01 percent in September had dropped to 48.3 percent by November (1990, November 22), and rose slightly at

The draft of the UN Peace Cooperation Law (Kokusai Rengō Heiwa Kyōryokuhō) was approved in the routine LDP intra-party decision-making process, the so-called advance screening (*jizen shinsa*): subcommittees on Cabinet, National Defense and Foreign Affairs, Policy Affairs Research Council (PARC) and General Council on October 15. The next day it was adopted by the cabinet and sent to the Diet. The proposal was drafted hastily and was so problematic that during deliberation in the Diet cabinet members and MOFA officials gave incoherent explanations. The opposition parties strongly criticized the bill, which led to a deadlock. The situation changed when the power-broker Kanemru Shin mentioned the possibility of a bill withdrawal with no consequences for the cabinet (*Asahi Shinbun* 1990, November 8). The LDP Secretary Ozawa began negotiations with Kōmeitō and the opposition parties looking for a consensus. During the meeting on November 8, the LDP, Kōmeitō and Minshatō party leaders agreed on a Memorandum of Understanding Regarding International Peace Cooperation (Kokusai Heiwa Kyōryoku ni Kansuru Gōi Oboegaki), the so-called Three-Party Agreement (Santō Gōi), which stipulated the preparation of a new law. As a consequence, the UN Peace Cooperation bill was withdrawn on November 9. The UN Bureau Director Akao Nobutoshi resigned under pressure from opposition parties for his answers in the Diet, despite the efforts of MOFA Administrative Vice-Minister Kuriyama to block the dismissal (Murata 2008: 114).

Kaifu as Political Entrepreneur

The failure of the bill enactment can be interpreted as a failure of the Political Entrepreneurs (PM Kaifu and some of the LDP members) to ensure safe passage through the decision-making mechanism. Given the political power base of Kaifu and the Upper House seat allocation, it was not that surprising.

Kaifu, a member of a small Kōmoto faction, was nominated for premiership with the support of the largest and most influential Takeshita faction after the Recruit scandal to improve the image of the scandal-torn LDP. His election for the post was strongly influenced by "the big three" (*sankyotō*) political figures of Takeshita Noboru, Kanemaru Shin and Abe Shintarō, the father of the present Prime Minister Abe Shinzō (Kaifu 2010: 90). During the cabinet member's nomination, Kaifu had to rely on their acceptance, although not without exceptions. Kaifu refused for instance to accept Diet members involved in the Recruit or Lockheed scandals for ministerial posts, with understanding from "the big three", but it created

---

the beginning of 1991 (1991, February 22).

some tensions and anger at him within the LDP (Kaifu 2010: 90-92, 142-143). Kaifu enjoyed good relations with Takeshita Noboru, and even closer relations with Kanemaru Shin, which helped him balance power inside the LDP (Kaifu 2010: 94-96). Ozawa Ichirō, regarded as one of the major powerholders inside the party, became LDP Secretary General upon recommendation from Kanemaru. The relationship between the two was the subject of constant speculation. Many regarded Ozawa to be a stronger player, which Kaifu obviously denied (Kaifu 2010: 101-103). Based on several accounts, it seems that Ozawa was very important indeed in the decision-making process on the bill (negotiations within LDP and the opposition parties), while having a limited effect on the formulation stage, although Ozawa among other LDP members and Defense Agency officials opposed the idea of creating a new organization to carry out overseas operations under the UN, contributing to the incorporation of the JSDF dispatch into the bill (Kuriyama 2005: 85;Miyazawa 2005: 293; Orita 2013: 131; Iokibe, Itō & Yakushiji 2009: 168).

The main policy slogans for Kaifu was "political reform" (*seiji kaikaku*) (Kaifu 2010: 135-137, 142-144; Ishihara 1997: 58-64), which consisted of two parts: electoral reform to introduce Single Member Constituency (SMC) (introduced later by Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro in 1993) and the revision of the law on political funding (Kaifu 2010: 143). The inability to carry out these reforms became the main reason for his resignation, and not the PKO bill. The Takeshita faction, on which his political life depended, unexpectedly withdrew support for his cabinet's reforms, while the other main factions of Miyazawa, Mitsuzuka and Watanbe were critical of the reforms from the beginning (Kaifu 2010: 142-144). The few supporters of the reforms, such as the future prime ministers Hata Tsutomu and Obuchi Keizō, Nishioka Takeo, Gotōda Masaharu or Itō Masayoshi, were not powerful enough to ensure the survival of his cabinet. As a result, Kaifu had to resign (Kaifu 2010: 136, 144).

Interestingly, at the time of his resignation, popular support for Kaifu cabinet was high, which was quite unusual for resigning prime ministers. High public support became one of the reasons for his smooth reelection as party president in October 1989, as openly confirmed by Kanemaru (Kaifu 2010: 135). Under his premiership, LDP won several elections: general, local and by-elections, which stabilized his position inside the party (Kaifu 2010: 134-141). One month after Kaifu took office his cabinet support rate of 39 percent was not impressive in comparison to previous administrations, but ten months later it rose to 56 percent and stayed at 50 percent at the time Kaifu decided to resign. It was the first time that a

Prime Minister with such a high support rate was not reelected as party president. Not only was cabinet support substantive, but Kaifu's personal popularity was also high (*Asahi Shinbun* 1991, October 23). However, political reforms aimed by Kaifu were not backed up by key veto players inside the LDP, and Kaifu had to go.

As mentioned before, Kaifu was regarded as a "Dove" (Kuriyama 2005: 37) with a strong pro-constitutional stance and a strong sense of "trauma" of Japan's militaristic past. His personal and ideological leaning were reflected in the policy proposals and choices he made. Kaifu did not employ any foreign policy advisor, and having little expertise in foreign relations, relied on Kantei staff, MOFA and consultations with the top LDP members. He entrusted policy formation at the first stage to MOFA Administrative Vice Minister Kuriyama, who shared his perspective on the JSDF dispatch. Having failed to push for the adoption of the policy in November 1990, Kaifu had to reorganize the formulation process to include all key veto players, also from the opposition parties. Cooperation from the opposition became particularly pertinent in the Upper House, where LDP lost a majority in July 1989 under Prime Minister Uno Sōsuke.

Second Stage of Policy Process: The PKO Cooperation Law

The second stage of policy-making of the bill for international cooperation – known as the PKO Cooperation Law[9] – lasted from the beginning of 1991 to November of the same year, when Prime Minister Kaifu announced his resignation. However, before the actual formulation began, the situation in Iraq changed. The US-led multinational forces carried out a military operation named 'Desert Storm' between January 17 and February 28 which resulted in the liberation of Kuwait. The operations were quick and spectacular, but also very costly. The intergovernmental negotiations and preparations of the new financial support, which ultimately reached 9 billion USD as mentioned above, required time and attention. The formulation of the bill was put aside for a while. Furthermore, despite Japan's enormous contribution, the advertisement that Kuwait's government published in America's biggest dailies a few weeks after the victory did not mention Japan among the nations that contributed to Kuwait's liberation. Prime Minister Kaifu officially protested and received

[9] The full name was Kokusai Rengō Heiwa Iji Katsudō tō ni Taisuru Kyōryoku ni Kansuru Hōritsu, (abbreviated to Kokusai Heiwa Kyōryokuhō or PKO Kyōryokuhō), that is Law on Cooperation in Peace-Keeping Activities of the United Nations (International Peace Cooperation Law or PKO Cooperation Law). Formally translated into English by MOFA as Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations (the "International Peace Cooperation Law").

a formal apology (Kaifu 2010: 127-128), but the experience left some embitterment among Japanese top officials, especially MOFA.

Dispatch of Minesweepers

Before taking up the issue of the new draft bill, Prime Minister Kaifu decided on the deployment of minesweepers. At the end of February, Kaifu received information that the result of an opinion poll conducted during an NHK talk show on Gulf War showed for the first time that the majority of Japanese had started leaning towards the approval of the JSDF dispatch (*Asahi Shinbun* 1991, March 12). The key veto players from the LDP factions, who were in support of the JSDF deployment from the beginning, began publicly advocating the deployment. On March 14, the leader of the major Nakasone faction, Watanabe Michio, declared his support for the minesweepers' dispatch at the LDP's National Defense subcommittee, while on the same day in the Lower House, the budget committee Foreign Minister Nakayama Tarō confirmed the government's intention to consider the issue. To prepare the ground and build public support, Vice-Minister Kuriyama suggested to the MITI administrative vice minister to convince business representatives to make a formal public request for the dispatch. The justification for sending minesweepers was presented as a necessity to protect marine trade routes of Japanese tankers (Kuriyama 2005: 111). On April 8, the Keidanren chairman, Hiraiwa Gaishi, publicly advocated the decision of the dispatch, and so did the Japanese ship owners' association, the All Japan Seamen's Union.

Request for minesweepers came from the US at an early stage of the conflict, but both Prime Minister and Kuriyama were against it before the end of military operations (Kuriyama 2005: 110). The end of combat was in other words a prerequisite for their deployment (Orita 2013: 126, 144-145). On similar grounds Kuriyama supported Gotōda's objection to the JSDF dispatch during the Iran-Iraq war (Kuriyama 2005: 112). Kantei, the Defense Agency, Maritime JSDF, and the LDP were in favor of the deployment (Kuriyama 2005: 113). After negotiations with the opposition parties, Kōmeitō and the Social Democratic Party (SDP; Minshatō) gave their consent. The official justification, as presented in the Government's Statement (Seifu Seimei) announced on April 24, was to ensure the safety of navigation routes of Japanese ships. The government emphasized that it was in accordance with JSDF Law article 99, that military operations had ended, that the operation to remove sea mines was not for the purpose of using force and therefore not against the constitutional ban on overseas deployment. Furthermore, Japan was to participate as part of larger multinational forces, which also included German vessels (MOFA 1991).

Public opinion, which was carefully monitored by Kaifu and other decision-makers changed substantially between 1990 and 1991 (Kuriyama 2005: 115). In October 1990, 67 percent of the Japanese declared an objection to the JSDF dispatch (*Asahi Shinbun* 1990, October 1). In April 1991, support for their deployment rose to 56 percent and in June that year to 74 percent (*Asahi Shinbun* 1991, April 1, June 19). At the same time, 65 percent positively evaluated the minesweeper operation (*Asahi Shinbun* 1991, June 19)[10]. The successful minesweeping operation contributed to a change of public opinion and political atmosphere, preparing the ground for the new bill.

Prime Minister Kaifu was so concerned about popular support for governmental decisions that the Cabinet Intelligence and Research Office (Naikaku Jōhō Chōsashitsu) commissioned an opinion poll at the end of March 1991, which became the basis of Kaifu's judgment on the minesweeping operation. The results showed that in that period as much as 63 percent approved the operation (*Asahi Shinbun* 1991, May 9). During deliberation on the minesweeping deployment in the Upper House on March 24, 1991, Prime Minister Kaifu used the results of opinion polls as a counter argument against the criticisms by Ōta Atsuo from Kōmeitō that there was no public consensus (*kokuminteki gōi*) regarding the JSDF dispatch, a common claim invoked in the decision-making process by the pacifists. Kaifu responded as following: "I truly appreciate and humbly accept the fact that the rate of those who approve of dispatch [of minesweepers] reached over a majority in recent poll, which shows deepening understanding [of the issue by the Japanese people]." (Kaifu 1991: 6).

Even before gaining consensus from the opposition parties, on April 23, the Prime Minister announced the decision to send the minesweepers. On April 26, four Japanese minesweepers departed to the Gulf to help clear international waterways for commercial traffic. The minesweeping operation ended with success, which prepared the ground for a new bill on peace-keeping operations.

Draft of the PKO Cooperation Law

The new bill was to be based on the Three-Party Agreement reached in March 1991 (Kuriyama 2005: 91). It was a different agreement from the one reached in November, which became the subject of criticism from the

[10] There was some ambivalence in answers, although 74 percent approved of the JSDF dispatch, only 50 percent (40 percent against) supported JSDF participation in the United Nations PKO (*Asahi Shinbun* 1991, June 19).

opposition during the Diet deliberation.[11] The general premise for bill formulation was that Japan would participate in UN-led activities in the aftermath of military operations, unlike the previous bill. For MOFA it was a chance to push the PKO legislation, which the ministry had planned to introduce since the Takeshita Cabinet (Orita 2013: 126-127; Kuriyama 2005: 91). For Kuriyama, the first UN Peace Cooperation law became training experience, which helped to formulate and pass the later PKO Cooperation law (Ishihara 1997: 76). The end of military operation in Iraq in February 1991 became a window of opportunity (decision window) for the PKO policy adoption.

Due to expected problems with opposition parties, the policy process was placed in Kantei by Prime Minister Kaifu, upon advice from Finance Minister Hashimoto, who further argued that the project required the close cooperation of various ministries (Ishihara 1997: 77-78; Arima 2015: 525). The proposal to put the process outside direct MOFA control was initially opposed by the Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Ishihara Nobuo, who changed his stance after Foreign Minister Nakayama gave his consent (Ishihara 1997: 78). This strongly certifies to the bureaucratic sensitivities to the rule of dispersed management (*buntan kanri gensoku*). The taskforce was created in Kantei under Arima Tatsuo, Head of Cabinet Office on External Affairs, who, unlike Ishihara, was not initially enthusiastic about the idea of placing the process under Kantei (Arima 2015: 525-526).

On July 25, the Office for the Preparation of the Legal Framework for International Peace Cooperation was established in Kantei, staffed with 40 bureaucrats from different ministries, including 18 from MOFA, who constituted the core (Arima 2015: 526-527). In the successive negotiations, deputy chief cabinet secretaries, Ishihara from the bureaucratic side and Ōshima Tadamori from the political side played the role of the main coordinators between politicians and ministries. CCS Sakamoto Misoji was not, according to Kuriyama, very good at coordination, so the tasks were handled by Ishihara (until August 1991) and Ōshima. Ishihara mediated between MOFA, JDA and Cabinet Legislation Bureau, Sakamoto and Ōshima between LDP Secretary General, LDP General Council and PARC. Other Kantei members, such as Arima, or MOFA officials, including, Kuriyama often visited the LDP – Secretary General, LDP General Council and PARC, and opposition party officials to give explanation (Kuriyama

[11] The question of Three-Party Agreement was discussed during a deliberation in the Lower House. The Communist Party Diet member Tachiki Hiroshi criticized the prime minister for not adhering to the Agreement. Miyazawa responded that the content of the Agreement had changed in May (in March according to Kuriyama 2009: 91), when the parties decided to form new draft. The new agreement was presented as a Mid-Term Report (Chūkan Hōkoku) (Dai 123kai Kokkai 1992).

2005: 81-82; Arima 2005: 524-584). The important discussions were carried out in Kantei with all the key veto players, the LDP Secretary General Ozawa, LDP General Council Chairperson Nishioka Takeo, PARC Chairperson Katō Mutsuki, Foreign Minister Nakayama Tarō, Finance Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō, Chief Cabinet Secretaries, vice ministers from MOFA and JDA, and Director of the Cabinet Legislation Bureau Kudō Atsuo (Orita 2013: 129; Ishihara 1997: 96-98).

The Three-Party Agreement reached in November of the previous year was to become the basis of the new legislation, but the document, according to Kuriyama, was very confusing. It proposed the formation of a separate organization, which was criticized in the previous draft of 1990, and which became one of the reasons of the bill's failure. As a result, after military operations ended in February 1991, the agreement was renegotiated. MOFA began preparing a new draft in May. The new draft included the so-called Five PKO Principles, which became the basis of the new proposal. Four of those principles were modeled after the Swiss legislation, and the fifth was added to accommodate Japanese constitutional restrictions on the use of force (Kuriyama 2005: 114). The provisions stipulated that JSDF participation in peacekeeping operations was allowed under the following conditions: 1) a cease-fire must be in place; 2) the parties in the conflict must have consented to the operation; 3) the activities must be conducted in a strictly impartial manner; 4) participation may be suspended or terminated if any of the above conditions ceases to be satisfied; 5) use of weapons shall be limited to the minimum necessary to protect the lives or bodies of personnel. Interestingly, although Kaifu considered himself a "pacifist", in this case he was in favor of using the weapon by the JSDF for self-defense (Kaifu 2010: 116, 124).

The opposition parties, including Kōmeitō and Social Democratic Party, changed their position towards the issue of JSDF deployment. On May 28, at the Kōmeitō executive meeting, the chairman Ichikawa Yūichi, and Policy Council chairperson Futami Nobuyuki, expressed their support. The SDP added the condition of the Diet approval for the dispatch. The bill, passed through the LDP internal organs, was adopted by the Cabinet on September 19 and sent to the Diet. However, on September 30 Kaifu resigned due to the intra-party opposition to his political reform, which as previously emphasized, constituted his major political goal. Kajiyama Seiroku, the Chairperson of LDP Diet Steering Committee, did not support the political reform bill, which resulted in it being withdrawn and Kaifu being forced to resign. Formally, the main reason was that the Takeshita faction withdrew support for Kaifu's candidacy in the upcoming election

for the LDP presidency in October 1991. Although Kajiyama, like many others, was against political reforms, he supported the UN Peace Cooperation bill (Ishihara 1997: 79-83). As a result, the bill was not scraped, which is common practice, but was forwarded to the next Diet session.

The Third Stage of the PKO Bill and Prime Minister Miyazawa

The new Prime Minister Miyazawa Keiichi, who took office on November 4 - regarded as a "dove", he was initially hesitant about the idea of the JSDF dispatch – eventually began supporting the bill. While taking office, the newly nominated prime minister declared the PKO bill an important policy issue for his new cabinet (Ishihara 1997: 89; Kuriyama 2005: 116). Miyazawa denied lack of interest, as was suggested by the press and other critics at that time, clarifying that it was important for Japan to show willingness to contribute to the international community within constitutional restrictions (Mikuriya & Nakamura 2005: 299-300).

By the time Miyazawa was elected for the premiership, the bill formulation was basically completed, although several issues – such as the timing of the Diet approval, peace-keeping forces (PKF) – remained contentious. The task for the new prime minister was to act as a Political Entrepreneur and secure the passage of the bill through the Diet, which he eventually achieved. The deal with Kōmeitō and SDP was previously negotiated by the LDP Secretary General Ozawa Ichirō (Mikuriya & Nakamura 2005: 293), who resigned in April 1991 following unsuccessful LDP local election results and was replaced by Obuchi Keizō. Nevertheless, during new deliberations in the Diet, objections from the opposition parties were very strong. On December 3, the Lower House passed the bill, but it was stalled in the Upper House, which was controlled by the opposition parties. After prolonged discussions, Miyazawa gave up passing the bill in the 1991 Diet session, moving it to the next convention.

The deliberations began again at the beginning of 1992. In order to gain support from the opposition parties, especially Kōmeitō and the SDP, the LDP carried out further negotiations. In mid-March, the Special Representative of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) Akashi Yasushi arrived in Cambodia, which made the JSDF dispatch urgent. The negotiations intensified. For the opposition parties it was a chance to show their influence over the ruling party. At the last moment, SDP chairperson Ōuchi Keigo demanded prior Diet approval of participation in UN peace-keeping forces (PKF), while Kōmeitō Secretary-General Ichikawa Yūichi, under the pressure of the Women's section of

Soka Gakkai, demanded the exclusion of PKF from activities (Ishihara 1997: 91-92; Mikuriya & Nakamura 2005: 296-298; Tanba 2011: 101-102). On June 5, 1991, the Upper House Special Committee on International Peace Cooperation passed the revised PKO Cooperation bill, and so did the Upper House although the voting procedures took over 75 hours. The opposition parties – the Communists and Socialists – employed filibusters to block the legislation, including non-confidence resolutions against the Diet committee chairperson and cabinet members, and later the 'cow-walk' strategy during voting, that is walking extremely slowly towards the voting stand (no electronic system). Finally, the bill was adopted by the Lower House on June 11.

In the end, the opposition parties, particularly Kōmeitō and SDP, did in fact manage to modify the bill, thereby shaping the final policy output, but the ultimate policy goal of the JSDF dispatch was achieved. Japan was to start a new stage of foreign and security policy.[12]

Conclusions

The Gulf War posed several policy challenges to Japan, which the Japanese government headed at that time by Prime Minister Kaifu, responded to in various ways (see Table 1). The evaluation of those decisions – for instance in terms of "success" or "failure" – depends on several factors, including personal leanings and values. From the perspective of Prime Minister Kaifu, Vice Minister Kuriyama and other "pacifists" not adhering to US pressure for the JSDF dispatch during the Gulf crises can be considered a "success", along the adoption of the PKO Cooperation Law, which allowed for Japan's participation in international affairs only under the UN and only in peace-keeping operations. For the other group of revisionists, including Okamoto Yukio, LDP Secretary General Ozawa Ichirō and their American counterparts (e.g., Ambassador Armacost), the lack of a dispatch could be seen as a "failure". Although the later narrative of the crisis focused almost exclusively on the decision to deploy JSDF, it is important to remember that it was one among many decisions taken at that time. Furthermore, equally significant is to take into consideration the context of the events, namely that the challenges at that time were multiple, not entirely clear (e.g. amount of financial contribution to be provided), the war situation was unstable and fluid, and that US-Japan relations were heavily influenced by trade frictions and anti-Japanese sentiments in the States. And in light of

[12] In September 1992 Japan sent three electoral observers to Angola, between 1992 and 1993 Japan JSDF participated in PKO in Cambodia (UNTAC), and from May 1993 to January 1995 in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

the later strong criticism of Kaifu's response to the Gulf crisis, it is important to remember that Japan was condemned by the US Congress for not providing enough money at the time, and not because Japan was not willing to send its troops.

Policy		Policy Entrepreneur	Political Entrepreneur	Politics Stream
Sanctions		PM Kaifu	PM Kaifu	MITI support
Transport support (*yusō kyōryoku*)		Ministry of Transport/MOFA	PM Kaifu	opposition of trade unions & private companies; charter planes
Material support (*busshi kyōryoku*)		MOFA, North American Bureau	PM Kaifu	Cooperation of private companies
Medical assistance (*iryō kyōryoku*)		Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health & Welfare	PM Kaifu	Opposition from private sector; 17 volunteers
Financial Contribution No 1 ($4 bn)	$1 bn (Aug. 1990)	MOFA Vice-Minister Kuriyama	PM Kaifu	MOFA-MOF rivalry
	$3 bn (Sep. 1990)	Finance Minister Hashimoto	Finance Minister Hashimoto/ PM Kaifu	Support of key veto players
Financial Contribution No 2 ($9 bn)		Finance Minister Hashimoto	Finance Minister Hashimoto/ PM Kaifu	Support of key veto players
Host Nation Support		US Congress	PM Kaifu	
Personnel Contribution	Minesweepers Dispatch 0.1	US Government		Opposition of PM Kaifu, MOFA Vice Minister Kuriyama, others
	Minesweepers Dispatch 0.2 (Apr. 1991)	PM Kaifu	PM Kaifu	Support of LDP veto players, public support
	UN Cooperation Law	MOFA Vice Minister Kuriyama	PM Kaifu/ LDP SG Ozawa	Protest of opposition parties, public against
	PKO Cooperation Law 0.1 & 0.2	Kantei/ MOFA	PM Kaifu/ PM Miyazawa	Support of opposition parties, public support

Table 1. Policy challenges during the Gulf War[13]

The challenges came mostly in the form of American requests, which is not surprising given the fact that the United States took the initiative and led

[13] The US also requested the drawdown of oil from Japan. Kaifu agreed to an oil drawdown of 350,000 barrels per day (National Archives 1991).

international efforts via the UN regarding Iraq's aggression. Some of those requests were for the exclusive benefit of the United States (the subsidy for the US forces in Japan), others for the multinational forces or states affected by the war (Jordan, Egypt, Turkey). The requests were transmitted both via administrative (e.g., Kuriyama-Armacost) and diplomatic (e.g., Bush-Kaifu, Hashimoto-Brady) routes, which sometimes led to misunderstandings.

Among the policy challenges, the personnel contribution, and especially the JSDF dispatch stirred the greatest controversy because it touched upon the fundamental principle of Japan's postwar security regime. The policy change – legislation allowing the dispatch of JSDF – was possible due to cooperation between the Policy Entrepreneurs (MOFA, Vice Minister Kuriyama, Kantei staff) and Political Entrepreneurs (Prime Minister Kaifu and Miyazawa with the backup of key veto players), who used the window of opportunity (Gulf War) to push for the policy solution through the decision-making system. That policy solution– the JSDF dispatch overseas limited only to UN peace-keeping operations – was not a direct response to a US request (who requested Japan's visible presence during the military operations), but a policy option prepared long before, since the Takeshita Cabinet. In other words, the international situation of the Gulf War and particularly American influence, termed as *gaiatsu* or foreign pressure, were important factors for the policy initiation, but the policy output – the PKO Cooperation bill adopted in July 1991, 21 months after its initiation – can hardly be explained in terms of the simple effect of *gaiatsu*. The US urged Japan to provide personnel contribution to the conflict zone at the time of the Gulf War under the skim of logistics support (*kōhō shien*), but the request was not met. Instead, the Japanese government adopted a bill enabling JSDF participation in peace-keeping operations under the UN. The solution did not require a revision of the constitution, and the strictly limited usage of weapons by the JSDF, in order not to violate the principle of the use of force (*buryoku kōshi*). As mentioned, the idea has been harbored by MOFA officials (including Kuriyama Takakazu) and some LDP members for a long time, and the Gulf War was used as an opportunity to push through with their pet policy solution.

The framework of multiple streams, which differentiates between policy and political entrepreneurs, as well as policy problems and solutions, allows for setting some hypothesis about further policy changes in the field of security and defense. The probability of major policy change becomes higher if there are policy entrepreneurs (e.g. MOFA traditionally in charge of drafting proposals) who closely cooperate with political entrepreneurs

(politicians) and use windows of opportunities – some dramatic events, perceived as a threat to public and national security, which could be used to influence public opinion in favor of a certain policy solution. Given the sensitivity of the general public in Japan, the changes are most probably to be "saltatory", introducing important policy changes by small jumps rather than fundamental revisions. The public sentiments and attitudes are of great importance as well, but, as the analysis showed, it can be influenced by changes in the international situation (e.g., the success of the minesweeping operation, international criticism against Japan, etc.). Furthermore, the probability of policy changes rises with the generational shift caused by the retirement of persons remembering the militaristic past and sensitive to the potential remilitarization of Japan.

Bibliography

Arima Tatsuo (2015). *Tai Ōbei Gaikō no Tsuioku* [Memoires on foreign policy towards Europe and America]. Tōkyō: Fujiwara Shoten.

Armacost, Michael H. (1996). *Friends of Rivals? The Insider Account of U.S.-Japan Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Asahi Shinbun (1990a, October 1). 'Jieitai Haken Sezu' 67%, Chūtō Kiki Taiō de Asahi Shinbunsha ga Nichibei Seron Chōsa [67% 'No to JSDF dispatch', opinion poll by Asahi Shinbunsha in Japan and US on the response to Middle East crisis], p. 1.

Asahi Shinbun (1990b, October 1). "Nichibei Tomo Nihon no Taiō ni Fuman, Asahi Shinbunsha, Chūtō Kiki Nichibei Seron Chōsa" [Both Japan and US dissatisfied with Japan's response, opinion poll by Asahi Shinbunsha in Japan and US on Middle East crisis], p. 3.

Asahi Shinbun (1990, November 6a). "Jieitai Haken ni 78% ga Hantai, Hōan Sansei wa 21%, Asahi Shinbun no Seron Chōsa" [78% against JSDF dispatch, 21% support the bill, opinion poll by Asahi Shinbun], p. 1.

Asahi Shinbun (1990, November 6b). "Kokuren Heiwa Kyōryoku Hōan ni Tsuite no Asahi Shinbun Seron Chōsa [Asahi Shinbun opinion poll on UN Peace Cooperation bill], p. 3.

Asahi Shinbun (1990, November 8). "Kyōryoku Hōan Haian Hisshi de mo Shushō no Sekinin Tsuikyū Nashi" [No pursuit of prime minister's responsibility even in case of necessity of the bill withdrawal], p. 2.

Asahi Shinbun (1991, March 12). "Wangan Sensō ni Senmetsu Sareta Nihon Seiji, Wangan Sensō, Nihon no Seiji Shisutemu" [Japanese politics annihilated by Gulf War, Gulf War and Japan's political system], p. 17.

Asahi Shinbun (1991, May 9). Seron Chōsa Sōkaitei 'Wangan' Ato to Nihon 6 [Opinion Poll (Dispatch of minesweepers, Japan after the 'Gulf', 6)], p. 2.

Asahi Shinbun (1991, June 19). "Jieitai Kaigai Haken, 74% ga Yōnin, Higunji Gentei ga Ōzei, Honsha Seron Chōsa" [JSDF overseas dispatch, 74% approve, majority only for non-military use, opinion poll by Asahi Shinbunsha]. p. 1.

Asahi Shinbun (1991, October 23). "Do Naru, Shin Naikaku no Shijiritsu, 'rekidai' no Henka o Bunseki Suru to [What will happen to support for new cabinet, analysis of the changes of 'successive cabinets'], p. 5.

Bush, George (1991). News Conference of President Bush and Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan in Kennebunkport, Maine. July 11. The American Presidency Project.
http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=19775 (accessed 19 October 2017).

Bush, George H. W. and Brent Scowcroft (1999). *A World Transformed*. New York: Random House.

Cooney, Kevin. (2002). *Japan's Foreign Policy Maturation: A Quest for Normalcy*. Florence: Taylor and Francis.

Dai 123kai Kokkai (Dai 123kai Kokkai, Kokusai Heiwa Kyōryoku tō ni Kansuru Tokubetsu Iinkai) [123 Diet session, Special Committee on International Peace Cooperation], No 12. 1992, May 27. http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/SENTAKU/sangiin/123/1675/12305271675012c.html (accessed 15 January 2018).

Dionne, E. J., Jr. (1987). "Democrats Exchange Views and Barbs on Foreign Issues", *New York Times*, September 28.
http://www.nytimes.com/1987/09/28/us/democrats-exchange-views-and-barbs-on-foreign-issues.html (accessed 11 January 2018).

Hatano Yukio (1995). *Kokusai kōken, Hatano Yukio san (Gaikokujin Kisha Kurabu kara)* [International contribution, Hatano Yukio (from the Foreign Press Club)]. *Asahi Shinbun*, March 18, evening edition, p. 5.

Herweg, Nicole, Nikolaos Zahariadis, and Reimut Zohlnhöfer (2017). "The Multiple Streams Framework: Foundations, Refinements, and Empirical Applications". In Christopher Weible and Paul Sabatier, eds. *Theories of the Policy Process*, 4th edition. New York: Westview Press. Kindle Electronic version.

Green, Michael J. and Igata Akira (2015). "The Gulf War and Japan's national security identity". In Yoichi Funabashi and Barak Kushner, eds. *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*, 158-175. Routledge.

Handa Shigeru (2008). *'Senchi' Haken – Kawaru Jieitai* [Dispatch to 'combat area' – changing JSDF]. Tōkyō: Shinchōsha.

Ikeda Toyoharu and Yoshida Shinzō (1990). "Nichibei Shunō Kaidan de Zainichi Beigun Keihi Futan Maetaoshi Yōsei, Gikai Taisaku ni Nerai, Futanzō 900 okuen [Request for increase of expenses for US bases in Japan ahead-of-schedule at the US-Japan summit meeting], *Yomiuri Shinbun,* October 1, p. 3.

Iokibe Makoto, Itō Motoshige, Yakushiji Katsuyuki, eds. (2009). *Okamoto Yukio: Genbashugi o Tsuranuita Gaikōkan* [A diplomat, who carried out the idea of hands-on approach]. Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbun Shuppan.

Iokibe Makoto (2009). "Nihon no Kokusaiteki Yakuwari no Tsuikyū – Okamoto Yukio [In pursuit of Japan's international role – Okamoto Yukio]. In Iokibe Makoto, Itō Motoshige, Yakushiji Katsuyuki, eds. 2009. *Okamoto Yukio: Genbashugi o Tsuranuita Gaikōkan* [A diplomat, who carried out the idea of hands-on approach]. Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, pp. 325-338.

Ishihara Nobuo (1997). *Shushō Kantei no Ketsudan: Naikaku Kanbō Fukuchōkan Ishihara Nobuo no 2600 nichi* [Decisions of the Prime Minister Residence: 2600 days of Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Ishihara Nobuo]. Interviews and edition by Mikuriya Takashi and Watanabe Akio. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha.

Ito, Kenichi (1991). "The Japanese State of Mind: Deliberations on the Gulf Crisis", *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer): 275-290.

Kaifu Toshiki (1990). *Wangan Kiki ni Kansuru Shiryō, Kisha Kaiken ni Okeru Kaifu Naikaku Sōri Daijin Hatsugen Yōshi* [Documents on Gulf Crisis. Digests of the Statement by Prime Minister Kaifu at Press Conference], 29 August.

http://worldjpn.grips.ac.jp/documents/texts/JPME/19900829.O1J.html (4 February 2018).

Kaifu Toshiki (1991). Sangiin Kaigiroku No 22 [House of Councilors' Records No 22]. *Kanpō (Gōgai)* [Official Gazette (Special Addition)], 26 April.
http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/SENTAKU/sangiin/120/0010/12004260010022.pdf (accessed 19 January 2018).

Kaifu Toshiki (2005). (Seisaku Kenkyū Daigaku Daigakuin C.O.E. Ōraru, Seisaku Kenkyū Prujekuto [National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies C.O.E. Oral Policy Study Project]). (2005). *Kaifu Toshiki (Moto Naikaku Sōri Daijin), jōkan* [Kaifu Toshiki (former Prime Minister) Vol. 2]. Tōkyō: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies.

Kaifu Toshiki (2010). *Seiji to Kane* [Politics and Money]. Tōkyō: Shinchōsha.

Kingdon, John W. (1995). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2d ed. Addison Wesley Longman.

Kitaoka Shin'ichi (1991). "Wangan Sensō to Nihon no Gaikō" [Gulf War and Japanese Politics]. *Kokusai Mondai* [International Problems] 377: 2-13.

Kuriyama Takakazu (Seisaku Kenkyū Daigaku Daigakuin C.O.E. Ōraru, Seisaku Kenkyū Prujekuto [National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies C.O.E. Oral Policy Study Project]). (2005). *Kuriyama Takakazu (Moto Chūbei Taishi) Ōraru Hisutorī – Wangan Sensō to Nihon Gaikō* [Kuriyama Takakazu (former Ambassador to US) Oral History: Gulf War and Japan's Foreign Policy]. Tōkyō: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies.

Midford, Paul (2006). *Japanese Public Opinion and the War on Terrorism: Implications for Japan's Security Strategy*. Washington: East-West Center.

Midford, Paul (2011). *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Mikuriya Takashi and Nakamura Takafusa, eds. (2005). *Kikigaki Miyazawa Kiichi Kaikoroku* [Interviews: Memoirs of Miyazawa Kiichi]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.

Murata Ryōhei (2008). *Murata Ryōhei Kaisōroku*. Vol. 2. *Sokoku no saisei o jisedai ni takushite* [Memoires of Murata Ryōhei. Vol. 2. Leaving revival of the motherland to next generation]. Kyōto: Mineruva Shobō.

Nakamura Toshiya (2005). "Mass Media to Seisaku Kettei Katei: 'Kokuren Heiwa Kyōryoku Hōan' no Hai'an" (Mass Media and Policy Making –Process in Japan: In the Case of Miscarriage of the United Nations Peace Cooperation Bill), *Kenritsu Nagasaki Shīborto Daigaku Kokusai Jōhō Gakubu Kiyō* [Journal of the Faculty of Global Communication, Siebold University of Nagasaki] 6: 199-212.

National Archives (1990a). *Telcon with Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan on August 29, 1990*, No. 6954.
https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

National Archives (1990b). *Telcon with Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan on August 29, 1990.* No.6955.
https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

National Archives (1990c). *Telcon with Toshiki Kaifu, Prime Minister of Japan, September 13, 1990,* No. 7342.
https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

National Archives (1990d). *Meeting with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan*. September 29, 1990, No. 7923.
https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

National Archives (1990e). *Meeting with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan*. November 14, 1990, No 9197.
https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

National Archives (1990f). *Telcon with Toshiki Kaifu, Prime Minister of Japan on December 31, 1990*, No 10092.
https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

National Archives (1991). *Telcon with Toshiki Kaifu, Prime Minister of Japan on January 10, 1991*, No 0317.
https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/memcons-telcons (accessed 3 February 2018).

Ōishi, Yū (2005). "Seron Chōsa To Shimin Ishiki. Iraku Sensō To Jieitai Haken (2003-2004) o Jirei Toshite" [Opinion poll and citizens'

consciousness. Case study of Iraq war and JSDF dispatch (2003-2004)]. *Media Communication* 55: 49- 62.

Okamoto Yukio (2001). "Mata Onaji koto ni Naranai ka – Moshi Wangan Sensō ga mō Ichido Okottara?" [Would it not be the same – If the Gulf War occurred again?]. *Gaikō Forum* (September): 12-20.

Okamoto Yukio (2004). *Sabaku no sensō* [Desert war]. Tōkyō: Bungei Shunjusha.

Orita Masaki (2013). *Gaikō Shōgenroku: Wangan Sensō, Futenma Mondai, Iraku Sensō* [Records of diplomatic testimonies: Gulf War, Futenma problem, Iraq War], ed. by Hattori Ryūji, Shiratori Jun'ichirō. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.

Penn, Michael (2014). *Japan and the War on Terror. Force and Political Pressure in the US-Japanese Alliance*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Pugliese, Giulio (2017). "Kantei diplomacy? Japan's hybrid leadership in foreign and security policy". *Pacific Review* 30 (20): 152-168.

Sebata Takao (2010). *Japan's defense policy and bureaucratic politics, 1976-2007*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Schwarzkopf, Norman (1993). *It Doesn't Take a Hero: The Autobiography of General H. Norman Schwarzkopf.* New York: Bantam.

Shinoda, Tomohito (2007). *Koizumi Diplomacy: Japan's Kantei Approach to Foreign and Defense Affairs*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Shōji Takayuki (2011). „Hōan Sakusei o Meguru Arasoi. Gaimushō to Heiwa Kyōryoku Hōan Sakusei Katei [Struggle about bill formulation: MOFA and the policy making process on UN Peace Cooperation bill], *Nenpō Seijigaku* [The Annuals of Japanese Political Science Association] 62 (2), 2: 206-227.

Tanba Minoru (2011). *Waga Gaikō Jinsei* [My life as diplomat]. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha.

Tolchin, Martin (1988). "THE NATION; 'Japan-Bashing' Becomes a Trade Bill Issue", *The New York Times*, 28 February 1988. http://www.nytimes.com/1988/02/28/weekinreview/the-nation-japan-bashing-becomes-a-trade-bill-issue.html (accessed 4 September 2017).

Yakushiji Katsuyuki (1991). "Busshu Beidaitōryō, Kome Kaihō o Jūshi, Messe de no Tenji Tekkyo wa Zannen to Hyōmei" [US President Bush

attaches importance to rice liberation, expresses regret for the removal from the exhibition], *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 March, evening edition, p. 1.

Yamaguchi, Jiro (1992). "The Gulf War and the Transformation of Japanese Constitutional Politics", *Journal of Japanese Studies* 18 (1): 155-172.

Yomiuri Shinbun (1990, October 1). "Naikaku Shijiritsu 60.1%, 3 ka Getsu Renzoku de 60% dai, Yomiuri Shinbunsha Zenkoku Seron Chōsa" [Cabinet support at 60.1%, over 60% for 3 consecutive months, All-Japan opinion poll by Yomiuri Shinbunsha], p.2.

Yomiuri Shinbun (1990, November 22). "Naikaku Shijiritsu 48.3%, Sengetsuhi 1.5% daun, Yomiuri Shinbunsha Zenkoku Seron Chōsa" [Cabinet support at 48.3%, down from previous month, All-Japan opinion poll by Yomiuri Shinbunsha], p. 2.

Yomiuri Shinbun (1991, February 28). "2 Gatsu Naikaku Shijiritsu 48.7%, Sengetsu yori 2.1% Jōshō, Yomiuri Shinbunsha Zenkoku Seron Chōsa" [Cabinet support in February at 48.7%, 2.1% Higher than in Previous Month, All-Japan opinion poll by Yomiuri Shinbunsha], p. 2.

Yoshida Shigeru (1962). *The Yoshida Memoirs: The Story of Japan in Crisis*. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin.

Żakowski Karol, Beata Bochorodycz and Marcin Socha (2018). *Japan's Foreign Policy Making. Central Government Reforms, Decision-Making Processes, and Diplomacy*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Beata Bochorodycz
Associate Professor at the Chair of Oriental Studies, Adam Mickiewicz University (AMU) in Poznan. MA in Japanese studies at AMU (1993); MA in law at the Law Department of Kyushu University, specializing in Japanese politics (2001); PhD at the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Science (PAN) in Warsaw (2006). Fellow of the International Rotary Club (1993-1995), the Japanese Ministry of Education (1997-2001), and Japan Foundation (2013-2014). Research focus: modern political and social history of Japan, policy process in public administration, foreign policy, anti-nuclear movement, civil society.

Arkadiusz Jabłoński
ORCID: 0000-0002-0812-4142

When Honorifics May not Express Respect – Some Remarks on Honorific Modification

DOI: 10.14746/sijp.2018.52/53/54/55.3

ABSTRACT

The gap between labels and actual phenomena is an issue in many areas of research. Quite independently of the visible progress in the pragmatic studies, it is never enough to quote examples that honorifics are only in an indirect way related to respect or politeness. In this short paper, a simple set of typical and atypical situation from the Japanese communication environment have been analyzed in this aspect.

KEYWORDS: pragmatics, honorifics, politeness, Japanese, respect

Honorifics and Respect

While arguably the most concise and the least culturally biased definition of honorifics was provided by Levinson as "socially deictic information" (Levinson 1983: 89), the theories based on rather ambiguous notions of *politeness* as "aesthetic, social or moral in character" (cf. Grice 1989: 28) or inherently unclear concept of *face* (Brown, Levinson 1978) seem to dominate in the pragmatic studies of the language. In the course of the latter, it has been proven many times that "doing things with words", as Austin put it in the title of his work on the performatives (Austin 1962), is in fact inevitably a performative activity, since it changes the parameters of extralinguistic reality. In this context, one interesting paradox pointed out by Geoffrey Leech may be observed.

> "I am aware that people typically use 'polite' in a relative sense, that is, relative to some norm of behavior which, for a particular setting, they regard as typical […] I have been seriously told that 'Poles/Russians etc. are never polite', and it is commonly said that 'the Chinese and the Japanese are very polite in comparison with Europeans' and so on. These stereotypic comments are based on partial evidence […]" (Leech 1983: 84)

At least in some cases — from the descriptive perspective — labelling situations as *polite* or *impolite* may appear more important than what actually happens during an interaction. While it is probably clear that *being polite* and *expressing respect* are not the scientific terms for the description of honorifics, they may be important constituents of the user awareness of the phenomenon. This may further explain why numerous situations are defined as *polite*, *impolite* or *expressing respect*.

In this paper, some examples from Japanese are going to be provided and analyzed in order to demonstrate that the notion of *politeness* and the related concept of *respect* may not always be useful in describing actual linguistic decisions as well as assessing situational requirements. The example texts were purposefully selected from the range of texts which rarely seem to be the scope of analysis, functioning in contexts rather far from conventional ones when it comes to decisions made in terms of *politeness* or *respect*.

The Japanese Honorifics and the Notion of Respect

Quite apart from the question whether the distinction between the first-order politeness, viewed as "psycho-sociological concept" and the second-order politeness — "linguistic, scientific concept", as quoted from Eelen (2001: 30-32), is what makes the studies on honorifics more complicated than expected, the Japanese theories on honorifics (*keigo* 敬語) seem to be dominated by the concept of respect (*kei'i* 敬意). The fact that the Sino-Japanese morpheme *kei* 敬 (with its Japanese reading and verbal meaning *uyamau* 敬う, 'to respect') is present in the very term of *keigo*, traditionally used for 'honorifics', is especially reflected in the omnipresent definitions overtly alluding to the allegedly prominent role of the designate in the phenomena (cf. Tsujimura 1991: 4). Nevertheless, at least since the publication of a short paper by Shibata (1979) it has been clear that honorifics do not only express respect but also, among others, the distance between the referents. This statement by no means seems to be limited to the Japanese communication environment.

As Inoue (1999: 181) points out, even within the traditionally defined range of honorifics, it is mainly the vertical oppositions — mentioned in detail below, in the following section of this paper — which tend to be interpreted as belonging to *keigo*, while the horizontal ones do not. Minami(1987: 15), having investigated the range of terms and approaches related to Japanese *keigo*, reveals that the element of *keigo* is present in sources of limited applicability, and that more universal perspective of research may be achieved by using the term *taigū* 待遇 (namely:

'treatment', 'reception'). In fact, among contemporary approaches to the Japanese honorifics, both frameworks overtly related to the Japanese honorifics in terms of respect (cf. Kikuchi 1997) and the ones alluding to the more universal perspective of approach (cf. the notion of *wakimae* 'discernment' in Ide 2006) are used, still the former is recognized as the more popular and frequent one.

In this paper, several cases of honorifics, or rather: honorific modification (HM), viewed as the universal and layered technique of modifying the message components in order to achieve its communicative effectiveness (cf. Jabłoński 2004) are going to be presented and analyzed. There is no intention to compare the techniques of the abovementioned analysis with the proposition of HM. The purpose is rather to describe several representative cases in which honorifics are used, mainly according to situational requirements, in order to mark certain communication genres (procedures) and to project speaker's (below: the sender's) definition of a speech situation.

The Japanese Honorifics in Technical Terms

From the technical point of view, the Japanese HM techniques may be described as based on two oppositions: horizontal and vertical. In the English literature of the subject they are often rendered on the axis of address and the axis of reverence (Martin 1964, Miller 1967: 270). Both can be directly mapped on the value of socio-cultural rank of context objects taken into account (cf. Huszcza 1996: 51), with necessary simplifications implemented. As such, the axes may be viewed as schemes of corresponding sets of ranks (the values expressing mutual relations of speech situation elements: speakers, hearers and others). The scheme of the honorific opposition axes provided by Miller (ibid.) is presented in Figure 1. The ranks may be defined as (schematic) positions in the diagram. Rank decisions are usually rendered by the respective forms of protocol HM.

The scheme in Figure 1. is going to be used below with one major adjustment. In the original version of the scheme, the humble value is placed higher than the exalted one. It seems more intuitive to recognize the exalted rank as the higher one, and the humble rank as the lower one, respectively.

The horizontal (address) HM opposition is related to the formal/informal character of the interaction (or: the utterance, since the value of formality may change within one interaction). The most typical example is observed between the plain form of verb, such as *miru* 見る 'to see; to watch' and its polite form (*courteous* or *formal* would probably be more suitable terms)

mimasu 見ます. The grammatical element *-mas-* may be considered a polite (courteous) style marker, being defined as an auxiliary polite verb with its own conjugational pattern in traditional descriptions. The respective forms of Japanese copula are *da/de aru* だ・である (plain) and *desu/de arimasu/de gozaimasu* です・であります・でございます (polite).

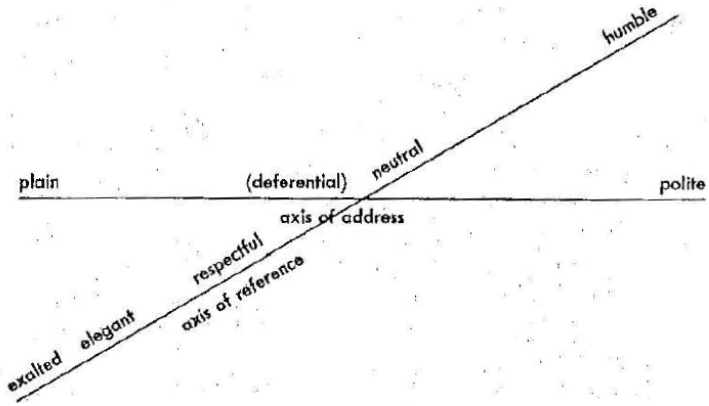

Figure 1. The vertical and horizontal axes according to Miller (1967: 270)

The horizontal axis oppositions are presented in Table 1. below.

HORIZONTAL AXIS	**plain**	**polite**
'to see; to watch'	*miru*	*mimasu*
copula	*da/de aru*	*desu/de arimasu/de gozaimasu*

Table 1. Some examples of horizontal axis oppositions in Japanese

Consequently, the basic opposition between the plain and the polite form of the verb may be demonstrated in the following sentences with their approximate English translations:

[plain] *Kekka o miru.* 結果を見る。 '[I]'ll see the results.'
[polite] *Kekka o mimasu.* 結果を見ます。 '[I] am going to watch the results, sir/madam.'

The vertical (reference) HM oppositions are related to the higher/lower rank of the subject of utterance (compared to other elements, most

typically within one organization structure) and can be mapped on the humble vs. exalted dichotomy. The abovementioned verb *miru* takes the suppletive humble form of *haiken suru/itashimasu* 拝見する・いたします 'to [humbly] take a look' and the suppletive exalted form *goran ni naru* ご覧になる lit. 'to deign to have a look'. Verbs without the suppletive humble and exalted forms, such as *kaku* 書く 'to write', form the regular humble and exalted forms with the auxiliary verbs *suru* and *naru*, respectively: *okaki suru/itashimasu* お書きする・いたします lit. 'to write humbly', *okaki ni naru* お書きになる lit. 'to deign to write'.

A slightly different type of vertical HM oppositions is marked by the use of auxiliary donatory verb *morau* もらう with its humble form *idadaku* いただく, marking the act of "in-getting", as well as *kureru* くれる with its exalting suppletive form *kudasaru* くださる, marking the act of "in-giving" (Miller 1967: 272-274). The respective verbs are present among others in the humble constructions of *goran itadaku* ご覧いただく 'to receive [from the other person] the favor of looking at' and *okaki itadaku* お書きいただく 'to receive [from the other person] the favor of writing' as well as in the exalted constructions *goran kudasaru* ご覧くださる 'to do [the speaker] the favor and have a look' and *okaki kudasaru* お書きくださる 'to do [the speaker] the favor and write'.

The use of the auxiliary donatory verbs may actually make the marking even more complicated, since the abovementioned humble forms *goran itadaku* ご覧いただく and *okaki itadaku* お書きいただく from a strictly technical perspective contain both exalted (*goran*, *okaki*) and humble (*itadaku*) markings, due to a different agent marking of their respective constituents, which may require further explanation. Furthermore, the HM rank marking in Japanese goes beyond the individual identity, extending to one's group. Consequently, the forms reserved for the speaker (usually humble) are also used towards the group members of the speaker, and the forms reserved for the hearers (usually exalted) are used towards the members of their group. Even more detailed restrictions apply to the schemes of the absolute and the relative usage of vertical HM modification. Nominal elements connect to specialized prefixes *-o* or *-go*, which are recognized as exalted, but usually more complex marking. They also reveal the oppositions of the suppletive and non-systematic character, such as the one between the neutral form of a noun *hito* 人 'man' and the exalting *kata* 方 '[honourable] person'. It is also possible to use nouns referring to the lower rank of the referent, such as *mono* 者 'one [of a lower rank]', usually

omitted in explanations on honorific oppositions due to their potentially negative and humiliating marking, though inevitably present in the range of potential honorific decisions of any Japanese speaker. Another example of that could be the use of numeral classifiers, such as neutral *sannin* 三人 'three [people]', slightly marked *sanmei* 三名 'three [persons]' and exalted *sanmeisama* 三名様 'three [persons: usually used towards customers]'. Vertical axis verbal oppositions are presented in Table 2. below.

VERTICAL AXIS	**humble**	**neutral**	**exalted**
'to see; to watch' (suppletive forms)	*haiken suru/itashimasu* 'to [humbly] take a look' *goran itadaku* 'to receive [from the other person] the favor of looking at'	*miru*	*goran ni naru* 'to deign to have a look' *goran kudasaru* 'to do [the speaker] a favor and have a look'
'to write'	*okaki suru/itashimasu* 'to write humbly' *okaki itadaku* 'to receive [from the other person] the favor of writing'	*kaku*	*okaki ni naru* 'to deign to write' *okaki kudasaru* 'to do [the speaker] a favor and write'

Table 2. Some examples of the vertical axis oppositions in Japanese

The basic opposition between the vertical forms of a verb may be seen in the following sentences with their approximate English translations. The version marked as [neutral] on the vertical axis contains the polite form of a verb on the horizontal axis (marked by *-mas-*).

[humble] *Kekka o haiken shimasu.* 結果を拝見します。 '[I] will [humbly] see the results.'
[neutral] *Kekka o mimasu.* 結果を見ます。 '[I] will see the results, sir/madam.'
[exalted] *Kekka o goran ni narimasu.* 結果をご覧になりまします。 '[One] is going to deign to have a look at the results.'

It is also possible to describe the plain/neutral forms of a verb (in the above cases: *miru*, *kaku*) as a neutral example (the point zero) of honorific modification. However, ot should be taken into account that the forms labeled as neutral may also be regarded unjustified (too elaborate or too simple) in certain circumistances (cf. Mizutani 1993: 8).

Communication Environment

While linguistic measures are used to mark the HM values in a relatively highly predictable manner, technical oppositions between the code values cannot automatically be mapped onto every possible speech situation. Extralinguistic reality is usually more complicated than purely linguistic oppositions and their corresponding value labels. In other words, the choice between the polite and plain value of horizontal modifiers does not automatically or tacitly imply that some utterances are planned as polite or impolite. Similarly, the choice of vertical rank marking does not always imply the overt usage of rank markers. There are also speech situations in which certain honorific values are always used in an almost automatic manner. Such complex interdependencies may be defined in terms of procedure and protocol within the concept of the honorific modification (HM) proposed by the author of this paper (Jabłoński 2004).

The HM procedure and protocol dichotomy emerges from the opposition between the means of communication (code) and the varieties of its use (patterns). It has been present in linguistic thought much longer than since the 70s of the last century, when it was implemented in the definition of speech community in terms of code and patterns of its use (Hymes 1974: 51).

The aspect of HM protocol is related to any language code components used in order to mark socially deictic information. Whatever they may be, it is obvious that it may not be sufficient to simply use marked (polite, respectful, exalting) language elements in order to achieve success in communication. The HM protocol oppositions may be viewed as related to the traditionally perceived grammar of the code (linguistic markers of the HM values).

On the other hand, the procedures are viewed as fixed communication entities (schemes) with specific results to be achieved. The simplest procedural HM units may be related to the phatic phrases (see *stock phrases* by Martin 1964) of frequent, everyday use. More complicated and detailed classification of the HM procedures is applied throughout repeated communication activities connected to the purposeful use of the protocol HM oppositions in certain context environments, with the intention to

achieve predictable communication goals. In other words, while the protocol HM oppositions are related to word forms, the procedure HM oppositions define the sequential entities focused on communicational goals.

While the proposed view of HM may in many aspects differ from what is traditionally considered to be the politeness of honorifics, it covers much broader and more detailed scope of communication events than the traditional frame of reference. In this short paper, some examples of actual (not necessarily 'positively marked', as described in traditional honorific terms) acts of communication in Japanese language are going to be analyzed. The purpose of it is to prove that HM requirements remain present and active also in the circumstances far from the ones designed as requiring politeness or respect.

Source Texts – Initial Remarks

The set of example texts has been chosen with the intention to emphasize their inherently (more or less) untypical context. As such, some decisions made by their authors might be related to the potential anomic context of interaction (cf. Sugiyama-Lebra 1976: 112), with no available definition of procedure to be implemented.

First of all, the procedure laying behind the three example texts is asymmetrical when it comes to the scope of activity of the parties involved. An active party, responsible for the procedural conduct of a situation, passes certain information to the party assigned the passive role in the procedure.

The most popular example of the asymmetrical HM procedure is commercial exchange, one of the prevalent procedural units implemented on a daily basis in Japan. In its typical course, the participants are assigned the asymmetrical roles of a service provider (active) and a customer (passive). While it may be both the former's and the latter's interest to initiate and execute the procedure properly and fully, their role requirements are strikingly different. The service provider's rank is hence perceived as lower and it is the provider's responsibility to actively manage the procedure flow. Customers are more free in getting engaged in the procedure and in their individual decisions to modifiy the level of protocol. They are addressed with the exalting and polite forms by the service providers, who use the humble forms for themselves. Customers are allowed to use much less marked protocol forms.

While the asymmetrical role schemes are not rare in Japan, it is necessary to remark that on the most basic, technical level of description, it is not

always the lower rank which is assigned the active role in the procedure. For example, in case when a knowledge transfer is involved, provider of the service may be assigned a vertically higher role, as can usually be found in interactions between the educational institutions (schools, universities) and their actual or potential customers (students or candidates). The same kind of a relation may be observed in the fields of legal services, when attorneys are usually assigned higher ranks than their customers, who are assigned the lower ranks and addressed with according protocol means. Arguably the most interesting examples of the protocol HM decisions may be found in the procedural contexts lacking certain important features of a typical commercial exchange procedure, with unambiguous assignment of the lower rank to the service provider and the higher rank to the customer.

The first source text (TEXT I, JRP 2016) is taken from the Internet WWW site of the Japan Rail Pass service offered by Japanese Railways Group (JR). The Japan Rail Pass service is not a typical example of a commercial transaction. Discount tickets for Shinkansen bullet trains and express trains are offered at convenient prices solely to tourists, requiring at the same time a very tight manner of planning one's journey schedule. Although it does not seem likely that an unlimited access to this travel program would cause an immediate and negative effect on the overall functioning of the JR reservation systems, the Japan Rail Pass distribution is subject to strict rules (at least in the formal manner). This property of the Japan Rail Pass program, as it is going to be demonstrated further, influences the recognition of communication scheme between the Japan Rail Pass supplier (JR) and the potential (since they may also lack the rights to obtain the Pass) user of the program as substantially different from the usual commercial exchange. The ambiguity of protocol-based decisions resulting from this may be explained by the fact that the text is a message both for those who are eligible to use the Pass (as the customers within the commercial exchange relation) and to those who may be denied the right to use the Pass.

The second source text (TEXT II, TU 2017) is a relatively typical set of requirements to be fulfilled by the external candidates in order to enter a course at an academic institution. There is no doubt that, similarly to the situation in TEXT I, the enrollment of candidates is in the interest of both the institution in question as well as the candidates. The vertical distance between the participants of the exchange viewed in terms of knowledge and authority practically excludes the possibility to interpret the roles of the institution and the course candidates as a respective provider of service

and a customer. The candidates are treated as applicants and it is the sole responsibility and competence of the institution in question to decide whether they are enrolled or not. Such context of communication procedure is also clearly visible in the choice of pure protocol elements of the message.

The third source text (TEXT III, NINJAL 2017) constitutes a fairly typical instance of a conference call for the press. The institution hosting the meeting, namely the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, is equipped with the sole competence and authority to qualify the candidates for the international symposium. The vertical distance between the institution representatives and the candidates is significantly smaller than in TEXT II. Some of the applicants may even hold higher academic degrees than the representatives of the host institution. This attribute is manifested by the choice of both vertical and horizontal protocol opposition markers, which are considerably different from those in TEXT II. It would hence be very untypical to qualify this communication context as one related to the commercial exchange pattern. On the other hand, unclear oppositions between ranks provoke uncertainty in communicating at least some technical requirements related to the event. In one fragment of the original text, the reader may find characteristic traces of hesitation, which presumably are always present in the background of untypical situations, embodied in an instance of an unambiguous mistake in selection of the protocol HM markers.

Source Ttexts: Analysis

This section contains an analysis of purely linguistic (protocol HM) layer elements of the three source texts in Japanese with their English translations, which are included in a separate section of this paper. The source texts are marked according to text numbers (Roman numerals: I, II and III, respectively) and alphabetical symbols (a, b, c, and so on). Technical roles of communication participants are rendered within the scheme: sender (text author or their representative) vs. recipient (text addressee). For obvious reasons, the analysis also includes the oppositions of the original Japanese texts which are inevitably neutralized (lost) in the English translations, not specifically mentioned in the analysis. The summary of the analysis is available in Table 3. below.

TEXT I – a partly atypical commercial exchange procedure (customer vs. provider)		
rank	**value (marking)**	**example(s)**
sender's vertical	lower (humble or	Ii. *haraimodoshi o itashimasu* 払

rank	neutral)	い戻しをいたします ‘[we shall] refund’ Ih. *JR gurūpu* ‘JR Group’
recipient’s vertical rank	higher (exalting)	Ik. *omotome itadaita* お求めいただいた ‘[we have received the favor of you having] made the purchase’ Ig., Ik. *okyakusama* お客様 ‘the customer’
horizontal rank	polite	
non-typical instances	ambiguous (neutral)	Ia. *Nihon e kuru mae ni* ‘before you come to Japan’ Ie., If. *hanbai shimasu* 販売します ‘[we] sell’ Ih. *riyōshikaku o mitasanai tame* 利用資格を満たさないため ‘fails to meet the eligibility requirements’
TEXT II – a typical enrollment procedure (institution vs. candidate)		
rank	**value**	**example(s)**
sender’s vertical rank	higher (neutral)	IIc. *henkyaku wa shinai* 返却はしない ‘[we] do not return’ IIc. *honkenkyūkajimubu* 本研究科事務部 ‘post graduate course office’
recipient’s vertical rank	lower (neutral)	IIi. *shikaku o yū suru koto* 資格を有すること ‘[one] should have obtained.’ IIc. *hito* 人 ‘those who’ IIe. *honnin* 本人 ‘the applicant’ IIg., IIh. *mono* 者 ‘someone’
horizontal rank	plain	
non-typical instances	none	
TEXT III – a partly atypical interaction procedure (organizer vs. participant)		
rank	**value**	**example(s)**
sender’s vertical	lower/neutral	IIIf. *oshirase shimasu* おしらせ

rank	(humble/neutral)	します '[we] announce' IIIh. *uketsukemasu* 受け付けます '[we] accept' no nominal element modification
recipient's vertical rank	higher (exalting)	IIIi. *otsukai kudasai* お使いください 'please [do us a favor and] use' no nominal element modification
horizontal rank	polite	
non-typical instances	ambiguous (neutral)	IIIx., in which the phrase *hitori no hito ga* 一人のひとが (lit. 'one man')

Table 3. Some parameters of protocol HM in the source texts

In TEXT I, it is interesting to observe both the multiple co-existing procedural markers of commercial exchange procedure as well as the ambiguous markers atypical for the procedure. First and foremost, the former include fairly consistent use of the exalting terms towards the actions of the recipients, emphasizing their donatory character (cf. Ia., Id. *omotome kudasai* お求めください lit. 'please [do us a favor and] buy/order'; Ik. *omotome itadaita* お求めいただいた '[we have received the favor of you having] made the purchase'). The recipient is addressed as *okyakusama* お客様 'the customer' (cf. Ig., Ik.) in a coherent manner, while the only direct reference to the sender is made rather literally (cf. Ih. *JR gurūpu* 'JR Group').

The actions of the service provider in TEXT I are mostly marked with the humble donatory verb forms (cf. Ig. *goryōkai itadaita* ご了解いただいた lit. '[we have received the favor of] understanding'; Ii. *okaimotome itadaita* お買い求めいただいた '[we have received the favor of] purchase'). The use of other humble elements in fragments related to the areas of immediate responsibility of the service provider may also be considered as typical (cf. Ih. *itashikanemasu* いたしかねます '[we] cannot be [liable for any charges]'; Ii. *haraimodoshi o itashimasu* 払い戻しをいたします '[we shall] refund').

At the same time, some traces of hesitation may be observed, and they are related to the fact that the interaction in question is not a typical commercial exchange. Among those traces, one can point out the choice of neutral forms of verbs related to the activities or properties governed solely

by the provider of service, although perceived as inevitable (cf. Ie., If. *hanbai shimasu* 販売します '[we] sell/distribute'; Ij. *kakarimasu* かかります '[fees] apply'). It is particularly interesting to find out that the neutral forms of verbs are applied when the circumstances or certain properties of the recipients prevent them from acting as customers in the procedure of commercial exchange (cf. Ih. *riyōshikaku o mitasanai tame* 利用資格を満たさないため 'because you fail to meet the eligibility requirements'). Probably for the same reason, the fact that the Pass cannot be purchased in Japan is expressed with the neutral form of a verb, since the recipient is not perceived as a customer (cf. Ic. *kōnyū suru koto wa dekimasen* 購入することはできません '[you] cannot purchase.') Consequently, also in the first sentence of the text Ia. one may observe the non-typical neutral *kuru* 来る 'to come' – not the typical exalting *irassharu* いらっしゃる 'to come' – form of a verb, since its subject may fail to obtain the ticket – and to act as a customer.

Also, the purely technical and neutral character of some elements of the source text may be related to the atypical character of the commercial exchange procedure in question. Wherever the customer's (non-)eligibility to obtain the Pass is mentioned, it is referred to as *riyōshikaku* 利用資格 'the right to use' (Ig., Ih.) with no honorific modification. Similarly, the listing of sales offices in Ib. is provided with no modification. These may also be explained with the fact that the projected recipient of the text may lack the right to use the Pass and hence fail to be perceived as a customer.

TEXT II is a fragment of a typical interaction between an academic institution (sender) and a candidate (recipient). The institution is the active party of the exchange, but due to its more important role in the process of knowledge transfer, its rank is recognized as higher than the rank of a candidate. Both the sender's and the recipient's ranks are not marked with overt vertical protocol oppositions, but with purely lexical means, with the use of honorific neutral protocol forms. Instead, the institution's role is to announce the requirements (cf. IIc. *juri shinai* 受理しない '[we] do not accept'; IIc. *henkyaku wa shinai* へんきゃくはしない '[we] do not return'; IIe. *yūsō suru* 郵送する '[we] will send'; IIj., IIk. *haraimodoshi wa shinai* 払い戻しはしない '[we] shall not return the money') and the canditate's role is to obey them (cf. Ib. *shutsugan suru koto wa dekinai* 出願することはできない '[one] cannot apply'; IIg. *teishutsu suru koto* 提出すること '[one] should submit'; IIi. *shikaku o yū suru koto* 資格を有すること '[one] should have obtained').

The clear assignment of the roles is also visible in the choice of nominal role markers, which emphasize technical character of sender's activities related to the enrollment procedure. The sender is referred to as *honkenkyūka* 本研究科 'the post graduate course in question [=this course]' (IIc.) or *honkenkyūkajimubu* 本研究科事務部 'the post graduate course office in question [=this office]' (IIe., IIh.). The recipients are also referred to in a technical manner, sometimes their rank, unambiguously lower than the sender's, is revealed: cf. *hito* 人 'those who' (IIc.), *honnin* 本人 'the person in question [=the applicant]' (IIe.), *mono* 者 'one [of lower rank]' (IIg., IIh.).

In TEXT III, the sender of the message who is assigned the role of the symposium host is the active part of the exchange, and is accordingly marked with the lower nominal rank (cf. IIIc. *omachi shite imasu* お待ちしています '[we] await]'; IIIf. *oshirase shimasu* おしらせします '[we] announce'). Since the rank distance may not be significant in all possible cases, the lower rank of the sender tends to be neutralized throughout the text, also by using forms typical for a rather unsophisticated style of standard textbooks designed for the foreign learners of Japanese — which might be influenced by the fact that many of the expected participants of the event come from abroad (cf. *boshū shimasu* 募集します '[we] advertise for'; IIIh. *uketsukemasu* 受け付けます '[we] accept'; IIIz. *uketsukemasen* 受け付けません '[we] do not accept'; IIIad. *yotei shite imasu* 予定しています '[we] plan to'). Such literally polite forms could easily be changed to the respective neutral (plain) horizontal forms, in the similar way to the parts of text where neutral forms have already been used (cf. IIIk. *suru* する 'should be'), or with the omission of verbal forms, as has already been done present in sentence IIIe. as well as in sentences IIIm. through IIIo.

The recipients of the text are assigned higher ranks as expected participants of the event (cf. IIIi. *otsukai kudasai* お使いください 'please [do us a favor and] use'; IIIp. *otoiawase kudasai* お問い合わせください 'please [do us a favor and] inquire' and other sentences). Accordingly, no nominal element honorific modification is used throughout the text.

Although the honorific modification of TEXT III is consistent on the protocol level, it cannot be considered typical. The most atypical instance may be observed in sentence IIIx., in the phrase *hitori no hito ga* 一人のひとが (lit. 'one man'). It would probably be more typical and expected to use *happyōsha ichimei* 発表者一名 'one presenter', *happyōkibōsha*

ichimei 発表希望者一名 'each [one] person to apply' instead, or even a more sophisticated version of the latter: *happyōkibō no kata ichimei* 発表の方一名 'each [one honorable] person to apply', among other options. In its present form, however, it seems to embody the hesitation of the text sender about the protocol roles of the expected recipients in a very peculiar way.

Conclusion

Extralinguistic reality is more complex than language. Accordingly, linguistic oppositions tend to reveal more complexity than labels. The awareness of this fact does not seem to influence the descriptions of the Japanese honorifics (and not only Japanese ones), traditionally viewed as *humble*, *exalted*, *polite* or *plain*, in any tangible manner.

It has been attempted above to focus on the actual procedures leading towards adequate decisions as well as predictable and repeatable results. The procedural requirements influence both formulation choices of the actual sender and interpretation perspectives of the actual recipient, providing a necessary setting for the conduct of exchange. Hence, the speech acts undertaken by exchange participants also can and should be perceived as adjusted to known and expected procedural schemes, not as based on abstract notions of *respect* or *politeness*, not to mention the inherently biased ideas of *face* or *face threatening acts*.

On the other hand, the notion of procedures and their actual classification is in an inevitable manner based on labels. Accordingly, it has consciously been attempted above to use the least biased labels, such as *commercial exchange*, *typical*, *atypical*, etc. Still, it should remain clear that the very act of labeling is based on the process of classification, with its desirable and undesirable consequences. Moreover, the actual awareness of the procedural rules is of discrete character and the very process of its acquisition in a given culture and communication environment (speech community) is explicable rather by a trial and error scheme than by copying ready recipes onto empty memory carriers. This may also explain the distinct symptoms of hesitation, visible in terms of ambiguous protocol HM decisions described in the three Japanese texts analyzed above. The hesitation by no means emerges from the sender's will to achieve a higher level of *politeness* or *respect*. It is clearly related to the ambiguous procedural HM requirements valid in a given situational context. In the most unambiguous setting — in which TEXT II is used — there are no traces of hesitation, although the recipient's rank is definitely recognized as lower than the sender's.

The obvious incompatibilities between the expert labels related to the recognition of the procedural properties as actual manifestations of *respect* or *politeness* may be considered minor and meaningless when viewed in terms of classical and inevitable discrepancies between the abstract academic discourse and actual parameters of the external world. The issue becomes much more serious, however, when they are investigated in terms of cross-cultural communication, which, as stated by Anna Duszak, constitutes a "field of increased risk" (Duszak 1998: 332). It is particularly so, since the "disorder in communication processes" may have impact on both "immediate communication effects" and "future contacts of whole social and ethnic groups" (Duszak 1998: ibid.). One can only hope that the very awareness of such phenomena, while not automatically solving most of communication problems, may contribute to their better understanding.

Apendix: Source Texts

TEXT I (JRP 2017)

JP VERSION

[…]

[a]日本へ来る前に下記の提携オフィスで引換証をお求めください。

[b] JTB、日本旅行、近畿日本ツーリスト、トップツアー、日本航空※1、全日空※2、ジャルパック、およびそれらの代理店。

[c] ※ジャパンレールパスは日本国内で購入することはできません。

[d]まず、所定の販売店またはその代理店で引換証をお求めください。

[e]※1 JAL グループ便ご搭乗に限り販売します。

[f]※2 ANA グループ便ご搭乗に限り販売します。

[g]利用資格については、引換証の購入箇所にてお客さまへ説明を行い、お客さまに利用資格をご了解いただいたうえでお買い求めいただくこととなります。

[h]利用資格を満たさないため、引き換えができない場合における日本国滞在中の JR 線のご利用に関する補償は JR グループとして一切いたしかねます。

[i]●引き換えができなかった引換証につきましては、お買い求めいただいた海外の旅行会社にて払い戻しをいたします。

[j]（※手数料が別にかかります）

[k]●引換証に関するお問い合わせは、お買い求めいただいた旅行会社にお客さま自身で行ってくださいますようお願いいたします。

[…]

EN VERSION (available at the English language version of the JRP 2017 site, with minor changes)

[…]

[a] Buy your Exchange Order for the JAPAN RAIL PASS at one of the following sales offices or agents before coming to Japan.

[b] JTB Corp., Nippon Travel Agency, KINTETSU INTERNATIONAL, Tobu Top Tours, Japan Airlines*1, ANA Sales Americas(Los Angeles)*2, JALPAK, and their associated agencies.

[c] * JAPAN RAIL PASS cannot be purchased in Japan.

[d] Order at an authorized sales agent or sales office before coming to Japan.

[e] *1 In this case, you must book a JAL Group flight.

[f] *2 In this case, you must book an ANA Group flight.

[g] The clerk at the location where you purchase your Exchange Order will explain the eligibility requirements for the JAPAN RAIL PASS. Be sure that you understand these requirements before purchasing an Exchange Order.

[h] In the event that you are unable to receive a PASS because you fail to meet the eligibility requirements, the JR Group is not liable for any charges or fees associated with your use of JR lines while in Japan.

[i] ●If you are unable to receive a PASS, you can return your Exchange Order to the overseas travel agency from which you purchased it for a refund.

[j] (*Fees apply.)

[k] ●If you have any questions about the Exchange Order, please inquire directly at the travel office where you made the purchase.

[…]

TEXT II (TU 2017)

JP VERSION

[…]

[a]８．注意事項

[b]（１）同一年度に、本研究科の二つ以上の専門分野に出願することはできない。

[c]（２）提出期日までに所定の書類が完備しない人・進学願書は受理しない。[d]また、願書手続後はどのような事情があっても、内容の変更は認めず、また、書類の返却はしない。

[e]（３）「受験票」等は、１２月下旬、直接本人に郵送する。[f]**平成２０（２０１７）年１月５日（木）**までに到着しない場合は、本研究科事務部に連絡し、受領に必要な指示を受けること。

[g]（４）官公庁、企業、団体等に在職のまま大学院に入学を希望する者は、入学手続きの際に、在学期間中学業に専念させる旨の勤務先の長の承諾書（様式任意）を提出すること。

[h]（５）障害等のある者は、受験及び修学上特別な配慮を必要とすることがあるので、これを希望する者は平成２８（２０１６）年１０月２８日（金）までに本研究科事務部に申し出ること。

[i]（６）外国人は、入学手続きまでに「出入国管理及び難民認定法（昭和２６年政令第３１９号）において大学院入学に支障のない在留資格を有すること。

[j]（７）出願手続後は、どのような事情があっても、検定料の払い戻しはしない。

[k]（８）入学手続後は、どのような事情があっても、入学料の払い戻しはしない。

[…]

EN VERSION (translation: A.J.)

[a] 8. Important issues.

[b] (1) Within one year, one cannot apply for more than two fields at this post graduate course.

[c] (2) Applications incomplete by the due deadline shall not be accepted. [d] Moreover, once the application is submitted, no changes in its contents and no return of application is possible, regardless of circumstances.

[e] (3) The admission ticket for the examination will be sent by ordinary mail directly to the applicant by the end of December. [f] In case it is not delivered by January 5th, 2017 (Thu), the applicant should contact the post graduate course office in order to receive necessary directions.

[g] (4) Applicants employed in government/municipal offices/agencies or organizations are obliged to submit a written consent (official acceptance) from their superior as a part of their application, confirming that they would be allowed to devote themselves to study during the course.

[h] (5) Persons with disabilities require special consideration during entrance exams and their study. They should submit necessary application to post graduate course office by October 28th, 2016.

[i] (6) Foreigners by the moment of their application should obtain the status of residence that does not interfere with their enrollment to the post graduate course, as stipulated in the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (Cabinet Ordinance No. 319 of 1951).

[j] (7) The examination fee shall not be returned, regardless of circumstances.

[k] (8) The admittance fee shall not be returned, regardless of circumstances.

TEXT III (NINJAL 2017)

JP VERSION

[...]

[a]**発表募集要項**

[b]上記の開催目的にふさわしい研究発表を募集します。[c]多くの応募をお待ちしています。

[d]■ **募集締め切り**

[e]2017 年3 月10 日（金）23:59（日本時間）必着

[f]（採否の決定は，4月上旬までにお知らせします。）

[g]■ **提出先および問い合わせ**

[h]電子メールでの応募のみ受け付けます。

[i]「応募者情報シート」と「発表要旨」を電子メールで送付する（以下のリンクから様式をダウンロードしてお使いください）。

[k]件名は「ICPLJ10 応募」とする

[l]送付先：icplj-office@ninjal.ac.jp

[m]様式のダウンロード：

[n]・様式1：「応募者情報シート」

[o]・様式2：「発表要旨」

[p]もし応募書類を提出してから3日以内に，「受領」のメールが届かない場合は，上記のアドレスにお問い合わせください。

[q]■ **発表のカテゴリー**

[r]発表には，(1)口頭発表と(2)ポスター発表の２種類があります。[s]応募時に，どちらかを選択してください。

[t]■ **使用言語**

[u]発表に使用する言語は，日本語または英語のいずれかとします。[v]提出する発表要旨は，実際の発表で使用する言語に合わせて，日本語で発表する場合は日本語で，英語で発表する場合は英語で書いてください。

[w]■ **応募できる数**

[x]一人のひとが応募できるのは，口頭発表・ポスター発表の区別にかかわりなく，

単独での発表１件，および共著による発表１件（すなわち，最大２件まで）に限ります。

［y］■ **未発表のオリジナルな研究**

［z］未発表のオリジナルな研究に限ります。［aa］既に公刊されている論文や，他の学会等で発表された論文（あるいは発表が決まっている論文）は受け付けません。

［ab］■ **発表時間**

［ac］・ 口頭発表は，１件につき，30分（20分間の発表と10分間の質疑応答）です。

［ad］・ ポスター発表は，60分間を予定しています。

［…］

EN VERSION (translation: A.J.)

[a] **Guidelines for application**

[b] Only research presentations compatible with the seminar aims formulated above will be accepted. [c] We hope to receive many applications.

[d] **Application deadline**

[e] Received by 23:59 (Japanese local time), March 10th, 2017 (Fri).

[f] The results of the review procedure will be announced in the beginning of April.

[g] **Submission method and inquiry**

[h] We accept submissions by e-mail.

[i] Application Sheet and Presentation Abstract should be sent by e-mail (please use the link below to download the forms).

[k] The message subject should be “Application for ICPLJ10”.

[l] E-mail address: icplj-office@ninjal.ac.jp

[m] Download links:

[n] Form 1: Application Sheet

[o] Form 2: Presentation Abstract

[p] If the confirmation mail is not received within 3 days after submission, please contact the address below for inquiry.

[q] **Presentation Topics**

[r] (1) Papers (oral presentations) and (2) posters are accepted. [s] Please select the type of presentation in your application.

[t] **Presentation Language**

[u] The language of presentation can be either Japanese or English. [v] Please adjust the language of your abstract to the language of presentation: presentations in Japanese should be applied with an abstract in Japanese and presentations in English with abstract in English.

[w] **Number of Proposals**

[x] Each author is only allowed to submit one proposal as the first author (and possibly one joint proposal).

[y] **Original, Unpublished Research**

[z] Submitted abstracts must represent original research. [aa] Papers already published or presented at other conferences (or intended to be presented) are not going to be accepted.

[ab] **Presentation Time**

[ac] Each paper presentation will be 30 minutes in length (20 minutes for presentation, followed by a 10-minute question and answer session).

[ad] The presentation of posters will be 60 minutes long.

[…]

References

Austin, John, Langshaw 1962. *How to Do Things with Words.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Brown, Penelope, Stephen Levinson 1978. “Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena”. [In:] Esther N. Goody [ed.] *Questions and Politeness. Strategies in Social Interaction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 74-324.

Duszak, Anna 1998. *Tekst, dyskurs, komunikacja międzykulturowa* [text, discourse, cross-cultural communication]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Eelen, Gino 2001. *A Critique of Politeness Theories*, Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Geis, Michael, E. 1995. *Speech Acts and Conversational Interaction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grice, Paul 1989. *Studies in the Way of Words.* Cambridge, Massachusets, London, England, Harvard University Press.

Huszcza, Romuald 1996. *Honoryfikatywność* [honorifics]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog.

Hymes, Dell 1974. *Foundations In Sociolinguistics. An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ide Sachiko *Wakimae no goyōron* [the pragmatics of discernment]. Tōkyō: Taishūkan.

Inoue Fumio 1999. *Keigo wa kowakunai* [not afraid of honorifics]. Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Jabłoński, Arkadiusz 2004. "Honorific Modification (HM). The Informative and the Non-Informative Part of the Message." *Silva Iaponicarum* 1, 7-25.

Kikuchi Yasuto 1997. *Keigo* [honorifics]. Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Leech, Geoffrey N. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics.* London - New York: Longman.

Levinson, Stephen C., 1983. *Pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martin, Samuel E. 1964. „Speech Levels in Japan and Korea". [In:] *Language in Culture and Society.* Dell Hymes (red.), New York, Evanston, London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 407-415.

Miller, Roy Andrew 1967. *The Japanese Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Minami Fujio 1987. *Keigo* [honorifics]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.

Mizutani Osamu 1993. *Keigokyōiku no kihonmondai* [basic issues of honorifics education]. Tōkyō: Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo.

Shibata Takeshi 1979. *Keigo to keigo no kenkyū* [honorifics and the study of honorifics]. *Gengo* 8, 6, 2-8.

Sugiyama-Lebra, Takie 1976. *The Japanese Patterns of Behavior.* Honolulu: An East-West Center Book, The University Press of Hawaii.

Tsujimura Toshiki 1991. *Keigo no yōhō.* [the use of *keigo*] Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten.

Source texts

JRP 2016 (Japan Rail Pass). http://www.japanrailpass.net/purchase.html. Accessed: 2016.06.20.

NINJAL 2017 (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics). *NINJAL International Symposium 2017/第１０回 実用日本語言語学国際会議 (daijukkai jitsuyō nihongo gengogaku kokusai kaigi) (ICPLJ)/ THE TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PRACTICAL LINGUISTICS OF JAPANESE [ICPLJ10].* http://www.ninjal.ac.jp/event/specialists/symposium/files/20170708_icplj10/20170310_call-for-papers_jp.pdf. Accessed: 2017.02.28.

TU 2017 (Tokyo University). *平成２９（２０１７）年度 東京大学大学院人文社会系研究科 博士課程学生募集要項* (*heisei nijūkyū (nisenjūnana) nen tōkyō daigaku daigakuin jinbunshakaikenkyūja hakushi katei gakusei boshū yōkō* – guidelines for application for doctoral course, Tokyo University, Graduate School of the Humanities and Sociology). http://www.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/assets/files/applicant/doctorh29.pdf. Accessed: 2017.02.28.

AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Arkadiusz Jabłoński
Associate professor at the Adam Miciewicz University Chair of Oriental Studies, Department of Japanese Studies. His research interests are: general and Japanese linguistics, Japanese grammar and morphology, Japanese honorifics, intra-cultural and cross-cultural pragmatics as well as the issues related to translation and interpretation.

Aleksandra Jarosz
ORCID: 0000-0002-4356-6528

Semantic Roles Prototypically Associated with the Nominative and Their Overlap with Conceptual Domains of Other Cases in Japonic Languages

DOI: 10.14746/sijp.2018.51/52/53/54.4

ABSTRACT

The present paper is devoted to an analysis of case-marking strategies in Japonic languages pertaining to a number of semantic roles prototypically assigned to the nominative, especially the AGENT, FORCE and EXPERIENCER. The discussion centres on the following three phenomena: the overlap of the nominative and dative-marking of the EXPERIENCER, observable mostly in potential and possessive clauses; the case-marking of the RECIPIENT (causee) in the causative and the AGENT in passive voice clauses; the marking of the active voice RECIPIENT and GIVER roles as conceptually relevant to causative and passive voice clauses.

The results of the analysis are tied to a broader linguistic theory by attributing this mapping of case-marking on specific semantic roles to the differentiation of degree of control of the clausal agent-like entities and/or the vector of the predicate-represented event under specific syntactic and/or semantic circumstances.

The paper uses source material evidence from Japanese, two Northern Ryukyuan languages: Yoron and Shuri-Okinawan, and a Southern Ryukyuan language, Miyakoan. In order to achieve maximum possible comparability of the analysed material, the evidence from all the languages is discussed with respect to identical or analogous semantic roles and syntactic settings.

KEYWORDS: Japonic, Japanese, Ryukyuan, dative, nominative, directive, ablative, semantic roles

1. Background of the Study

The present study was initiated with an observation that it is not uncommon for the Japanese subject in specific settings, such as possessive or potential clauses, to be optionally marked for either the nominative or the dative. Similar discoveries were subsequently made regarding Miyakoan, a relative of Japanese from the Ryukyuan sister language group. This author decided to trace examples of such nominative/dative-marking overlap also in other Japonic languages, at the same time posing the question of what exactly is the prototypical conceptual domain (Payne 1997: 132) associated with nominative and dative-marking in Japonic.

It has been found that indeed, several of the semantic roles[1] prototypically associated with the nominative are in certain syntactic settings marked exclusively for the dative, and *vice versa*. The present study will therefore analyse such overlap circumstances in a number of Japonic languages: standard Japanese, Miyakoan, Yoron, and Shuri-Okinawan. These "overlap circumstances" involve primarily: dative-ing when semantically or syntactically one would expect nominative; nominative-marking when one would expect dative; and borderline instances. The discussion is expanded to another two case categories which tend to semantically overlap with the dative in ways relevant to the study: ablative and directive. In the final part of the paper, an attempt will be made to lay a typological explanation of the observed results.

The present paper has been written within the Japonic/Japanese language family framework, which considers the genetically related yet mutually unintelligible regiolects of the Japanese archipelago a family of distinct languages rather than a complex of dialects of standard Japanese, an assumed language isolate. This Japonic approach divides the family into two major groups, Mainland and Ryukyuan (or three: Mainland, East Japanese and Ryukyuan), and it has steadily been gaining popularity post 2000, with such major publications in English as Pellard and Shimoji 2010, Tranter 2012 or Heinrich, Miyara and Shimoji 2015 to document it.

While the existing publications mostly deal with the description of specific Ryukyuan regiolects or with Ryukyuan as a whole, one purpose of this paper is to synthesize the selected characteristics of both Ryukyuan and Japanese and to present them in a consistent way that would be representative of the whole family. This author's intention is to enable Japonic languages to participate more fully in general typological studies by making them more readily available for comparison and contrast with other families and areas.

A previous study which partially covered the nominative/dative-marking overlap in Japanese was presented in Shibatani 2000. The paper focused on what Shibatani labels non-canonical constructions (two-argument clauses which deviate from the standard Japanese pattern of the subject marked for

[1] The controversial notion of semantic roles has been applied here as a practical unit of an otherwise boundless conceptual world. Semantic roles may not be discreet categories (cf. "The most important point that we want to make concerning the relations among agent, force, instrument, and patient is that this is not so much a set of discrete semantic relations, but rather a continuum, the labels representing different points along this continuum", Comrie 1989: 57), and attempts to create a universal list that would be applicable to all or most of the world's languages may have failed (Butt 2008: 33, Primus 2008: 265), but still they are considerably useful when it comes to discussing semantic domains of respective case categories.

the nominative and the direct object marked for the accusative) and observed the participation of the dative subject in such constructions. In this paper, this phenomenon will be approached from the semantic/conceptual angle rather than syntactic. Its scope is also intended to cover all the instances in which a prototypically nominative role is marked as dative, including the instigator role in the passive voice and the executive role in the causative voice. Crucially, the core part of the paper is constituted by evidence from Ryukyuan.

The present study is predominantly based on philological research alone, meaning that the linguistic data analysed here has all been adopted from existing sources as cited within respective language sections. Bar a number of examples from Kurima-Miyakoan recorded in June/July 2018, the paper does not involve any results of the author's original fieldwork.

The paper regrettably lacks any evidence from mainland Japanese regiolects other than standard Japanese. This imbalance of representation between Ryukyuan and Mainland groups is a shortcoming that should be dealt with in follow-up studies.

On the other hand, since all Ryukyuan are minority languages and all are endangered, they remain insufficiently recorded and thus the sources available for analysis are necessarily much scarcer than in the case of Japanese, which does not warrant a complete picture. Put simply, where there is a notification that a given structure or relation does not occur in Ryukyuan, chances are that its existence simply could not be verified. Furthermore, this author has first-hand experience in the research on Miyakoan and Japanese only, so certain inaccuracies involved in the analyses of the two North Ryukyuan regiolects might be inevitable.

1.1. Descriptive Preliminaries Pertinent to the Study

Ryukyuan are not a group of standardized languages. Therefore, no universally approved classification of Ryukyuan languages as discreet units is available. Most common are classifications distinguishing five (Miyara 2010, Miyara 2015) or six (Moseley 2010, Okinawa Chiiki Bunka Kenkyūjo 2013, Shimoji and Heinrich 2014) languages. The demarcation lines between respective languages are a matter of controversy, too. In this paper, the term *language* will be used as a primitive, or a synonym of *regiolect*, with the intended meaning of any regionally identifiable language system that displays characteristics relevant to the present study. Consequently, units such as "Yoron" or "Shuri-Okinawan" may be called "languages" irrespectively of whether one considers them a sub-

classification of a bigger unit (Kunigami or Amami in the case of Yoron, Okinawan in the case of Shuri) or a "separate language".
The present study employs the following essential semantic roles and their definitions.

AGENT: a volitional actor which has a casual influence upon the event.

FORCE: a non-volitional actor which has a casual influence upon the event.

EXPERIENCER: a sentient entity of perception.

PATIENT: an entity changed or otherwise influenced by the event.

GOAL: the final point of the event.

RECIPIENT: a sentient destination of the event.

SOURCE: the initial point of the event.

The roles have been based on and inspired by Comrie 1989: 57-62, Payne 1997: 49-51, and Primus 2008: 266-267. They have been adjusted to fit the purpose of the present description. Several more subtypes of the basic roles have been identified to facilitate the discussion in the present paper.

GIVER: animate, sentient and volitional SOURCE.

POSSESSOR: EXPERIENCER which remains in the relation of ownership with another entity[2].

POSSESSEE: PATIENT which remains owned by (belongs to, or belongs with) a sentient entity.

DIRECTION: approximated destination/target of a movement.

Japonic languages in general display typically nominative-accusative characteristics (although there are exceptions, cf. 6). Their basic constituent order is SOV, but with a pragmatic motivation the order of S and O can be swapped, at least in Japanese (Ogawa 2008: 782-783). The relationship between predicate and its arguments is indicated via case-marking, and the markers are usually labeled as "postpositions" or "case particles" (Japanese *kakujoshi*). In this paper, however, the adopted formal interpretation of case-marking morphemes is that of suffixes[3].

[2] While Shibatani 2000: 200 claims that "to call the possessor nominal [in one of the examples] an experiencer is stretching the case role of experiencer too far", this author regards the possessive relation as a state to be experienced or perceived rather than casually initiated. Consequently, the POSSESSOR appears as a role prototypically closer to the EXPERIENCER than the AGENT.
[3] The following are the reasons for such interpretation: case-markers form an accentual unit with

A Japonic nominative typically marks the subject of a clause. As will be seen throughout this paper, however, clauses with double nominative-markings are not uncommon[4]. In the instances discussed below, one or both nominative-markers within a single clause can be replaced with a different case-marker (the subject can also be marked for the dative and the quasi-object for the accusative). Distributional characteristics of nominative-marking differ significantly between Japanese and Ryukyuan, and these differences will be described in more detail in sections 2.1. and 3.1.

What is labelled as "dative in Japonic" effectively complies with the "common understanding" of the dative case as indicated by Næss 2008: 573, that the dative marks recipients, benefactives/malefactives, experiencers, goals and purposes.

Ibid., 574 also indicates the following two cross-linguistics generalizations on the semantics of the dative: the tendency to be associated with "relatively low transitivity" and to reflect "the affectedness of animate or sentient beings". For these reasons, the dative frequently marks the indirect objects of ditransitive verbs, the objects of verbs whose semantics imply at the object being affected by the event only indirectly, or the subjects of verbs of perception. To a certain degree, all these generalizations apply to the use of the dative in each of the analysed Japonic languages.

Apart from indicating the relationship between the predicate and the marked argument, case inflection in Japonic involves suffixes that carry pragmatic information pertinent to the information structure of the clause[5]. These information structure-related cases involve topic (*-wa* in Japanese) and inclusive (*-mo* in Japanese), as well as focus with a number of sentence type-sensitive allomorphs in Ryukyuan[6]. In none of the analysed languages can nominative-marking co-occur with topic-marking. Consequently, if a noun in the nominative is also inflected for topic or inclusion, it can be interpreted as displaying a zero allomorph of the nominative-marker, or as having its nominative-marker deleted. In this paper, there will be numerous examples in which this kind of an allomorphy/deletion has occurred; since

---

the host noun; no free word forms can be inserted between the host noun and the marker (morphemes such as Japanese -dake or -nado are not free); in Ryukyuan, markers with an initial /j/ (such as -ja or -ju) display fusional characteristics, cf. Miyakoan *mizi* 'water' < *mizzu* 'water.ACC'.

[4] In Japanese studies they are often interpreted as "double subject constructions", cf. Ogawa 2008: 784-86, or Shibatani 2000.

[5] For a concise typological overview on these markers in Japanese, cf. Ogawa 2008.

[6] A broader theoretical framework as to how to treat these information structure-related cases and "traditional" syntactic cases within a single paradigm has been proposed in Jarosz 2015: 292-293.

such dropping of nominative-marking does not change the semantic or syntactic properties of the inflected noun, these instances will be regarded as being an underlying nominative, i.e. as relevant to the present study[7].

1.2. Editorial Remarks

Words and expressions in Japanese have been written using the Hepburn romanization. For Ryukyuan, a simplified phonological IPA notation has been applied. Notation of Miyakoan has been specifically based on this author's phonological analysis in Jarosz 2015. Examples from all the sources cited have been retranscribed (transliterated) from Japanese *kana* syllabaries so that they could fit the adopted notational rules. Morphological analyses, glossing and translations of the example clauses have also been conducted by this author.

Semantic roles have been written with capital letters: AGENT, PATIENT, RECIPIENT, etc. They are thus graphemically differentiated from the sometimes homonymous terms of syntactic functions, such as agent, patient, or object.

2. Japanese[8]

2.1. Prototypical Active Voice Nominative

The nominative case in Japanese is marked with an agglutinative suffix *-ga*. This marking is constant and does not display variation, save only for the relative clauses, in which *-ga* hosted by the subject noun can optionally be replaced with the usually genitive marker *-no*[9]. As mentioned in 1.1. and will be observed further, this remains in opposition with most Ryukyuan regiolects and their animacy hierarchy-based *-ga*/*-nu* split (3.1.). Cf.:

namae-no *tōri* *osonaemono-ga* *suki-na*
name-GEN following offerings-NOM like-GEN
kami=da=sō=des-u
deity=COP.NPST=HRS=COP.ADR-NPST
'Like the name says, apparently it is a deity who likes his offerings';

[7] Shibatani 2000: 182-183 expresses a similar perspective.

[8] Unless indicated otherwise, all examples from Japanese have been adapted from the Japanese corpus database KOTONOHA Shōnagon: http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp/shonagon.

[9] Formally, this variety can be interpreted in two ways: either that in the specific setting of the relative clause *-no* is an allomorph variation of the nominative-marking *-ga*, or that the case differs depending on which marker is used, with -ga pointing to the relation of the subject noun with the predicate of the relative clause and *-no* indicating the subject noun to be a modifier of the head noun which is modified by the relative clause. Further, Martin 1987: 56 attributes the relative clause distinction between *-no* and *-ga* to the information structure issues: an argument with *-no* is thus regarded as topicalized and one with *-ga* as focalized.

eiga-no suki-na hito=desh-ita
movie-GEN like-GEN man=COP.ADR-PST
'He was a man who liked movies'.

Semantic roles most typically mapped onto the Japanese nominative are AGENT, FORCE and EXPERIENCER. The nominative case may also indicate PATIENT with intransitive verbs expressing an involuntary change of the nominative-marked subject, such as *shinu* 'to die' or *kowareru* 'to be broken'.

2.2. Active Voice EXPERIENCER

For two verbs of inherent potentiality embedded in their lexical meaning, *mieru* 'to be visible' and *kikoeru* 'to be audible', EXPERIENCER, i.e. the entity that can potentially 'see' or 'hear' PATIENT, can be marked for either nominative or dative[10]:

genzai-no jiten-de watashi-ni mie-ru shōrai-wa
current-GEN point in time-INST I-DAT be visible-NPST future-TOP
'The future that I can see at this point is…'.

Similarly, a limited number of cognition verbs, such as *wakaru* 'to know/to understand' or *hammei suru* 'to become clear' (Martin 1987: 191), as well as certain nominal predicates indicating emotions or mindsets such as *hitsuyō* 'necessary' or *fuman* 'dissatisfied' (ibid., 197) involve a dative-marked subject whose role is best described as EXPERIENCER. Dative-marking in this setting is not productive, but rather attributed to the specific argument structure of the verbs/predicates concerned. The fact that the said argument structure, aside from the nominative/dative alternation on the subject, also involves an atypical ("uncannonical" in the words of Shibatani 2000) nominative-marking on the object (in a fashion similar to potential clauses), implies such verbs as being of unstable or unprototypical transitivity.

[10] Such case-marking options pertaining to these two active voice verbs have a diachronic background. Both verbs in question have been derived from Old Japanese forms with a then-productive passive voice suffix *-yu*. Consequently, *mieru* and *kikoeru* enable two argument structures, one of which (the nominative EXPERIENCER and the nominative PATIENT) is more resembling of active voice clauses, while the other (the dative EXPERIENCER and the nominative PATIENT) reflects passive voice clauses. Analogical verb forms have been reported for Northern Ryukyuan, e.g. Yoron *kikarjun* 'to be audible' as the "spontaneous form" of *kikjun* 'to hear' (Kiku 2009: 102); their argument structure, however, has not been confirmed as of now.

Finally, EXPERIENCER may be marked for dative in clauses expressing opinion (analogous to English expressions such as [*according*] *to me*) on certain states of affair. This appears to be a valence-increasing operation, a kind of, so to say, "experiencer raising", with EXPERIENCER in the function of indirect object. Shibatani 2000: 201-202 calls this operation *personalization* and observes that it cannot be applied to universal or objective states (therefore, *Boku-ni-wa Mami-ga kirei da* 'To me Mami is pretty', Shibatani's example 8-4, is acceptable, but *Boku-ni-wa chikyū-ga marui da* 'To me the earth is round', Shibatani's 8-5, not so).

2.3. Dative GIVER and SOURCE

An atypical argument structure can also be observed with the verbs of service flow. These verbs display a dative valence with the GIVER (indirect object) marked as the dative and the RECIPIENT (subject) inflected for the nominative. Being the party that initiates the transfer, the GIVER is in fuller control of the event than the RECIPIENT and therefore may be perceived as an AGENT-like entity. The case-marking of these arguments is, therefore, the reverse of what is usually expected in Japanese, which is the RECIPIENT being prototypically marked as the dative and functioning as the indirect object, and the AGENT obviously being marked for the nominative and functioning as the subject.

In this group one finds verbs such as *morau* 'to receive', *itadaku* 'to receive (modestive)', *kariru* 'to borrow', *narau* 'to learn', *osowaru* 'to learn'. Martin (1987: 191, 205) regards such verbs as having underlying ablative valence with a surface dative realization, and points out that the dative-marking of these verbs can be switched with ablative *-kara*, in other words, that the GIVER is morphologically equated with the SOURCE. Shibatani 2000: 185, too, identifies the role represented by the dative in this setting as the SOURCE. An important point to be made here is that the dative in such settings can expectedly be used only with sentient entities, which in terms of morphological realization means that any GIVER is identified with the SOURCE (typically marked as ablative), but not any SOURCE is identified with the GIVER (marked as dative):

sensei-ni narat-ta tōri kai-te mi-mash-ita
teacher-DAT learn-PST the way draw-GER CON-ADR-PST
'I tried to draw it the way our teacher taught me'.

2.4. Potential Clauses

Another area which provides examples of nominative/dative fuzziness in Japanese are clauses with potential verb forms derived from transitive verbs. As mentioned in 1.1., the potential, regardless if one interprets it primarily as mood (Narrog 2009: 96-99) or valence-changing operation (Martin 1987: 300-307), historically originated from the same form as the passive voice. This might partially explain the double case-marking options of the arguments of potential verbs. Semantic roles of these arguments are interpreted here as the PATIENT, i.e. the entity that can potentially undergo the action expressed by the verb, and the EXPERIENCER, i.e. the entity that has the ability to conduct the action involving the PATIENT. The PATIENT can be marked by either the nominative *-ga* or the accusative *-o*, while the EXPERIENCER can be marked by either the nominative *-ga* or the dative *-ni*:

jibun-wa hito-no kokoro-ga yom-e-ru=to-demo
oneself-TOP people-GEN heart-NOM read-POT-NPST=QUOT-CNC
omott-e-iru-no=kai
think-GER-PROG-RLS=INT
'Do you actually think you can read people's minds?';

watashi-tachi-wa eigo-o yom-e-ru yō-ni
I-PL-TOP English-ACC read-POT-NPST like-DAT
nat-te-mo
become-GER-INC
'Even if we learn to read English' [lit. 'even if we become able to read English']

…=to-iu yō-na kangae-kata-ga sengo-no
=QUOT-say.NPST like-GEN think-way-NOM postwar-GEN
nihonjin-ni deki-ta
Japanese-DAT do.POT-PST
'The Japanese of the postwar period have developed such a line of thinking' [lit. 'they have been able to have such a line of thinking'].

It should also be observed that the free nominative/dative switching of potential clause subject-marking also applies to intransitive verbs (although at least by this author's intuition it seems that here the dative option is less common than in the case of transitive potentials)[11]:

[11] And, according to Shibatani 2000: 190, such a pattern is systemically incorrect.

sukunakutomo shoshinsha-no watashi-ni-wa hashir-e-nai
at least beginner-GEN I-DAT-TOP run-POT-NEG.NPST
reberu
level
'[it was] a level unreachable [lit. unrunnable] at least to a beginner runner such as myself.'[12]

2.5. Possessive Clauses

Japanese possessive constructions consist of an existential verb[13] (*aru* if the possessed object is inanimate and *iru* if the possessed entity is animate) taking on arguments whose semantic roles are the POSSESSEE, here considered a variant of the PATIENT, marked for the nominative, and the POSSESSOR, here considered a variant of the EXPERIENCER, marked for the nominative or the dative:

okurinushi-ni kyōdai-ga i-ru=to omo-u
sender-DAT sibling-NOM be-NPST=QUOT think-NPST
'Do you think the sender has siblings?';

watashi-wa kodomo-ga i-ru
I-TOP child-NOM be-NPST
'I have a child/children'.

As indicated by Martin's (1987: 195) study, in examples where "possessor" is an inanimate entity signifying the LOCATION rather than the POSSESSOR, the frequency of using dative-marking over nominative-marking rises. This observation provides an important clue regarding the interrelation between animacy and event-controlling on the one hand and the choice of nominative or dative-marking on the other (cf. 8):

kuruma-ni handoru-ga aru
car-DAT steering wheel-NOM be.NPST
'A car has a steering wheel'[14].

[12] Adapted from the blog Lady-Runner.com: http://lady-runner.com/training/place/mountain/.
[13] A variant of possessive clauses can be observed in clauses with adjectival verbs/predicate adjectives *ōi* 'a lot' and *sukunai* 'little, few' as predicates. In these instances, too, a nominative/dative overlap of POSSESSOR subject-marking occurs, cf. example 3-3-c in Shibatani 2000: 187.
[14] Adapted from Martin 1987: 195.

2.6. Causatives

In causative voice clauses, the causee, here interpreted as representing the semantic role of the RECIPIENT, is marked with the dative *-ni*, while the causer, which may be understood as either the AGENT or the FORCE, is marked for the nominative *-ga*. If the active voice verb is intransitive, in the causative voice the causee can also be marked for the accusative *-o*. Some speakers believe the usage of *-ni* and *-o* in this environment to be utterly interchangeable, while others argue that -ni gives the predicate the nuance of "permission" while *-o* is associated with "command" (Martin 1987: 293)[15]. The latter interpretation may hint at the dative-marked causee functioning as the RECIPIENT in contrast to the accusative-marked PATIENT; it would follow that the dative-marking cannot be used with inanimate causees[16]:

sokudo-o otosh-i yukkuri-to kuruma-o hashir-ase-ta
speed-ACC decrease-MED slowly-COM car-ACC run-CAUS-PST
'[He] decreased the speed and drove slowly [lit. let the car run slowly]'
watashi-ni ik-ase-te kudasai
I-DAT go-CAUS-GER BEN.IMP
'Please let me go [there].'

Saburina-wa jibun-ni i-i-kik-ase-ta
Sabrina-TOP oneself-DAT tell-MED-listen-CAUS-PST
'Sabrina would tell herself [that…]';

yonen-no saigetsu-ga Setsuna-o seichō
four years-GEN time-NOM Setsuna-ACC growth
s-ase-ta=yō=des-u
do-CAUS-PST=INDC=COP.ADR-NPST
'The time span of four years apparently made/allowed Setsuna to grow up'.

[15] According to Næss (2008: 579), this distinction in Japanese causatives is "a well-known example of a language showing this [the dative for permission and the accusative for command] alternation". A similar interpretation assigning more control to a dative-marked object and less to an accusative-marked object is seen in Comrie 1989: 60. It does not appear, however, that it is a pervasive notion commonly and consciously shared by native speakers of Japanese.

[16] In other words, the 'car' (*kuruma*) in the first sentence could not be marked with *-ni*, although 'I' (*watashi*) in the second sentence could well be marked with *-o*. This author's impression is also that dative-marking on causee arguments of originally intransitive verbs is much rarer than accusative.

2.7. Passives

As in *kuruma-o nusumareta* 'a car was stolen [from me]', Japanese passive voice clauses often lack overt AGENT. If AGENT does appear, however, it is typically marked with the dative *-ni*, while PATIENT is indicated by the nominative *-ga*:

shosan-o hikae-ta shufu-no otto-ga
first delivery-ACC wait-PST housewife-GEN husband-NOM
nani-mono=ka-ni koros-are-ru
what-person=INT-DAT kill-PSV-NPST
'The husband of a housewife waiting for her first delivery is/will be killed by someone'.

Less frequently, a passive AGENT can be marked for the ablative, implying at a less dynamic/volitional and more static/source-like interpretation of the agent entity in such clauses. Martin 1987: 295-296 discusses this ablative-marking as "optional" which can be seen as "an extension of the notion of agent as SOURCE". The verbs listed by Martin which can employ this ablative valence if passivized include, among others, *hinan-suru* 'to criticize', *ai-suru* 'to love', *suku* 'to like', *tanomu* 'to ask', *machigaeru* 'to mistake [for something else]'. They all share the feature of not being prototypically transitive. Their objects resemble EXPERIENCER influenced by the event emotionally or mentally, rather than PATIENT altered by the event physically:

kekkon-suru toki haha-kara iw-are-ta kotoba-o
marriage-do.NPST time mother-ABL say-PSV-PST word-ACC
Reiko-wa omoidasu
Reiko-TOP remember.NPST
'Reiko remembers the words her mother told her [lit. told by her mother] before she got married'.

2.8. Directive Marking on RECIPIENT

The directive case, marked with the suffix *-e*, is a mostly semantic case used for marking oblique arguments in the role of DIRECTION. It may, however, replace dative-marking with active voice RECIPIENT. This use of the directive in standard Japanese may be marginal, yet at the same time it hints at a possibility of a bigger syntactic prominence of DIRECTION-related case-marking, which is observed to a greater extent in Ryukyuan (3.8., 4.3.):

hambun-wa *kotchi-e* *kure-ru=to* *it-ta*
a half-TOP here-DIR give-NPST=QUOT say-PST
'[He] said he would give a half to me'.

3. Miyakoan

Miyakoan is a representative of the Southern Ryukyuan subgroup, alongside Yaeyaman (which is scarcely described in section 6) and Yonaguni/Dunan. Examples cited from this author's Ph. D. thesis (Jarosz 2015) have been retrieved and edited from previously unpublished lexicographic notes made by the Russian Nikolay Nevskiy in 1920s. Unless indicated otherwise, examples represent the Hirara regiolect.

3.1. Active Voice Vominative

Nominative-marking in Miyakoan displays a characteristic which it shares with other Ryukyuan and which sets it apart from Japanese, namely it is sensitive to animacy hierarchy: *-ga* is used to inflect personal pronouns, addressative nouns (such as kinship terms, proper nouns and nouns related to the social status of the denoted person[17]) and demonstrative pronouns, while other nominals use *-nu*. Like in Japanese, the prototypical semantic roles identified with the nominative are AGENT, FORCE and EXPERIENCER, as well as PATIENT of intransitive verbs[18]. Cf. the following examples from Jarosz 2015: 301:

baː-ja *pstu-toː* *aː-n*
I-TOP man-COM.TOP argue-NEG.NPST
'I don't argue with people';

tida-nu *agarj-u-m*
sun-NOM rise-PROG-RLS.NPST
'The sun has risen';

nudu-nu *kakj-uːz*
throat-NOM dry-PROG.NPST
'I'm thirsty' [lit. 'my throat is dry'].

[17] Shimoji 2008: 194.
[18] Semantically, such verbs are sometimes referred to in Japanese literature as the verbs of subjective change, or *shukan henka dōshi*, for example in Karimata 2012.

3.2. Active Voice Dative

The Miyakoan dative case, labeled as dative-locative in Jarosz 2015 (303-305), is indicated by the suffix *-n*. When marking an oblique argument, the dative may represent a multitude of semantic roles such as LOCATION, REASON, PURPOSE or TIME. It is distinct from Japanese in that it may express LOCATION of dynamic actions[19] (reserved for the instrumental-locative *-de* in Japanese).

When marking the indirect object, as well as Shimoji's (2008: 149-150) extended core arguments[20], the dative usually signifies RECIPIENT:

to:-n-ga *fi:-di*
who-DAT-FOC give-OPT
'Who should I give this to now?'[21];

taru-n-ga *av-tal=ga*
who-DAT-FOC meet-PST=INT
'Who did you meet?'[22].

Unlike Japanese (2.2.), examples of active voice clauses with EXPERIENCER marked for the dative have not been attested.

3.3. Case-marking on GIVER and SOURCE

It might be due to the inevitably small corpus that is accessible and analysable, but there is no evidence that Miyakoan GIVER could be marked for the dative. In fact, the relatively abundant evidence from Kibe 2012: 243-244 implies that the verbs meaning 'to receive' mark their GIVER argument consistently with ablative *-kara*, regardless of the specific verb (native *zziz* and its variants or Japanese loanword *murau*) or region; out of 21 relevant examples, none shows dative-marking in this role. This applies also to other service flow verbs correspondent with those that in Japanese can mark GIVER for either the dative or the ablative:

ɕinɛi:-kara *kanzu:* *narau*
teacher-ABL Chinese characters.ACC learn.NPST
'I learn Chinese characters from the teacher'[23].

[19] Cf. *pau-nu-du minaka-**n** pai-du uz* 'a snake is crawling in the garden' (Kurima).
[20] In the case of the verb *naz/nal* 'to become', the semantic role of the extended argument inflected for the dative is that of RESULT, as in *Irai pstu-n naz* 'to become a great man'.
[21] Jarosz 2015: 304.
[22] Irabu-Miyakoan; adapted from Shimoji 2008: 204.
[23] Nishihara-Ikema; adapted from Nakama 1991: 46.

3.8. discusses examples in which GIVER and SOURCE are marked for the directive.
Dative-marking of SOURCE, also inanimate, has been found for non-beneficiary verbs, such as *mmiz* 'to get wet' or *maki:z* 'to lose':

ami-n mmi-na
rain-DAT get wet-PROH
'Don't get soaked in the rain!'[24];

atsɲ-sa-n makiz-na
hot-NMN-DAT lose-PROH
'Do not lose to [=do not be defeated by] high temperatures'[25].

3.4. Potential Clauses
In Miyakoan potentials (which are morphologically identical with passives, cf. 1.2. and Jarosz 2015: 278-279), the dative subject EXPERIENCER can be marked for either the nominative or the dative, with dative-marking quantitatively prevalent:

ba: sakj-u:ba num-ai-l-m=do:
1SG.TOP alcohol-ACC.TOP drink-POT-NPST-RLS=EMP
'I can drink alcohol'[26];

kai-n-na as-ɲrai-n
3SG-DAT-TOP do-POT-NEG.NPST
'He can't do that'[27];

ɕinɕi:-nn-a nkjagi-rai-n-pazi
teacher-DAT-TOP eat.HON-POT-NEG-DED
'You certainly will not be able to eat it, Professor[28];

ati pja:-pja:-ti azz-a:tsɲka: banu-nn-a ss-ai-n
too fast-fast-ADVR speak-COND 1SG-DAT-TOP know-POT-NEG.NPST
'If you speak too fast, I won't understand you!'[29].

[24] Kurima; adapted from Nohara 1990: 49.
[25] Adapted from online *Miyako Dialect Dictionary*: http://133.13.160.25/rlang/myk/details.php?ID=MY14185.
[26] Irabu; adapted from Shimoji 2008: 297.
[27] Irabu; ibid.
[28] Irabu; ibid.

A characteristic that differentiates Miyakoan potentials from Japanese is that Miyakoan PATIENT cannot be marked for the nominative, i.e. it displays a consistent accusative-marking. In Japanese potentials, therefore, the correspondence between the roles of EXPERIENCER and PATIENT on the semantic level and the nominative, dative and accusative-marking on the morphological level appears fuzzier (cf. 2.4.).

3.5. Possessive Clauses

Miyakoan possessive clauses resemble those of Japanese in that they, too, display the pervasive Japonic feature of forming possessive clauses with existential verbs. POSSESSOR may be marked for either the nominative or the dative, while POSSESSEE is marked for the nominative. Syntactically, POSSESSOR appears to function as the subject and POSSESSEE as the (indirect) object or as the extended core argument of an intransitive verb[30]:

ba: *kjavdai-nu* *tavkja* *ul*
1SG.TOP sibling-NOM one person be.NPST
'I have one sibling'[31];

karj-a *taja-nu-du* *al*
3SG-TOP strength-NOM-FOC be.NPST
'He has strength'[32];

kai-nna *utta:* *ur-ittɛi-du* *ba-nna*
3SG-DAT.TOP younger brother.TOP be-GER-FOC 1SG-DAT-TOP
sudua-nu-du *uz*
older brother-NOM-FOC be.NPST
'He has a younger brother and it's me who has an older brother'[33].

[29] Jarosz 2015:277.
[30] Relying on the concept of prototypes, Shimoji 2008:475-477 proposes the following interpretation of the distribution of the grammatical roles within a possessive clause: on the grounds that, for instance, POSESSOR nouns can control honorific-marking on the verb and the usage of reflexive pronouns, POSESSOR is the subject proper and POSESSEE an intermediate entity between the subject and the direct object.
[31] Irabu; adapted from Shimoji 2008: 474.
[32] Irabu; ibid, 475.
[33] Bora; adapted from Kibe 2012:259.

3.6. Causatives

A typical use of the nominative as marking the causer can be observed in causative voice clauses, while RECIPIENT or causee is marked for the accusative or the dative with originally intransitive verbs and for the dative alone with transitive verbs. All these specifics resemble Japanese (2.7.). Cf.:

uja-ga-du ffa-u nak-asɟ-tal
father-NOM-FOC child-ACC cry-CAUS-PST
'The father made the child cry'[34];

ɕinɕiː-ga unu ɕiːtu-n honn-u-du jum-asi-tal
teacher-NOM that pupil-DAT-FOC book.ACC-FOC read-CAUS-PST
'The teacher made the pupil read the book'[35].

Regarding the accusative/dative variability of marking on the causee of originally intransitive verbs, Shimoji 2008: 482-483 suggests that the selection of either case-marking depends on the "degree of control of the causer over the causee". Consequently, if the causee is marked for the accusative "the causer has full control over the causee (i.e. the causee is constructed as a patient)", while the dative-marking signals that "the causee still exhibits an agentive characteristic". This association of the dative with the agentive roles will be relevant to the concluding hypotheses later in this paper (cf. 8). Furthermore, evidence is available that RECIPIENT of transitive causatives may also be marked for the directive (cf. 3.8.).

3.7. Passives

The passive clause AGENT is marked for the dative, and PATIENT for the nominative, again mirroring analogous constructions in Japanese. Cf.:

ba-ga ffa-nu mma-nu sɟn-tai
1SG-GEN child-GEN mother-NOM die-PST
'The mother of my children died'[36]

[34] Adapted from Shimoji 2008: 483
[35] Ibid.
[36] Sarahama-Ikema; Jarosz 2015: 301.

ba: *ɕinɕi:-n-du* *ʑʑ-ai-tal*
1SG.TOP teacher-DAT-FOC scold-PSV-PST
'I was scolded by the teacher'[37].

3.8. The Dative and the Directive: a Comparison

Under certain circumstances, the Miyakoan dative may overlap with the directive case. The latter is marked with the suffix *-nkai*. Its main semantic roles are DIRECTION and GOAL[38], for which reason the directive is often associated with motion verbs; it may also replace the dative in marking the RECIPIENT role (cf. 3.2.), which then makes the directive-marked noun the indirect object:

anna-nkai *azz-adi*
mother-DIR say-OPT
'I am going to tell [about this to] the mother!'[39].

Karimata 1997: 393 goes as far as to observe that in Hirara usage domains of the dative and the directive essentially do not differ. Results of this paper's analysis indicate that the Hirara directive cannot replace the dative in potential, causative, possessive and potential clauses, i.e. in clauses with modified valence. In some regiolects the directive may be used more freely than in others, for instance in Shimoji (Nohara 1992) it seems more limited than in Kurima (Nohara 1990).

Shimoji 2008: 207-210 analyses in more detail the semantic differences between the dative and the directive ("allative" in Shimoji's terminology) cases in Irabu-Miyakoan. He defines the directive as being associated with "more dynamic/physical events" while the dative is in contrast rather "static/psychological" (the evidence from the verb *puriz* in 3.2., however, does not confirm this); the presence and direction of the action vector also builds a relevant distinction, with the directive being only "the locus to which the action is directed" and the dative also being "the locus from which the action is directed" or "simply unmarked for the vector".

As mentioned in 3.3., an example[40] has been found in the Uruka regiolect in which the GIVER of the verb *naraz* 'to learn' is marked with the directive -nkai. Considering that the prototypical roles associated with the

[37] Irabu; adapted from Shimoji 2008: 297.
[38] At least in Kurima, this also includes transitive verbs of relocation, such as *utsʏtsʏ* and *utsʏ* 'to put', as well as intransitive verbs of movement, such as *itsʏ* 'to go'. Both these groups in Japanese have a dative-marked GOAL.
[39] Jarosz 2015: 305.
[40] Example extracted from Miyakojimashi Bunka Kyōkai 2015.

Miyakoan directive are DIRECTION and GOAL, so the opposite of SOURCE/GIVER, the use of the directive with GIVER is admittedly as confusing as it is remarkable:

Junusɿ-ɕinɛi:-nkai nar-e: mi-u=tti umu:
Junusɿ-teacher-DIR learn-MED CON-HOR=QUOT think.NPST
'I'm going to learn from Professor Junusɿ'[41].

The directive may also mark the SOURCE of non-beneficiary verbs such as *puri:z* 'to be infatuated with' (in the example below it has the Nishihara-Ikema-specific form *furi:*):

karja: ka-nu midu-nkai-du furi:-ui
3SG.TOP that-GEN woman-DIR-FOC be infatuated with-PROG.NPST
'He is in infatuated with that woman'[42].

Furthermore, there are a few (Shimoji 2008: 210) attested examples of directive-marking on the RECIPIENT (causee) in the causative voice clauses.

4. Yoron

Yoron is a Northern Ryukyuan regiolect spoken on the island of the same name, usually classified either as a representative of the Amami (e.g. Miyara 2010, Heinrich, Miyara and Shimoji 2015) or Kunigami (e.g. Nishioka 2013) language.
Morphological information in this section has been retrieved and example sentences adopted (transliterated from the original *katakana* syllabic notation) from Kiku 2014: 100 ff, unless specified as Kiku 2009. Some of the Kiku examples have also been indirectly quoted from Tōyama 2018.

4.1. Active Voice Nominative

The Yoron nominative-genitive case typically corresponds with the same semantic roles as in Miyakoan or Japanese. Also like in Miyakoan, the

[41] Since this example is a *hapax legomenon* of this kind of usage of the Miyakoan directive, it may as well be the case of the speaker's idiosyncracy and/or an influence from Okinawan, in which, as section 5 shows, a homophonous morpheme -nkai functions as a fully-fledged dative-marker and is encountered in settings identical to the one above. This is especially likely as the Uruka-born speaker at the time of the speech had been living in Urasoe in central Okinawa. Cf. a parallel example in 5.2.
[42] Nishihara-Ikema; adapted from Nakama 1997: 169.

nominative is marked with -ga or *-nu*, the choice of the suffix dependent on the regiolect-specific animacy hierarchy[43]:

ama-nan-ja *na:tɕa-ga* *fujun*
there-DAT-TOP 3PL-NOM be.NPST
'They are there';

Junnu-nan-ja *Yoron Minzokuson-nu* *ajun*.
Yoron-DAT-TOP Yoron Ethnographic Village-NOM be.NPST
'On Yoron there is Yoron Ethnographic Village';

wana: *Keiko-ga* *haminɛai*
1SG.TOP Keiko-NOM like.NPST
'I like/love Keiko'.

4.2. Active Voice Dative

There are at least three markers in Yoron that functionally correspond to the Miyakoan dative: *-n* and allomorphic *-in*, *-nan* and *-kati*. The two former display similar usage patterns, the only difference observed being that *-nan* does not indicate TIME, and neither does it mark the RECIPIENT (causee) of causative clauses. Therefore, in the present description both will be considered dative case-markers, while *-kati* will be described as a directive case-marker.

As far as oblique arguments are concerned, the dative has been attested to correspond with roles of LOCATION of both static and dynamic events and TIME:

uro: *uma-nan* *fur-jo:*
2SG.TOP there-DAT be-IMP.EMP
'You stay there';

jamme:-nan-dun *iju: pusun-na*
garden-DAT-FOC fish dry-PROH
'Do not dry fish in the garden';

[43] Examples in Kiku 2014 imply that in the instances that are borderline or questionable pertaining to the given noun's placement in the animacy hierarchy, -ga is used to indicate entities of higher information value (i.e. less topical) than -nu.

ɕikamoː rokujihan-in uijun
morning.TOP half past six-DAT wake up.NPST
‘In the morning I wake up at half past six’.

The dative is also used in comparative clauses:

Taroː-ja ura-tɕa-n-ja ɕidabi najun
Tarō-TOP 2-PL-DAT-TOP senior become.NPST
‘Tarō is older (than you folk)’.

An analysis of examples in Kiku 2014 implies that the Yoron dative is not prototypically used to mark the RECIPIENT, although in a few instances the dative-marked indirect object may be interpreted as such:

urjaː Yūko-n-in miɕi-ti najun
this.TOP Yūko-DAT-INC show-GER become.NPST
‘You can show this to Yūko, too’.

There is no evidence that the Yoron dative can mark the active voice EXPERIENCER.

4.3. Active Voice Directive

The Yoron directive case is marked by the suffix -kati. Apart from indicating the DIRECTION and GOAL of actions expressed by motion verbs, it marks as regularly and as prototypically the role of RECIPIENT, syntactically signifying the indirect object, a function not usually associated with the Yoron dative:

un-kati ikjun
sea-DIR go.NPST
‘I’ll go to the sea’;

Taroː-kati-dun munu jumun-noː namoː kigin-nu
Tarō-DIR-FOC words say-PROH.EMP now.TOP spirits-NOM
wassan
bad.NPST
‘Don’t talk to Tarō. Now he’s in bad spirits’;

nimutɕi-ja Taroː-kati antɕiki-tan
luggage-TOP Tarō-DIR entrust-PST
'I passed the luggage on to Tarō'.

4.4. Case-marking on SOURCE and GIVER

The evidence of GIVER and animate SOURCE marking in Yoron is scarce, but from the little that is available it seems that its marking is mostly limited to the ablative:

Tarō-fuʑa-kara iju tabaːrari-tan
Tarō-uncle-ABL fish receive-PST
'I got some fish from Uncle Tarō'[44].

As evidenced by Kiku 2014: 161, there are, however, verbs which have their SOURCE roles marked for the dative, whether they are animate or not:

Tarō-n-ja sagar-annu
Tarō-DAT-TOP lose-NEG.NPST
'I won't lose to Tarō/I'm no worse than Tarō';

ami-n nudatɕi
rain-DAT be soaked.PST
'I was soaked by the rain'.

Japanese semantic equivalents of these verbs (*makeru* 'to lose', *nureru* 'to be soaked') present an identical dative valence, too; so does the Miyakoan verb *makiːz* (3.3).

4.5. Potential Clauses

The potential subject role, i.e. EXPERIENCER, within the available evidence has been attested to occur with a range of markers that include nominative, dative *-n* and dative *-nan* (but not directive *-kati*):

fuiga-nu fuga nas-arjuːm=i
man-NOM egg bear-POT.NPST=INT
'Can a man lay eggs?'[45];

[44] Adapted from Kiku 2009: 285.
[45] Adapted from Tōyama 2018: 12.

fur-ja: *jaka-n/nan-du* *tɕikur-arju:-ru*
this-TOP older brother-DAT-FOC create-POT-ATR
'This can only be made by my older brother';

fu-nu *ɕiɕi-ja* *japasa-kutu* *upu-nan-in*
this-GEN meat-TOP soft.NPST-because grandpa-DAT-INC
agir-arju:n
eat.HON-POT.NPST
'This meat is soft, so even grandpa can eat it'[46].

Like a prototypical Yoron PATIENT, the potential object is usually left unmarked, although it may also be marked for the nominative, both for animate and inanimate objects:

uro: *u-nu* *kami-nu* *ɕa:-rjun=ga*
2SG.TOP that-GEN god-NOM see-POT=INT
'Can you see that god?'[47];

uri-ga *mut-arju:-ru* *futu-ga* *ar-iba* *de:ru*
that-NOM carry-POT.NPST-ATR thing-NOM be-PRV that is
'That was, if he [even] could carry that'[48].

4.6. Possessive Clauses
The Yoron POSSESSOR has been found to be marked for the nominative:

ura-ga *hani-nu* *nen-sa:*
2SG-NOM money-NOM be.NEG.NPST-NMN.TOP
kibai-nu *jaɕɕa* *nuei*
work-NOM not enough
'You have no money because you work too little';

It is unclear, however, if POSSESSOR can be interpreted as marked for the dative. Although a few instances have been found with a dative-marking of what could be called an "inanimate possessor", there is no such thing as a non-sentient POSSESSOR according to the definitions of semantic roles adopted in 1.1. Therefore, such inanimate "possessing" entities should

[46] Adapted from ibid., 7.
[47] Adapted from ibid., 11.
[48] Adapted from ibid., 13.

rather be interpreted as LOCATION, and clauses which involve them as locative instead of possessive (cf. an analogous Japanese example in 2.5.):

ura ja:-nan edo jidai-nu tukkui-nu ai-raɕa-mi
2SG house-DAT Edo period-GEN vase-NOM be-CONJ-INT
'Have you got an Edo period vase at your place?'[49].

4.7. Causatives

The causative RECIPIENT can be marked for either the dative or the directive, which appear freely interchangeable in this role (also for originally intransitive verbs). The latter functions more productively in this role in Yoron than *-nkai* in Miyakoan:

hata-ru ɸusa-ja e:-nan-in/-kati ko:-ɕun
mow-ATR grass-TOP cow-DAT-INC/DIR eat-CAUS.NPST
'We feed the mowed grass to the cows' (lit. 'we make/have cows eat mowed grass').

4.8. Passives

The passive AGENT is marked for the dative, resembling in this respect the SOURCE and potential EXPERIENCER:

jubja: munu-n/-nan uw-a:rju:-ru imi mi-tɕi
last night.TOP ghost-DAT chase-PSV-ATR dream see-PST
'Last night I dreamt I was being chased by a ghost'.

To summarize the crucial semantic distinctions between the Yoron dative and directive, one can say that the dative is not associated with the RECIPIENT except for the causatives, while the directive is neither associated with the EXPERIENCER and its extensions such as the POSSESSOR nor with the SOURCE.

5. Shuri

As the language of the former Ryukyuan royal court and aristocracy, Shuri-Okinawan traditionally enjoyed its status as the most prestigious Ryukyuan variety. It is the only Ryukyuan regiolect that can be considered to have developed literacy to some degree, and it used to serve as a kind of common language for the former Ryukyu Kingdom area (Miyara 2003: i, Hokama 1977: 213). Like Yoron, Shuri is a Northern Ryukyuan regiolect.

[49] Adapted from Kiku 2009: 299.

5.1. Active Voice Nominative and Dative

Similarly to the other Ryukyuan varieties discussed here, Shuri displays the *-nu/-ga* nominative/genitive marking split which is sensitive to animacy hierarchy. Shuri also has a number of markers used for indicating locative meanings: *-nkai* (with a reportedly more formal allomorph *-ni* with mostly, although not entirely, overlapping functions, cp. Nishioka and Nakahara 2001: 36-37), *-nakai*, *-nzi* and *-utui* (Miyara 2000: 86-78). Nishioka 2004 is a detailed analysis of Okinawan case markers corresponding to the standard Japanese dative *-ni* and directive *-e*. Based on that paper, one can infer that *-nkai* is basically used to mark LOCATION, GOAL and RECIPIENT, while *-nakai*, a marker less frequent than *-nkai* (ibid., 6), covers mostly LOCATION and is also encountered in a number of reason or limit-expressing collocations (*tami-nakai* 'because of', *madi-nakai* 'until', 'before'). To ensure a terminological distinction between them, the two markers *-nkai*/*-ni* will be labeled as dative and *-nakai* as locative.
A typical dative-marked RECIPIENT can be observed in co-occurrence with benefactive verbs:

ɕinɕiː-nkai uɕaga-jabir-a
teacher-DAT give.HON-ADR-HOR
'Let's give [this] to the Professor'[50];

ʑiraː-ga ari-nkai saba kwi-tan
Jirō-NOM 3SG-DAT straw sandals give-PST
'Jirō gave him/her straw sandals'[51].

5.2. Case-marking on SOURCE and GIVER

Similarly to Miyakoan and Yoron, while Shuri employs the ablative as the default GIVER marking, instances with dative-marking are also encountered:

duɕi-kara dʑin kajun
friend-ABL money borrow.NPST
'To borrow money from a friend'[52];

[50] Adapter from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1963:435.
[51] Adapted from Miyara 2000:86.
[52] Adapted from online Shuri-Naha Dictionary:
http://ryukyu-lang.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/srnh/details.php?ID=SN10643.

ɕi:ʤa-kara sansu: narajun
older friend-ABL counting learn.NPST
'To learn to count from an older friend'[53];

ɕinɕi:-nkai u-nare: ɕ-un
teacher-DAT HON-learning do-NPST
'to learn from the Professor'[54].

Like in Yoron, however, Shuri SOURCE can be marked for the dative with verbs such as *fu:rin* 'to be infatuated with' (cf. the Miyakoan equivalent with the directive in 3.2.) or *ɕitagajun* 'to follow, to obey':

ɕi:ʤa-nu tɕa:-nkai ɕitagajun
senior-GEN group-DAT obey.NPST
'To obey the older folk'[55];

jinagu-nkai fu:rin
woman-DAT be infatuated.NPST
'To be infatuated with a woman'[56].

5.3. Potential Clauses

In potential clauses, EXPERIENCER can be marked both for the nominative and for the dative:

nama ɕigu na:-ja ire: katɕ-ari-jabi:-n=na
now instantly 2SG-TOP reply write-POT-ADR-NPST=INT
'Can you write a reply right now?'[57];

kunu kusui-ja warabi-nkai-n num-ari-jabi:-n
this medicine-TOP child-DAT-INC drink-POT-ADR-NPST
'Even children can take this medicine'[58].

[53] Adapted from ibid., http://ryukyu-lang.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/srnh/details.php?ID=SN40399.
[54] Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1963: 435.
[55] Adapted from online Shuri-Naha Dictionary:
http://ryukyu-lang.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/srnh/details.php?ID=SN16799
[56] Adapted from Uchima and Nohara 2006: 243; the example is from Naha, which is a regiolect geographically adjacent and very closely related to Shuri.
[57] Adapted from Miyara 2000: 63.
[58] Adapted from ibid., 66.

5.4. Possessive Clauses

Both POSSESSOR and POSSESSEE are marked in Shuri as the nominative. Like in Yoron, there is no evidence available that POSSESSOR can take dative-marking:

wann-eː dʑinoː neː-jarabiː-n
1SG-TOP money.TOP not be-ADR-NPST
'I have no money'[59];

dʑin-nu a-n
money-NOM have-NPST
'[I] have money'[60].

5.5. Causatives[61]

In clauses with causative voice of transitive verbs, the causee (RECIPIENT) is marked for the dative, while the causer (AGENT) is marked for the nominative:

tanmeː-ja ʔmmaga-nkai tamun war-atɕ-an
grandfather-TOP grandchild-DAT firewood break-CAUS-PST
'Grandfather had the grandchild break the firewood'.

In causative voice clauses with originally intransitive verbs, the RECIPIENT is left unmarked, which allows for its identification with the accusative case. As shown by examples in Tōyama 2015, the case marking on the RECIPIENT is not dependent on whether the clause expresses command or permission[62]:

ɕinɕiː-ga jagama-sa-ru ɕiːtu roːka-nkai tat-atɕ-an
professor-NOM loud-NPST-ATR pupil hall-DAT stand-CAUS-PST
'Professor had a loud pupil stand on the corridor';

tanmeː-ja ʔmmaga tat-aɕimi-tan
grandfather-TOP grandchild-DAT stand-CAUS-PST
'Grandfather let the grandchild stand'.

[59] Adapted from ibid., 59.
[60] Adapted from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1963: 115.
[61] All examples in 5.6. have been adapted from Tōyama 2015: 98.
[62] It is worth observing that in Shuri these two functions are formally distinguished on the verb, at least for the strong conjugation verbs, with non-past *-asun* indicating command and *-aɕimiːn* indicating permission (ibid. 95 ff.).

5.6. Passives

Often, the passive AGENT in Shuri is expectedly marked for the dative while the PATIENT is marked for the nominative:

kureː tariː-nkai sugu-rat-ti natɕ-oː-ibiː-n
3SG.TOP dad-DAT hit-PSV-GER cry-PROG-ADR-NPST
'He is crying, because he was hit by his dad'[63].

There are also many instances in which the AGENT is marked for the ablative (Tōyama 2015: 111-114). They involve passive clauses with predicates which influence the subject only indirectly/non-physically, thus resembling Martin's (1987: 295-296) category of ablative-valence passives encountered in standard Japanese (cf. 2.7.). One may thus infer that under such circumstances the instigator is conceptualized as the SOURCE or the GIVER rather than the AGENT or the FORCE:

taruː-ja ɕinɕiː-kara humir-at-tan
Tarō-TOP teacher-ABL praise-PSV-PST
'Tarō was praised by the teacher'[64].

Furthermore, in co-occurrence with the verb *ʔjun* 'to speak' it appears that only ablative-marking on the instigator is allowed (Tōyama 2015: 112-113).

6. Synthesis

Table 1 provides a summary of the points so far highlighted in the paper with respect to the specific regiolects. It shows what case marking under which syntactic circumstances is adopted by the semantic roles of interest to the present topic. Cases more prototypically associated with a given role in a specific language are listed first. Cases which are employed to mark a specific role only marginally are indicated with brackets.

All examined Japonic languages have the same set of the prototypically nominative semantic roles, meaning the roles most typically marked for the nominative case and likely to become the subject syntax-wise. These roles are AGENT, FORCE, EXPERIENCER and PATIENT. AGENT and EXPERIENCER may gain a dative (or directive) marking under circumstances specified by the predicate, be it syntactic (change of valence) or semantic (specific cognition verbs as encountered in Japanese).

[63] Adapted from Nishioka and Nakahara 2001., 96.
[64] Adapted from Tōyama 2015: 111.

This fact should be considered a prominent morphosyntactic theme of the Japonic family in general.

	Japanese	**Miyakoan**	**Yoron**	**Shuri**
AGENT/FORCE active, causative	nominative	nominative	nominative	nominative
AGENT/FORCE passive	dative; ablative	dative	dative	dative; ablative
EXPERIENCER active	nominative; dative	nominative	nominative	nominative
EXPERIENCER potential	nominative; dative	dative; nominative	nominative; dative	nominative; dative
EXPERIENCER-POSSESSOR	nominative; dative	nominative; dative	nominative	nominative
RECIPIENT active	dative; (directive)	dative; directive	directive; (dative)	dative
RECIPIENT causative	dative; accusative	dative; (directive)	dative; directive	dative; accusative
PATIENT active	nominative; accusative	nominative; accusative	nominative; accusative (zero)	nominative; accusative (zero)
PATIENT potential	nominative; accusative	accusative	accusative; nominative	accusative; nominative
PATIENT-POSSESSEE	nominative	nominative	nominative	nominative
PATIENT passive	nominative	nominative	nominative	nominative
SOURCE	ablative; dative	ablative; dative	ablative; dative	ablative; dative
GIVER	ablative; dative	ablative; (directive)	ablative	ablative; dative

Table 1. Mapping of selected semantic roles onto case marking in Japonic languages

On the other hand, while it would appear that a prototypical Japonic PATIENT is marked for the accusative, matters are made more complex in North Ryukyuan, where the default accusative marking is zero. Thus, as it is not always clear whether topic-marked arguments in Shuri or Yoron

should be interpreted as accusative or nominative[65], the results presented below concerning PATIENT marking should be considered especially preliminary.
The correlations between semantic roles and case-marking in the discussed Japonic languages can be summarized as follows:

active and causative AGENT/FORCE: nominative (in 100% of the sampled languages);

passive AGENT/FORCE: dative (100%), ablative (50%);

active EXPEIENCER: nominative (100%), dative (25%);

potential EXPERIENCER: nominative (100%), dative (100%);

POSSESSOR: nominative (100%), dative (50%);

active RECIPIENT: dative (100%, marginal in one language), directive (75%, marginal one language);

causative RECIPIENT: dative (100%), accusative (50%), directive (50%, marginal in one language);

active PATIENT: nominative (100%, intransitive settings), accusative (100%, transitive settings)

potential PATIENT: accusative (100%), nominative (75%)

passive PATIENT: nominative (100%)

POSSESSEE: nominative (100%)

SOURCE: ablative (100%); dative (100%)

GIVER: ablative (100%); dative (50%); directive (25%, marginal).

7. Typological Interpretation

As findings from 6. above show, the nominative is the Japonic marking of choice for AGENT and FORCE in active voice settings, and, conversely, for PATIENT in passive clauses and clauses with stative predicates, POSSESSEE of possessive clauses included.
In all the remaining settings that have been discussed in this paper, a semantically motivated split in case-marking can be observed. Dative-marking alongside nominative can be observed on EXPERIENCER,

[65] This fact does open up a window for a discussion of neutralized S=O case alignment sensitive to information structure-marking in North Ryukyuan.

including POSSESSOR. RECIPIENT, prototypically marked for the dative, can also be marked for the directive. The active voice SOURCE and GIVER are prototypically marked for the ablative, but under specific semantic circumstances the marking can or has to be switched to the dative. The proportions are the reverse for passive voice AGENT/FORCE, in which the dative is the default case which may, or sometimes should (like in Shuri), be swapped for the ablative.

Encoding an AGENT-like entity in either the dative or the locative case has been widely reported cross-linguistically: for instance, in the Chibchan language of Guaymí the regular EXPERIENCER is inflected for the dative, and the EXPERIENCER of uncontrollable events is marked for the locative (Payne 1997: 52-53). European languages, too, provide examples of specific verbs requiring an EXPERIENCER-signifying argument to be inflected for the dative, such as German *gefallen*, Polish *podobać się* or Spanish *gustar*, all meaning 'to like'. In terms of valence-changing operations, the RECIPIENT in causative clauses is inflected for the dative in languages such as Turkish or Georgian (ibid., 178, 180), and the AGENT of passive clauses is marked for the dative in Korean (Næss 2008: 579).

It is also not uncommon of possessive constructions to express the POSSESSOR in the locative case (e.g. Estonian), or to otherwise treat the POSSESSOR as the location of an existential event, i.e. indicating the notion of 'Y possessing X' as 'X existing at Y' (Russian, Mandarin Chinese; Payne 1997: 126-127). Japonic possessive constructions that allow for the POSSESSOR-encoding argument to appear both in the nominative and the dative are thus typologically explainable. They could also be interpreted in terms of valence-increasing operations such as possessor-raising (ibid, 192-196). Here, a verb that is existential and thus by default univalent becomes bivalent by virtue of its possessive application, with the subject, semantically the POSSESSOR, marked for the nominative or the dative, and the quasi-object[66], semantically the POSSESSEE, marked for the nominative. The argument which represents the POSSESSOR displays more prototypically subject-like characteristics than the POSSESSEE-representing argument (such as: it goes first in the clause, and the Japonic constituent order is SOV; it controls the predicates in clause chains and reflexive expressions; it has a staggeringly higher rate of coincidence with being the topic of the utterance), therefore it is considered here to be the subject of possessive clauses. An existential verb

[66] Cf. the discussion of the syntactic status of Miyakoan POSSESSEE cited from Shimoji 2008 in a footnote of 3.5.

has thus a new subject introduced along with a new participant once it is used for the possessive meaning.

As a hypothesis of prototypical characteristics of dative-marked entities which may be alternatively marked for other cases (the nominative, ablative and directive), one can shortlist the following aspects:

- sentience;
- receptiveness rather than volition/instigation (in contrast with nominative);
- direct rather than indirect influence on the event (in contrast with ablative);
- stativity and constancy rather than dynamicity and movement (in contrast with directive).

These characteristics, especially their contrast with typical nominative characteristics, can be elaborated on using Filmore's (1968) Case Grammar approach. One could hypothesize that case relations pertaining to the fuzzy nominative/dative structures in Japonic, such as possessives and potentials, in fact do not involve an *agentive* (A) case relationship, "the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb" (ibid., 46). The relationship between the surface subject and the verb may in fact be *dative* (D), "the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb", while the relationship between the other argument and the verb is *objective* (O), "the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably the concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb" (ibid.). Subjects of the Japonic clauses under discussion are encoded as if they did not have the initiative and control typical of an AGENT-like entity, and instead were merely receptive to states such as possession or an ability to conduct an action.

One implication of the above hypothesis is that the subject of such clauses displays a visibly lower *degree of control* over the predicate-expressed event than a prototypical AGENT would. It could be argued that by assigning the nominative rather than dative-marking to a possessive or potential clause subject, one attributes to the EXPERIENCER a greater degree of control; reportedly, it is common for languages to use the canonical transitive patterns for experiencers which are perceived as being to some extent in control of the experienced event, while the dative is used for experiencers which are not ascribed such control (Næss 2008: 577-578).

While Japonic potential and possessive clauses may not employ "canonical transitive patterns", the use of the nominative for the more AGENT-like participant is certainly more canonical than the dative.
The assumption that the dative-marking of the subject in potential clauses implies its lessened degree of control is endorsed by Martin's (1987: 302) account that dative-marking on the subject does not go together with accusative-marking on the object; therefore, while both subject-marking options are possible with an object in the nominative, cf[67]:

kodomo-ga/ni kore-ga tabe-rare-ru
child-NOM/DAT this-NOM eat-POT-NPST
'Children can eat this',

only the nominative option, with its implication of the subject being in command of the event, is available for the accusative marking on the object:

kodomo-ga kore-o tabe-rare-ru
child-NOM this-ACC eat-POT-NPST
'Children can eat this'.

Thus, the present hypothesis claims that Japonic subjects of possessive and potential clauses are distinct from the prototypical agent (and AGENT) by virtue of degree of control over the event. A reflection of this approach is found in a statement by Næss (2008: 574) that "the sentient, affected participant is generally not seen as actively controlling the event which affects it". Subjects of possessive and potential clauses are less agent-like than prototypical agents[68], since their participation involves being affected by a state or event rather than exercising an action. Whatever the specific syntactic circumstances, this reduction of degree of control and the associated deviation from the prototypical agent is represented in the morphosyntactic domain by the choice of dative-marking over nominative.
The interplay between the semantics of degree of control and the consequent case-marking can be presented as a continuum in the vein of AGENT/PATIENT continuum in Payne 1997: 52 as inspired by Givón

[67] Both examples adapted from Martin 1987: 305.
[68] Cf. also a discussion in Shibatani 2000: 209-212 of the syntactically evidenced decrease in the degree of control displayed by the subject ("the big subject" in Shibatani's terminology) when the possessed entity is animate and selects the animate existential verb *iru* as contrasted with the non-animate *aru*.

1984. Figure 1. below introduces such a continuum, also including the RECIPIENT role occasionally marked for the directive case.

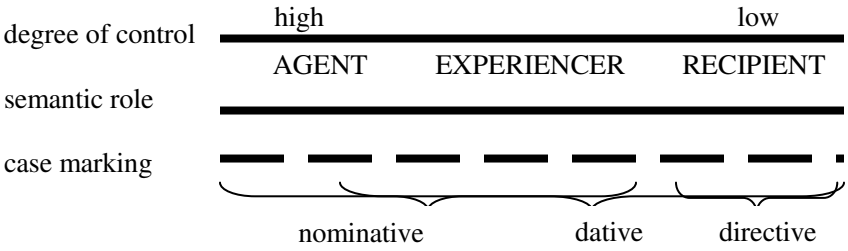

Figure 1. The relation between degree of control and nominative/dative-marking of non-PATIENT sentient entities in Japonic.

Based on the presented evidence concerning the differentiation between the Japonic directive and dative, one can infer that the dative implies location and is more static, while the directive implies movement and is therefore more dynamic. Although the directive may be used as a marking on the indirect object through the role of the RECIPIENT, it is important that in none of the examined languages may it replace the dative in the AGENT (the passive voice) or EXPERIENCER marking, not even in Yoron, in which it is the directive and not the dative that is the default RECIPIENT-marking case. Thus, it can be argued that for directive-marked roles the degree of control over the event is either extremely low or irrelevant.
According to a study cited in Narrog 2008: 598, instrumental markers are frequently reported to jointly carry ablative meanings, as well as agentive functions, including the passive AGENT. The occasional ablative case-marking on the AGENT in passive voice clauses in Japanese and Shuri suggests that conceptually, the passive AGENT may be interpreted as lying close to the SOURCE or the GIVER, here understood as a volitional instigator of the event. The contexts in which the ablative-marking is available in both languages suggest that the difference may lie in the direct (dative) versus indirect (ablative) influence of the SOURCE on the subject. This point, too, may after all tie to the matter of degree of control, with dative-marking indicating a higher degree of control than in the case of ablative-marking. Perhaps the same applies to the active voice distinction between dative and ablative valences in marking SOURCE/GIVER roles; this outlook, however, requires further debate.

A future study of the aspects of Japonic case inflection discussed in this paper needs to further broaden the scope of the examined case categories by incorporating a more in-depth contrastive study of ablative, directive and instrumental cases and their participation in the marking of the semantic roles of AGENT, FORCE and EXPERIENCE. It should also take an account of the very relevant matters of animacy and topicality and identify how exactly these two parameters are grammaticalized within the Japonic case-marking systems. Lastly, such a study is incomplete without evidence from mainland Japanese dialects or the Hachijō language, so the scope of the research should be expanded through the data from these regiolects.

Abbreviations

1	first person	INC	inclusive
2	second person	INDC	inductive
3	third person	INST	instrumental
ABL	ablative	INT	interrogative
ACC	accusative	LIM	limitative
ADR	addressative	MED	medial v. form
ADVR	adverbializer	NMN	nominalizer
ATR	attributive	NOM	nominative
BEN	benefactive	NPRF	non-perfect
CAUS	causative	NPST	non-past
CNC	concessive	OPT	optative
COM	comitative	PL	plural
CON	conative	PRF	perfect
COND	conditional	PROG	progressive
CONJ	conjecture	PROH	prohibitive
COP	copula	PST	past
DAT	dative	POT	potential
DED	deductive	PSV	passive
DIR	directive	QUOT	quotative
EMP	emphatetic	RL	realis
FOC	focus	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	TOP	topic
GER	gerund	UNC	uncertainty
HON	honorific		
HOR	hortative		
HRS	hearsay		
IMP	imperative		

References

Butt, Miriam 2008. “Modern Approaches to Case: An Overview”. In: Malchukov and Spencer 2008. Pp. 27-43.

Comrie, Bernard 1989. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Syntax and Morphology*. Second edition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Creissels, Denis 2008. *Spatial Cases*. In: Malchukov and Spencer 2008. Pp. 609-625.

Filmore, Charles J. 1968. “The Case for Case”. In: Charles Filmore 2003. *Form and meaning in language*. *Vol. 1, Papers on semantic roles*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 21-294.

Givón, Talmy 1984. *Syntax: A Ttypological Functional Introduction*, Vol. 1. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Heinrich Patrick, Shinsho Miyara and Michinori Shimoji (eds.) 2015. *Handbook of the Ryukyuan languages. History, Structure and Use*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hokama Shuzen 1977. “Okinawa-no gengo-to sono rekishi [language of Okinawa and its history]”. In: Susumu Ōno, Shibata Takeshi (eds). *Kōza nihongo 11. Hōgen* [courses on Japanese language 11: dialects]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. Pp. 182-233 (外間守善「沖縄の言語とその歴史」大野晋、柴田武編『講座日本語１１。方言』東京都・岩波書店).

Inoue Fumio, Kōichi Shinozaki, Takashi Kobayashi, Takuichirō Ōnishi (eds.) 2001. *Nihon rettō hōgen sōsho 34 Ryūkyū hōgen kō 7 Sakishima (Miyako/Yaeyama-ta)* [series on dialects of the Japanese archipelago 34, descriptions of Ryukyuan dialects 7: Sakishima (Miyako/Yaeyama, etc.)]. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō (井上史雄、篠崎晃一、小林隆、大西拓一郎編『日本列島方言叢書 34　琉球方言考 7　先島（宮古・八重山他）』東京都・ゆまに書房).

Jarosz, Aleksandra 2015. *Nikolay Nevskiy’s Miyakoan Dictionary: Reconstruction from the Manuscript and Its Ethnolinguistic Analysis. Studies on the Manuscript*. A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Adam Mickiewicz University written under the supervision of Professor Dr. Alfred F. Majewicz. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literature, Chair of Oriental Studies.

Jarosz, Aleksandra 2015a. *Nikolay Nevskiy's Miyakoan Dictionary: Reconstruction from the Manuscript and Its Ethnolinguistic Analysis. The Reconstructed Manuscript*. A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Adam Mickiewicz University written under the supervision of Professor Dr. Alfred F. Majewicz. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literature, Chair of Oriental Studies.

Karimata Shigehisa 1997. "Miyako hōgen [Miyako dialects]". In: Takashi Kamei, Rokurō Kōno, Ei'ichi Chino (eds.) *Gengogaku daijiten serekushon: Nihon rettō-no gengo* [selection of great lexicons of linguistics: the languages of Japanese Archipelago]. Tokyo: Sanseidō. Pp. 388-403 (狩俣繁久「宮古方言」亀井孝、河野六郎、千野栄一編著『言語学大辞典セレクション　日本列島の言語』東京都：三省堂).

Karimata Shigehisa 2012. "Miyakogo Nobaru hōgen-no dōshi-no asupekuto/tensu/mūdo taikei-no gaiyō//Aspect, tense and mood in Nobaru dialect of Miyako language". *Ryūkyū Ajia Shakai Bunka Kenkyūkai*, 15. Pp. 13-37 (かりまたしげひさ　「宮古語野原方言の動詞のアスペクト・テンス・ムード体系の概要」『琉球アジア社会文化研究会』第 15 号).

Kibe Nobuko (ed.) 2012. *General Study for Research and Conservation of Endangered Languages in Japan. Research Report on Miyako Ryukyuan*. NINJAL Collaborative Research Projects Reports 12-02. Tokyo: National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (木部暢子編『消滅危機方言の調査・保存のための総合的研究　南琉球宮古方言調査報告書』東京都・国立国語研究所).

Kiku Hidenori 2009. *Yoron-no kotoba (junnu futuba)-de hanasō (3). Dōshi-o oboeyō (tangopen)* [let's speak Yoron (3). Learning verbs (focus on lexicon)]. Yoron: Yoron Minzokuson. (菊秀史『与論(ユン)の言葉(ヌフトゥバ)で話そう（3）動詞を覚えよう（単語編）』与論町：与論民俗村).

Kiku Hidenori 2014. *Yoron-no kotoba (junnu futuba)-de hanasō (4). Keiyōshi, joshi, hyōgen ito* [let's speak Yoron (3). Adjectives, particles, purposes of expression]. Yoron: Yoron Minzokuson (菊秀史『与論(ユンヌ)の言葉(フトゥバ)で話そう（4）形容詞　助詞　表現意図』与論町：与論民俗村).

Malchukov Andrej and Andrew Spencer (eds.) 2008. *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Martin, Samuel Elmo 1987. *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. Rutland, Vermond & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.

Miyakojimashi Bunka Kyōkai 2015. *Dai nijūnikai* Naritujum Mja:ku *hōgen taikai* [22nd dialect contest *Gloriously Echoing Miyako*]. 12.07.2015. DVD of the event released and owned by TV Miyako. (宮古島市文化協会　『第 22 回鳴りとぅゆんみゃーく方言大会』宮古テレビ制作・著作).

Miyara Shinshō 2000. *Uchināguchi kōza. Shuri kotoba-no shikumi* [a course in Okinawan. The structure of the Shuri regiolect]. Naha: Okinawa Taimusu-sha (宮良信詳『うちなーぐち講座　首里言葉のしくみ』那覇市：沖縄タイムス社).

Miyara Shinshō 2010. "Japonikku gozoku-no naka-no ryūkyū goha: keitō, taikei, oyobi genkyō [Ryukyuan group of languages as a part of Japonic family: its origins, systems and current situation]". In: Patrick Heinrich, Michinori Shimoji (eds) 2010. *Essentials in Ryukyuan language documentation*. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.. Pp. 12-41. (宮良信詳「ジャポニック語族の中の琉球語派：系統、体系、及び現況」。パトリック・ハインリッヒ、下地理則編『琉球諸語記録保存の基礎』東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所).

Miyara, Shinsho 2015. "Phonological Aspects of Ryukyuan Languages". In: Heinrich, Miyara and Shimoji 2015. Pp. 175-198.

Moseley, Christopher (ed.) 2010. *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd ed.* Paris: UNESCO Publishing. Online version: http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas. Accessed 7 October 2016.

Nakama Mitsunari 1984. "Miyako hōgen-no bumpō [the grammar of Miyako dialects]". In: Inoue et al. 2001. Pp. 157-167 (名嘉真三成 「宮古方言の文法」).

Nakama Mitsunari 1991, 1997. "Miyako Nishihara hōgen-no goi [Nishihara-Miyakoan vocabulary]". *Ryūkyū-no hōgen* 16 (1991), pp. 21-55; 21 (1997), pp. 136-168. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Okinawa Bunka

Kenkyūjo (名嘉真三成 「宮古西原方言の語彙」『琉球の方言』16 号 21 号　東京都・ 法政大学沖縄文化研究所)/

Narrog, Heiko 2008. *Varieties of Instrumental*. In: Malchukov and Spencer 2008. Pp. 593-600.

Narrog, Heiko 2009. *Modality in Japanese. The Layered Structure of the Clause and Hierarchies of Functional Categories*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Næss, Åshild 2008. *Varieties of Dative*. In: Malchukov and Spencer 2008. Pp. 572-580.

Nishioka Satoshi 2004. "Okinawago Shuri hōgen-no joshi 'nkai', 'nakai', 'ni', 'ga', 'kai'. Kyōtsūgo-no joshi 'ni', 'e'-to taishō sasetsutsu [particles nkai, nakai, ni, ga and kai in Shuri-Okinawan as compared with standard Japanese ni and e]". *Okinawa Kokusai Daigaku Nihongo Nihonbunka Kenkyū* 9 (1), 2004.12. Pp. 1-11 (西岡敏 「沖縄語首里方言の助詞「ンカイ」「ナカイ」「ニ」「ガ」「カイ」― 共通語の助詞「に」「へ」と対照させつつ」 『沖縄国際大学日本語日本文学研究 』9 (1)).

Nishioka Satoshi 2013. "*Kunigamigo* gaisetsu [an outline of *Kunigami* language]". In: Okinawa Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūjo 2013. Pp. 43-64 (西岡敏 『「国頭語」概説』).

Nishioka Satoshi and Jō Nakahara 2001. *Okinawago-no nyūmon. Tanoshii uchināguchi* [introduction to Okinawan language. Let's have fun with Okinawan]. Tokyo: Hakusuisha (西岡敏、仲原穣『沖縄語の入門　楽しいウチナーグチ』東京都：白水社).

Nohara Mitsuyoshi 1990. "Kurima hōgen-no joshi 1 [particles in Kurima-Miyakoan, part 1]". In: *Miyako-Shimojichō chōsa hōkokusho 1, chiiki kenkyū shiirizu 15* [research report on Shimoji Town, Miyako, vol. 1, Region Study Series, vol. 15]. Ginowan: Okinawa Kokusai Daigaku Nantō Bunka Kenkyūjo. Pp. 37-54 (野原光義「来間方言の助詞（1）」『宮古、下地町調査報告書（1）― 地域研究シリーズ No.16』沖縄国際大学南島文化研究所、宜野湾市).

Nohara Mitsuyoshi 1992. Shimojichō hōgen joshi-no kenkyū [a study of particles in the Shimoji Town dialect]. In: *Miyako-Shimojichō chōsa hōkokusho 3, chiiki kenkyū shiirizu 17* [research report on Shimoji Town, Miyako, vol. 1, Region Study Series, vol. 17]. Ginowan: Okinawa Kokusai

Daigaku Nantō Bunka Kenkyūjo. Pp. 29-52 (野原光義「下地町方言助詞の研究」『宮古、下地町調査報告書（3）―地域研究シリーズNo.17』沖縄国際大学南島文化研究所、宜野湾市).

Ogawa, Akio 2008. *Case in a Topic-prominent Language: Pragmatic and Syntactic Functions of Case in Japanese*. In: Malchukov and Spencer 2008. Pp. 779-788.

Okinawa Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūjo (ed.) 2013. *Ryūkyū shogo-no fukkō* [restoration of Ryukyuan languages]. Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō (沖縄大学地域研究所編　『琉球諸語の復興』東京都・芙蓉書房).

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pellard, Thomas and Michinori Shimoji (eds.) 2010. *An Introduction to Ryukyuan Languages*. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Primus, Beatrice 2008. *Case, Grammatical Relations, and Semantic Roles*. In: Malchukov and Spencer 2008. Pp. 261-275.

Shibatani, Masayoshi 2000. "Non-canonical Constructions in Japanese". *Kobe Papers in Linguistics* 2. Pp. 181-218.

Shimoji, Michinori 2008. *A Grammar of Irabu, a Southern Ryukyuan Laguage*. A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Australian National University. Canberra: Australian National University.

Shimoji Michinori and Patrick Heinrich (eds.) 2014. *Ryūkyū shogo-no hoji-o mezashite. Shōmetsu kikigengo-o meguru giron-to torikumi* [how to preserve Ryukyuan languages? Discussions and initiatives devoted to endangered languages]. Tokyo: Koko Shuppan. (下地理則・パトリックハインリッヒ編『琉球諸語の保持を目指して　消滅危機言語をめぐる議論と取り組み』東京都：ココ出版).

Tōyama Nana 2015. *Okinawa Shuri hōgen-ni okeru voisu-to riekisei-no kijutsu bumpō kenkyū* [a descriptive grammar of voice and benefactivity in Shuri-Okinawan]. Ph. D. thesis. Nishihara: University of the Ryukyus. (當山奈那　『沖縄首里方言におけるヴォイスと利益性の記述文法研究』平成 26 年度博士論文　西原町：琉球大学).

Tōyama Nana 2018. *Yoron hōgen-no kanō hyōgen, kōteibun-o chūshin-ni* [potential expressions in the Yoron dialect with a focus on affirmative

sentences]. A paper presented at the regular meeting of the Okinawa Center of Language Study at the University of the Ryukyus, 9 June 2018 (當山奈那『与論方言の可能表現―肯定文を中心に』沖縄言語センター定例研究発表会＠琉球大学 50 周年会館、2018 年 6 月 9 日).

Tranter, Nicholas (ed.) 2012. *The Languages of Japan and Korea*. Oxon: Routledge Language Family Series.

Uchima Chokujin and Mitsuyoshi Nohara 2006. *Okinawago jiten – Naha hōgen-o chūshin-ni* [a dictionary of Okinawan language with a special focus on Naha dialect]. Tokyo: Kenkyūsha (内間直仁、野原三義編著『沖縄語辞典―那覇方言を中心に』東京都・研究者).

Online Sources

KOTONOHA *Gendai nihongo kakikotoba kinkō kōpasu*/Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese Shōnagon. http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp/shonagon/ [last access 27 March 2017].

Lady-Runner.com. http://lady-runner.com/ [last access 9 October 2016].

Miyako hōgen onsei dētabēsu/Miyako Dialect Dictionary. http://133.13.160.25/rlang/myk/index.html [last access 28 February 2017].

Shuri-Naha hōgen onsei dētabēsu/Shuri-Naha Dialect Dictionary. http://ryukyu-lang.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/srnh/index.html [last access 28 February 2017].

AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Aleksandra Jarosz
Assistant professor at the the Department of Japanese Studies at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun. She specializes in Ryukyuan linguistics and comparative Japonic linguistics. She is an awardee of JSPS post-doctoral fellowship (2017-2019) and Polish Minister of Higher Education's scholarship for outstanding young academics (2018-2020). Currently, she is a visiting researcher at University of the Ryukyus under the supervision of Professor Shigehisa Karimata.

Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka
ORCID: 0000-0002-5303-3290

Irogonomi and *Kōshoku* – Ideals of Sensual Love in Japanese Classical Literature

DOI: 10.14746/sijp.2018.51/52/53/54.5

ABSTRACT

The main topic of the article is the description of the ideals of sensual love as depicted by the synonymous expressions: *kōshoku* and *irogonomi* (refined lust, sensual love). Due to the polygamous character of the court society (in the 8th–12th centuries) along with the hedonistic ideals within the erotic culture of the townspeople (during the 17th–19th centuries), that which was considered of the highest value in love was an opulent and diversified love life, not the faithfulness of the lovers. The point of the article is to reconstruct the ideals of sensual love based on the literary works of the court tale genre (*ōchō monogatari*) and the love tales (*kōshoku mono*) by Saikaku Ihara.

KEYWORDS: *kōshoku*, *irogonomi*, court love, Murasaki Shikibu, Prince Genji, Ariwara no Narihira, Saikaku Ihara

Sensual love, lust and eroticism – in European culture all these terms belong to the domain of Eros. For countless centuries, Europeans would struggle with physical and carnal nature (*eros*), putting it in opposition to the more sublime, experiences and feelings (*agape*). Meanwhile in Japanese classical literature, where indulging in sensual pleasures was natural behaviour resulting from human instinct and basic needs, the two synonymous terms *kōshoku* 好色[1]and its Japanese equivalent *irogonomi* 色好み (refined lust, sensual love) became the symbols for sensual love. Due to the polygamous character of court society (in the 8th–12th centuries) along with the hedonistic ideals within the erotic culture of the townspeople (during the 17th–19th centuries), what was considered of the highest value in love was an opulent and diversified love life, not the faithfulness of the lovers.

The main topic of this article is the ideals of sensual love as depicted by the terms *kōshoku* and *irogonomi*, and their reflections in Japanese court

[1] The term 好色 (*hao se)* is of Chinese origin and means sexuality and physical love in Chinese culture.

literature (8th–12th century) and townspeople literature (17th–19th century).[2]

Irogonomi in Court Literature

The contemporary Japanese writer Yukio Mishima (all names are provided in the Western order, the latter following the former: *name+surname*), in his treatise *Shinren'ai no kōza* (Lecture on new love)[3] stresses that the harmonious union of instinct and emotion (*honnō purasu kanjō* 本能プラス感情) was the catalyst used in the creation of the Japanese model of love (Mishima 1997: 15). At the same time he admits that "the interest in love was no different from the interest in art" (Mishima 1997: 15). For the Japanese people therefore, sensual love and passion – seen as essential components of the culture of everyday life – were considered to be a certain refined form of art. For the ideal lover, demonstrating proficiency in *ars amandi*, love was first and foremost a source of pleasure and satisfaction.

Ken Akiyama, exploring the meaning of the term *irogonomi*, states that "it signifies the ideal of a man who represents the court version of beauty" (Akiyama 1984: 92). In this understanding, *irogonomi* can mean a certain attitude towards life when one is passionately indulging romantic raptures, or it can stand for the concept of beauty of *ars amandi* as conveyed in court culture. There is some difficulty though; the thin line that runs between practicing *ars amandi* and just indulging in erotic urges, making it hard to give an unambiguous definition of *irogonomi*. No wonder, then, that in various epochs the term *irogonomi* took on various shades of meaning[4]. Most Japanese researchers as well as classical Japanese dictionaries derive the term *irogonomi* from its Chinese equivalent *kōshoku* (Wada et al. 1983) states that in Chinese literature the word *kōshoku* signified the excessive predilection, exuberant proclivity for beautiful women, and matters of love in general.

[2] The paper focuses on presenting the ideals of sensual love in the context of the male-female relationship. The tradition of homoerotic love known in Japanese culture as *nanshoku* (男色) is a separate topic which is not the subject of consideration in this article. On the *nanshoku*, see: Pflugfelder 2007 or Leupp 1997.

[3] Yukio Mishima conducted quite a detailed analysis of classical Japanese love. He wrote: "Love did not develop in the field of philosophy, nor in any other. It developed in the emotional sphere. When the Japanese speak of love, they mean desire, to put it bluntly the desire to spend the night together. The Japanese tinted those kinds of feelings with subtle aesthetic values thus creating Japanese love". See: Mishima 1997: 15.

[4] Shin'ichirō Nakamura in his work on the literary history of the term *irogonomi* analyses its semantic evolution from the beginning of the Heian Period to the Edo Period and modern times. See: Nakamura 1985: 8–13.

It stood for mercurial feelings, a promiscuous and frivolous attitude towards love. In Japanese court literature, *irogonomi* did not possess such a negative meaning and many of the aesthetic aspects coming from the aristocratic culture gained great importance: *miyabi* みやび (elegance), *bi* 美 (beauty) and *aware* あはれ (moved by sadness). In the next epoch, the age of the primacy of the knight culture (12th–17th century), the meaning of the term *irogonomi* became devalued. The term came to mean capriciousness and inconsistency in feelings. The court's sensitivity was replaced by frivolity and exuberant eroticism[5]. The following era brought about the domination of the townspeople and their culture – mainly due to the literary work of the novelist Saikaku Ihara 井原西鶴 (1642–1693). *Irogonomi*, along with its Sino-Japanese equivalent *kōshoku*, experienced a second burst of development becoming the symbols of passion and desire that were once again raised to the ranks of aesthetic values (Nakamura 1985: 9).

The research on the etymology of *irogonomi* was helped a great deal by Shinobu Orikuchi– ethnologist and linguist. He states that the term derives from the Japanese words *iro* 色 and *konomi* 好み. *Iro*, according to Orikuchi Shinobu, is a word that in ancient Japanese society meant a closeness and intimacy in human relations. The woman used to be called *irone* いろね or *iromo* いろも, and the man *irose* いろせ or *iroto* いろと (Orikuchi 1966: 41-43). Meanwhile, the word *konomi* stood for passion and devotion towards choosing the right object of love (Orikuchi 1966: 221). Considering the semantics of the word *irogonomi*, Shinobu Orikuchi arrived at the conclusion that it pointed towards a certain type of hero, one whose outer and inner attractiveness was like a magnetic power luring women, igniting their feelings (Orikuchi 1966: 19). Orikuchi states that most ancient Japanese characters described in the chronicles of the *Kojiki* 古事記[6] or *Nihongi* 日本紀 (Japanese Chronicle, 8th century), like Ōkuninushi 大国主 or Emperor Nintoku 仁徳 (313–399), and the main characters of *monogatari* 物語[7], for example prince

[5] Shin'ichirō Nakamura mainly invokes the *Heike Monogatari* (*The Tale of Heike*, 14th century) where, in his opinion *irogonomi* takes on the meaning of erotic lust and pleasure. This is especially seen when the new ruling class of the military aristocracy gives in to sensual ecstasies with the *shirabyōshi* dancers. See: Ibid. : 140–143.

[6] See: *Kojiki, czyli księga dawnych wydarzeń* (Kojiki, the record of ancient matters) 1981, Wiesław Kotański (trans.).

[7] Court tales *monogatari* or *ōchō monogatari* belong to the genre of fictional prose. The action usually takes place at the court or at the residences of court aristocrats and recalls the life of this social class.

Genji 源氏 [8] or Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平[9], possessed a nearly supernatural power of winning-over romantic women partners. Orikuchi explains the polygamous character of romantic relations of the time stating, "there was an issue of power and perseverance of the respective small states making up the ancient Japanese state. To preserve the country it was crucial to connect with the deity of the neighbouring state. The best method to do that was to marry the female shaman serving that deity. Marrying a woman in the service of a deity, bringing her to the court, meant communion with her deity as well" (Orikuchi 1966: 43).

For Orikuchi, therefore, the word *irogonomi* means not only an innate character trait or skill, but also an attitude towards life. The priestess (*miko*) in service to a deity fulfills the role of bridge between the deity and man. Hence marriage to her secures the deity's help and support. In this way one can secure the divine mandate to rule. For a ruler, possessing many women meant subjugating multiple deities, reinforcing his rule. During the Heian Period (8th–12th century) this religious and political aspect lost much of its importance, whilst the aesthetic dimension was brought to the foreground (Orikuchi 1966: 220).

How should we then interpret the term *irogonomi*? The classical Japanese dictionaries offer the explanation that the noun *iro* could have meant colour, the colour of the garments appropriate for the officials, the form and shape of utensils, the mood and atmosphere, facial lines or facial expressions, elegance, good taste, and finally love and any relations of an emotional nature (Wada et al. 1983). The noun *konomi* meant desire, cognitive passion, likening (Wada et al. 1983).

It is noteworthy that all meanings of the noun *iro* are attributes of reality that can be the subject of sensual perception. *Iro* is deeply rooted in what can be seen, observed by senses, all of which has a direct influence on the perceiver. Moreover, experiencing *iro* bares characteristics of an aesthetic experience. In such compounds as: *irogoromo* 色衣 (beautiful, festive garments) or *irotae* 色たへ (beautiful colour) the word *iro* hints at a positive evaluation. On the other hand the adjective *ironashi* 色なし (verbatim "of no colour") means something not worthy of attention, or something improper and inadequate. In the phrase *ironaki hito* 色なき人

[8] Prince Genji – the eponymous character of *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, 1008), Murasaki Shikibu's masterpiece. The literary work consists of 54 volumes and describes the romantic life of the prince and his descendants.

[9] Ariwara no Narihira (825–880) – poet and courtier, literary character of *Ise monogatari* (*The Tales of Ise*, 10th century) – a poetic illustration of Narihira's love life.

(man of no colour) it hints at a downright heartless person, devoid of feelings or sensitivity.

In the compound *irogonomi* "colour predilection", the meaning of *iro* was diminished from the reality perceived by the senses into *kokoro no iro* 心の色, meaning any expressions and impressions of the human heart. Cognitive passion *konomi* was directed at overall human beauty, the physical (*katachi* 形) and the spiritual (*kokorobae* 心ばへ). Court tales, depicting mostly the private life of aristocratic circles focused on experiences of love, must have helped facilitate the creation of such a vision of *irogonomi*.

In the oldest Japanese tale *Taketori Monogatari* 竹取物語 (The Old Bamboo-Hewer's Story, 10th century, Taketori 1932) sensual love *irogonomi* is shown as the urge to win a beautiful woman at all costs. Many suitors tried to win the hand of the mysterious princess Kaguya. Tales of her beauty reached all corners of the country. Men flocked in front of her house: young and old, wealthy and poor, of high and low birth. The men were drawn by the magnificent appearance of the princess (*katachi yoshi* 形よし), her physical voluptuousness, which they knew only from rumours and stories. They longed to gaze even just once upon her face or hear her voice. And amongst all the suitors longing for the princess's hand "only five deserve the name of a true love connoisseur" (*irogonomi to iwaruru kagiri gonin* 色好みと言はるる限り五人, *Taketori Monogatari* 1932: 3-4).

> But there tarried five suitors, true lovers, and worthier of name belike, in whose hearts, love died not down, and night and day they still haunted the spot. And these noble lovers were the Prince Ishizukuri and the Prince Kuramochi, the Sadaijin Dainagon Abe no Miushi and the Chiunagon Otomo no Miyuki, and Morotada, the Lord of Iso. When a woman is somewhat fairer than the crowd of women, how greatly do men long to gaze upon her beauty!
>
> How much more filled with desire to behold the rare loveliness of the Lady Kaguya were these lords, who would touch no food, nor could wean their thoughts from her, and continued to pace up and down without the fence, albeit their pain was thus in no wise eased. They indited supplications, but no answer was vouchsafed; they offered stanzas of complaint, but these too were disregarded; yet

> their love lessened no whit, and they affronted the ice and snow of winter and the thunderous heats of mid-summer with equal fortitude. (Taketori 1932: 4).

Why was it just those five men, mentioned by name and surname who were classified as *irogonomi*? What made them stand out? First of all parentage: they all belonged to the highest rank of court aristocracy, so they were no nameless admirers, but noted and respected people. Moreover, they all expressed a distinctive stubbornness and perseverance in their efforts to win the princess. All other admirers had quit long before, but those five, neither unhindered by changing seasons nor the weather, were coming to the house of their beloved to bury her with love letters. Even when faced with no response their desires would not totter.

> As dusk fell the suitors as ever gathered in front of her house. One was playing the pipe, another composed poetry, the third one recited in a strong voice, the fourth whistled, and the fifth one beat a rhythm with his fan. (Taketori 1932: 5).

The scene above reminds one of descriptions of love rituals in medieval Europe. The love-struck knight would try to win-over his chosen one with his talents and skills, he would betake himself to her house at night and sing her love serenades to evoke her love for him (Lorris, de Meun 1997: 103). What mattered was proficiency in wielding a weapon, singing, and music. Similarly in Japan of the court period, artistic talents in multiple fields: poetry, music, fine arts and others, were the criteria of the evaluation of an ideal man. However, in the actions of the suitors one can still observe something more than just a desire to present oneself in the best light for the beloved woman. One of the motives behind their actions was no doubt the wish to experience a romantic adventure. Winning a beautiful woman was one of the most sought-after pleasures, and rivalry for her favour became a jointly practiced form of social entertainment.

Kōshoku in Townspeople Literature

The revival of the idea of sensual love happened no sooner than in townspeople culture thanks to Saikaku Ihara, the author of *kōshokumono* (好色物, love novel). In his novels Saikaku presents detailed descriptions of the emotional raptures of his characters while simultaneously striving to

create a certain model, an ideal worthy of emulating. According to Saikaku, practicing the way of love (*shikidō* 色道) is equal to practicing art – in this case erotic art ruled by certain laws and principles. Eroticism explained in this way is essentially different from simple sexualism. It is worth mentioning here the contradistinction proposed by Octavio Paz (Paz 2008: 194) defying eroticism as socialized sexualism, moulded by human will and imagination. Paz states that "the roots of eroticism lie in sex, nature, but since it was created and performs its functions in society, it is culture" (Paz 2008: 196).

Saikaku dedicated a number of works to the ideals of sensual love called *kōshoku*, for example: *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (*The Life of an Amorous Man*, 1682), *Kōshoku ichidai onna* (*The Life of an Amorous Woman*, 1686) or *Kōshoku gonin onna* (*Five Women Who Loved Love*, 1686), and *Kōshoku nidai otoko*: *shōen ōkagami* (*Son of an Amorous Man: The Great Mirror of Beauties*, 1684).

In the Edo Period there was no love one could call platonic or romantic, putting the object of one's devotion on a pedestal. There did develop though a love tinted with sensuality, many a time with unhindered eroticism. It was a significant change in comparison to previous epochs, especially when compared to the image of court love created in the times of the aristocratic Heian culture.

In his works, Saikaku Ihara uses the word *kōshoku* expressing sensual love, desire, eroticism – therefore embracing the meaning of longing for the beloved person and the feeling of fulfillment that comes from romantic elation. The compound word *kōshoku* consists of two lexemes: *kō* meaning predilection, passion, and *shoku* meaning colour, sensual beauty, love, and in Buddhist interpretation it also relates to objects that possess form, therefore can be perceived by the senses. As an independent word, instead of *shoku* the Japanese equivalent *iro* would have usually been used, one that possessed an extremely broad meaning unfurling concepts from a beautiful woman, through love, lust, passion and the sexual act, to courtesans and pleasure districts (Nishiyama et al. 1994: 301–302).

Kōshoku then signified longing and lust, becoming the expression of an opulent and diversified love life, outstanding endeavours and passionate love. It is noteworthy though, that in townspeople culture the meaning of the word never became restricted to only the physical aspect of love. A man or a woman described as *kōshoku* were the connoisseurs of the newest fashion trends and expressed sensitivity to any kind of beauty, were elegant in their behaviour and well-spoken and were practitioners of multiple arts. As a result, such personalities would attract the attention of the opposite

sex and become popular in their circles. The word *kōshoku* further meant the joy of life coming from its various pleasures: food, performing music, art, and love relations including erotic ones as well. In the case of *kōshoku* what was important was the sphere of *decorum* – therefore the proper atmosphere, mood, place of meeting, mutual trust and attraction.

Sensual Love and the Canons of Court Beauty

An essential part of the sensual love *irogonomi* was the perception of an ideal partner, his attractiveness both physical and spiritual. The all-encompassing view of human beauty, the harmonious unity of body and soul, was the drawing force igniting desire, awakening an overwhelming, unrepeatable passion. So what were the personality models and beauty canons that developed and flourished in the court culture of love?

One of the basic characteristics of Japanese court culture was the longing for life in an atmosphere of ideal beauty and refined elegance, and love, life and art remained in an intimate relationship of mutual interplay. Art was modeled after life and life was reflected in art. Both were highly aestheticized and stylized. The elegance (*miyabi*) influencing the setting of court life and a unique sensitivity to beauty (*aware*) determined behaviour patterns, personality models and ideals of female and male beauty. Taking a look at the illustrations of the court tale scrolls[10] allows us to see how the courtiers of the time looked. The most famous and well preserved are the 12th century illustrations of the *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji) scrolls. The depicted figures of men and women emanate mysterious beauty. Most of them are shown from behind or in profile. They have plump, rotund pale faces with lightly marked slit eyes (*hikime* 引き目) and noses in the shape of a hook (*kubana* く鼻 or *kagibana* 鉤鼻). Those unclear, foggy portraits correspond precisely with schematic descriptions of the appearances of the literary characters. While reading *Genji Monogatari* we are surrounded by characters of gentle beauty, but their descriptions do not include details and particulars amounting to a unique whole. As any idealized description they merely show the overall outline, showing only the attributes necessary for depicting ideal beauty. For the outward appearance the most important are: facial lines, hair, white skin, and the way of dressing oneself. For portraying personalities, what matters is all-embracing artistic skills, a proper education, familiarity with court etiquette, and sensitivity, both aesthetic and ethical.

[10] Illustrations to the tales' scrolls (*monogatari emakimono*) appeared in the 11th century. At that time illustrating the tales became a favourite pastime for the ladies of the court. The oldest preserved *emakimono* illustrations date back to the 12th century.

One of the most important attributes of an ideal courtier – both male and female – was to possess a versatile expertise in Japanese literature, first and foremost *waka* poetry. Men also had to display significant expertise in Chinese literature (*bunsai*), know the most important poetic works and compose magnificent poems themselves. Other necessary skills were a comprehensive musical education, playing instruments, dancing, and artistic skills in the fields of painting, calligraphy, and composing incense. For example, Murasaki no Ue, one of the main characters in *Genji Monogatari*, is shown as an absolute ideal of beauty:

> The lady at the veranda – that would be Murasaki. Her noble beauty made him think of a fine birch cherry blooming through the hazes of spring. It was a gentle flow which seemed to come to him and sweep over him (Murasaki 1981: 458).

Young Yūgiri, the son of prince Genji, enchanted with his stepmother's beauty cannot take his eyes off her.
On the other hand Fujitsubo, another character from *Genji Monogatari*, is enraptured not only with her beauty but also her personality:

> Among persons of the highest birth whose charity and benevolence seem limitless there have been some who, sheltered by power and position, have been unwitting agents of unhappiness. Nothing of the sort was to be detected in the comportment of the dead lady. When someone had been of service to her she went to no end of trouble to avoid the sort of recompense that might indirectly have unfortunate consequences. Again, there have since the day of the sages been people who have been misled into extravagant and wasteful attentions to the powers above. Here too matters were quite different with the dead lady. Her faith and devotion complete, she offered only what was in her heart to offer, always within her means. (Murasaki 1981: 339-340)

A noble character was Fujitsubo's dominating feature. In her life she would be guided by the rules of fairness, she was good and sensitive in regard to other people's suffering.
The female characters described above are depicted by the same synonymous words like "beautiful" (*utsukushiki* 美しき), "magnificent" (*medetaki* めでたき), "unique", "wonderful" (*arigataki* ありがたき) or "lovely" (*okashiki* をかしき). Only in the case of female hair does the

author allow herself a more detailed description, although even then she does not escape clichéd phrases.
She describes the hair of Murasaki no Ue as follows:

> Her hair was loosely scattered. Thick, lush and shiny it looked most beautiful (Murasaki 1976: 282).

Fujitsubo's hair looks similar:

> Her hairdo, shape of the head and facial lines, and shiny fragrant hair falling on her shoulders were unspeakably beautiful (Murasaki 1976: 102).

The hair, back then a very important attribute of female beauty, had to be "long and falling" (*koborekakaritaru* こぼれかかりたる), "shiny" (*tsuyatsuya to* つやつやと) and "fragrant" (*niowashiki* にほはしき).
In the descriptions of literary characters the word "light" (*hikari* 光) is often used to symbolize the nearly mystical power to influence others. A beautiful person would shed charming luminance (*hikari kagayaku* 光輝く) evoking omnipresent enchantment. As Hideo Watanabe stresses, the light usually attributed to celestial bodies like the Sun (*hi* 日), Moon (*tsuki* 月) and stars (*hoshi* 星) in the ancient Japanese state was considered the symbol of ruling power (Watanabe 1995: 9). The symbols of the Sun and Moon can be found on ritual imperial garments and flags hung in the palace during investiture ceremonies or New Year celebrations. In poetry and prose the symbols of the Sun and Moon were used as poetic periphrasis for the emperor and members of the imperial family.
It has to be noted that the distinction between the sunlight, mostly representing the ruling emperor and his wife, and moonlight, symbolizing other members of the imperial family and high officials from the *kuge* 公家 class, is present in all court literature.
Moreover the light signified not only a person of high social standing, but also a person of unusual beauty. This representation was already used in the ancient mythological tales, in *Kojiki* or in *Nihongi*, that light and luminance would appear to mark the marvelous beauty of the gods, like the Sun Goddess Amaterasu 天照 or the Moon God Tsukiyomi 月読, as well as the legendary heroes and members of the imperial family. For example, the wife of Emperor Ingyō 允恭 (412–453) – princess

Sotōrihime 衣通姫, known for her luminous beauty, was described as a creature whose beautiful skin shone through her garments[11]. Sei Shōnagon used the resemblance to the Sun in her description of the beauty of the Empress Teishi. Murasaki Shikibu similarly portrayed the beauty of Empress Shōshi (*asahi no hikari* 朝日光) (Watanabe 1995: 12). Moonlight was chosen for the description of the beauty of prince Genji:

> He was handsomer than the crown prince, her chief treasure in the world, well thought of by the whole court. People began calling Genji "the shining one" [Hikaru Kimi]. Fujitsubo, ranked beside him in the emperor's affections, become "the lady of the radiant sun" [kagayaku Hi no miya] (Murasaki 1981: 16).

The protagonist of *Taketori Monogatari* – a mysterious princess who comes from the Moon – is also blessed with a miraculous light-shedding beauty. Her figure, filled with radiant light (*hikari michite* 光満ちて) awakens ravishment in those around her.

> Thus cherished and watched over and tenderly reared, grew she fair of form, nor could the world show her like, and there was no gloom in any corner of the dwelling, but brightness reigned throughout, nor ever did the Ancient fall into a sorrowful mood but that his sadness was chased away when he beheld the maiden, nor was any angry word ever heard beneath that roof, and happily the days went by. (Taketori 1932: 2).

The abundant world of light symbolism does not only include the radiance of the Sun and Moon. Princess Fujitsubo "shines like a gem" (*tama hikari kagayakite* 玉光輝きて) (Murasaki 1976: 419), her son – future Emperor Reizei[12] – is described as a "flawless jewel" (*kizu naki tama* 傷なき玉), whose light comes from the unity of the Sun and Moon's radiance (*tsuki hi no hikari no sora* 月日の光の空, Murasaki 1976: 420).

[11] The description is quoted after *Nihonshoki.* See: Takahashi 1990: 92. Jolanta Tubielewicz states that the princess's name could have been read Sotōshi no iratsume. See: Tubielewicz 2000: 42.

[12] Reizei was a bastard. Although Emperor Kiritsuboin acknowledged the little prince as his own, no one at court had any doubt who the real father was. The Sun and Moon here play a symbolic part, revealing the true provenience of the little prince. The Sun points towards the mother – Empress Fujitsubo, The Moon to the father – prince Genji.

Miyoko Yuhara notices that the "way of showing looks and physical beauty of the literary characters living in an atmosphere of elegance and sentimental emotions, is proof of the strong belief in the hidden power of beauty and refined aesthetic experiences" (Yuhara 1992: 158). According to Yuhara, the radiance metaphor expresses longing for the world of ideal beauty, outwardly, even to the settings of courtly life (Yuhara 1992: 155).

Sensual Love and Canons of Beauty in Townspeople Culture

Imitating the ideals of beauty and refined elegance, *miyabi* of the Heian Period aristocrats was one of the basic characteristic features of townspeople culture. Court literature and the heroes it created, like prince Genji or Ariwara no Narihira, shaped the imagination and predilections of the townspeople. Beautiful courtesans would base their pseudonyms on the names of characters from court tales or the names of chapters from the *Genji Monogatari.* They would use the same beautifying techniques, painting their faces with white powder and blackening their teeth. Excelling in calligraphy, music, *waka* poetry, flower arrangement (*kadō* 華道), incense composing (*kōdō* 香道) or tea ceremony (*sadō* 茶道), they would aspire to be worthy of the title of art connoisseurs. They undertook all of this in order to make themselves look unique, outwardly, to the eyes of the people around them. These courtesans dictated trends and canons of beauty later imitated by regular women. They were considered great beauties and highly sought after. This desire was not limited to townsfolk but extended to the aristocracy and warrior (*bushi* 武士) classes.

Just as in the court culture, everyday life was used as inspiration for the art of the townspeople. First and foremost, art was meant to provide entertainment. The popularity of the so-called guides (*hyōbanki* 評判記), illustrated with woodprints *ukiyoe* 浮世絵, featuring beautiful courtesans, famous *kabuki* actors, famous sites, restaurants and inns, influenced the expectations of the readers and the reception of other works of popular literature, which Saikaku's novels belonged to. Saikaku's literary works depicted real life, although only the rich townspeople could afford to experience it. Saikaku was a very diligent observer, drawing his inspiration from everyday life without trying to embellish or stylize it. In his novels he showed both the beautiful and the ugly faces of the floating world *ukiyo* 浮世[13].

[13] The term *ukiyo* (floating world) functions in the townspeople culture as a reflection of models, behaviours, value systems, and a certain worldview. The word itself has a Buddhist background and primarily meant "the world full of suffering", but during Saikaku's times it came to mean the

The protagonist of many of Saikaku's stories was a *daijin* 大臣, a wealthy, young and elegant man, the embodiment of the male ideal, highly sought after by women. What did he look like and how did he behave? A necessary condition to be a *daijin* was money. Without it one could not be considered attractive, because what mattered were the appearances, down to the smallest details. And the elegant garments and accessories were extremely costly. The look of the ideal lover back then was characterized by neatness (*seiketsukan* 清潔感) and refined elegance (*shibusa* 渋さ). *Daijin* wore garments in shades of brown, black or grey, combining multiple layers that would vary the colour scheme and saturation of the outfit. The difference between kimono and European garments is that with the kimono one can limitlessly change its collars, sleeve rims, lining and belts, which could be pinned or sewn on. Moreover, some necessary items for a young lover were a short blade *wakizashi*, snuffbox, pipe with a pendant *netsuke* connected to it and handkerchiefs. An ideal man also had to possess artistic skills, play the *shamisen* or some other instrument, be able to draw *ukiyoe*, compose poetry, and write moving love letters. The rules of the *ukiyo* world were ruthless. An unkempt and uneducated man had no chance, even for significant sums of money, to buy the highest-ranking courtesan.

Yonosuke, the protagonist of the novel *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* is a model example of a *daijin*. Saikaku described his looks in much detail:

> His undergarment, tastefully exposed at the neckline, was of spotless scarlet, despite his age. His robe was of yellow crepes de Chine embroidered with the fancy crests of his favorite courtesans. His sash was light gray His *haori* coat was made of black camlet. With golden borders and lined with striped satin.
>
> On his left hip was a long sword, the kind that was popular with men about town, with sharkskin-covered hilts and a short sharp blade as an accessory. Dangling from his sash was a tiny *netsuke* wood carving inlaid with agate. His folding wallet was of colored leather, and his flat medicine case had gold and lavender braid. In his hand he carried an ukiyo-e hand-painted mousseline fan mounted on twelve slender ribs. His feet were encased in cotton drill *tabi* socks and sandals. His sandal-bearer carried his walking stick and parasol. (Ihara 1964: 186)

The precision with which the author describes every detail in Yonosuke's appearance is astonishing. The man obviously liked to wear high-quality

earthly life, evanescent but full of joy and pleasure.

garments and surround himself with items made of the finest materials, some coming all the way from China and Europe, which in the face of the state of Japanese international trade at the time meant Yonosuke had money and the necessary connections. His looks said everything at first sight. It was the way only a *daijin* would dress when out looking for paid love.

The *Daijin* was also elegant and refined in his behaviour. Affronted with the beloved courtesan he showed generosity, pelting her with costly presents and seeking her favour. He was playing at a specific love game, one in which beautiful appearances were all that mattered.

> When the Edo gay quarter was at its prime a connoisseur Sakakura was the special friend of the *tayū* Chitose. This man was extremely found of *sake*, with which he always liked to take (salted) the "flower-crabs" from Mogami River in the eastern provinces. One day Sakakura had an artist of the Kanō school[14] paint his family crest (bamboo-grass in a circle) in gold on the tiny carapaces of these crabs. The painter set his fee at one *bu* each (also in gold) …..and Chitose was kept fully supplied with them the year round!
>
> Again, in the capital a man about town named Ishiko was intimate with the *tayū* Nokaze, and got her all sorts of rare and fashionable things before anyone else had them. Thus, Nokaze's autumn wadded-silk garment was a permissible shade of red - but dotted all over in white, the centre of each dot burned out with a taper to reveal a point of deep crimson. (Ihara 1975: 178-179)

Who was a *daijin*? Similarly to the European dandy, the Japanese gallant paid much attention to his looks, taking care of every, even the smallest, detail. He possessed distinctive knowledge of the latest trends, patterns, fabrics and accessories.

On the other hand the symbol of female beauty was the courtesan – the mistress of the art of love. A meeting with a high-ranking courtesan was a unique experience that only the richest merchants could afford – therefore the requirements she had to fulfill were also very high. She had to be sensitive, delicate and educated, skillful in writing love letters, have a great sense of fashion, dress elegantly and fashionable, know how to move and behave. Furthermore, she had to be well-spoken and smell of aloe wood *kyara*. During a meeting with a client she could not bring up any topics

[14] Kanō school – founded by Kanō Masanobu (1434–1530) in the Muromachi Period. Its golden age was the Edo Period.

related to money or running a business, show greediness or pettiness nor eat or drink in excess. In the times of Saikaku, courtesans also had to be artists – they would play *shamisen*, sing and dance. It was only by the end of the 18th century that their role was taken over by the geishas. Moreover, the courtesans were women of letters, they knew *waka* poetry and composed poems themselves. They knew Chinese writing and amusing *haikai* poems that were very popular at the time. In *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* we find a description portraying one of the most famous courtesans of the time, Yūgiri from Shinmachi[15].

> Her face should look pretty enough without liquid powder. Her fingers and toes must be slender, yet full-proportioned. She should have a graceful figure, with just the right amount of bulge at the right places. Her eyes should always look calm and cool. Her skin should be white as snow. She should know how to drink. She must have a good singing voice and be capable, in addition, of playing well on the *koto* and *samisen*.
> Such a woman must be a good literary composer, they agreed, and write charming letters. She should never think about receiving gifts but must be generous in giving to others. Always she must have sympathy and understanding. Above all she must use discretion.
> Yonosuke laughed. "If such a courtesan does actually exist", he asked, "who among those you have known comes closest to this ideal?"
> His four companions were unanimous in their judgment: "Yugiri, of course". (Ihara 1964: 167)

Apart from looks, courtesans would apply various tricks to draw the attention of men. Saikaku records two important skills – the way of walking and being able to glance seductively.

> On promenade, barefoot, she walks with an insinuatingly hesitant "floating step"; she goes into a tea house with a "buoyant step"; she joins a party with a "stealthy step"; she climbs stairs with a "hastening step". She never looks at her sandals as she slips them on; nor does she give way to anyone who comes towards her.

[15] Yūgiri (1653–1678), her name derives from the hero from *Genji monogatari*, a son of prince Genji. In the year 1672 she made her way to Shimabara in Kyoto, then moved to Shinmachi in Osaka. She died at the age of 25 at the peak of her fame.

> And then there is her famous "seductive glance", with which she may turn to look at a strange man on the corner as if she finds him irresistible. Or perhaps one evening she sees a familiar guest at a tea-house entrance. After gazing at him from a distance, she nonchalantly goes over and sits down. If no one is looking she will even slip her hand into the hand of his jester, and make a point of admiring this fellow's crest, or the way his hair is done, or his smart fan - nothing of the slightest charm escapes her. (Ihara 1975: 173)

Skillfulness in the art of love, indispensable in this line of work, is especially noteworthy.

Sensual beauty and the beauty of the human body, as Jun'ichirō Tanizaki points out, held a "one of a kind and unchanging" (*yuitsu fuhen* 唯一不変, Tanizaki 1959: 201) quality that was not personalized; therefore, the descriptions of characters in classical literary works were not meant for individual character identification. Using this interpretation, beauty was seen symbolically as an ideal to be aimed for.

Pledges of Love - *shinjūdate* - and Townspeople Erotic Culture

In the times of Saikaku Ihara and the dominance of townspeople culture there developed a specific love game in which partners would express their love in various ways. Following the examples of the romantic heroes of theatre plays and tales of old, they would pledge their love (*chigiri* 契り) and present one another with evidence of love called *shinjū* or *shinjūdate* 心中立て. The custom mainly applied to relations with courtesans, people of different social classes, or those who were adulterous or, for other reasons, unacceptable. These proofs of love were based on the state of one's heart and were gradable, creating a certain hierarchy from the smallest to the greatest, or the strongest. The first proof, counting from the smallest, was a spoken pledge. The lovers could also write it down (*seishi* 誓詞 or *kishōmon* 起請文), signing the paper with their own blood. The woman would use a knife or a hairpin to prick her right finger, the man would prick his left. The lovers would pledge faithfulness to one another, the courtesans would promise that, apart from clients, they would not sleep with another man due to love. The words of the love pledges would most often be written on talismans called *goōhōin* 牛玉宝印, a special sheet of paper with a printed picture of black crows (*karasu*). The talismans, sold by the three Kumano temples (Kumano sanzan)[16], the Yasaka temple in

[16] Three Kumano temples were located in Wakayama prefecture. The first one was Hongū Taisha in Tanabe, the second Hayatama Taisha in Shingūshi and the third one Nachi Taisha in

Kyoto or Tōdaiji and Horyūji in Nara, were supposed to protect the users from bad luck and sickness.

The lovers would write their love pledges on the reverse blank side of the talisman *goōhōin.* Saikaku describes various ways in which they would express their feelings (Ihara 1976: 113). For example if they used their own blood (*keppan* 血判), they would paint the birds' eyes red. Sometimes they would mix the water for the ink with sake and salt (*sakashio* 酒塩) in order to create invisible ink that would disappear after the message was composed and only the lover would know how to read it.

Another proof of love was a tattoo (*irezumi* 入れ墨) placed on the shoulder, most often the name of the beloved person.

A very popular proof was a lock of hair sent with a letter. It is a common belief in Japan that the soul lives in the hair, so presenting a beloved partner with such proof was at the same time a show of trust. There were various techniques of cutting hair – cutting a lock tied together in advance or cutting loosely falling hair. Another quite serious proof of love was a ripped-off fingernail (*tsumahagi*), or stronger yet, a cut-off little finger (*yubikiri* 指切り, Nishijima 1985: 1–48). The ritual was done in two ways, one was cutting the fingertip off at an angle, the other way was cutting it off straight. An angled cut healed nicer and faster and the scar was not as noticeable. The courtesan would not perform the ritual herself, her maids would help her. The courtesan would lay her hand on a wooden pillow. One maid would hold it down with a fan while the other cut off the finger. Many a time the poor woman would black out or faint completely.

The remnants of the ritual of cutting the little finger as proof of love is seen in the current Japanese custom of people hooking their pinkie-fingers together while making a promise to one another. All precious proofs of love were kept in special boxes called *shinjūbako* 心中箱 (boxes for the proofs of love), for example in *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* Saikaku describes the box belonging to Yonosuke (Ihara 1971: 238-239). For courtesans, the custom of giving the clients *shinjūdate* was a kind of love game aimed at evoking their interest and a way to keep them bound for as long as possible. Courtesans would go out of their way to procure proper relics to represent their proof of love. Yonosuke learned about it firsthand when one night while looking for his beloved he found himself at the cemetery and saw two gravediggers busy digging up a coffin. Apprehensive upon being caught, the two men hastily divulged that they were only taking hair and fingers for the courtesans in the pleasure district.

Nachikatsuura chō.

> "It is this way. When courtesans pledge their fidelity to a favorite patron, they usually clip off strands of their hair and fingernails too and let the favorite keep them as a kind of memento…"
> "Yes, I known, but what has that got to do with dead women's hair?"
> "Well, there are usually many other patrons whom the courtesans must please in order to keep up their popularity. So they buy clipped hair and fingernails from traders and pass them off as their own. The poor men don't know the difference. After all, it's a very secret affair. Those men, not knowing they have been fooled, slip the stuff into their charm holders. It is all so foolish, but then….it means money, so we… we planned to cater to that trade." (Ihara 1964: 101)

Finally, the absolute, final proof, was suicide for love (*jōshi* 情死) – final, but at the same time a particularly popular motif of tales and theatre plays. Contrary to the dramatic works by Chikamatsu Monzaemon[17], in Saikaku's novels the motif of *jōshi* is not so pronounced. His view of such a form of the manifestation of feelings was rather sceptical. In *Shoen ōkagami* he wrote:

> Upon deeper reflection on the topic of suicide for love [*omoi shini*], we might arrive at the conclusion that it is not carried out in order to satisfy the feelings of obligation *giri*, or romantic emotions *jō*. It is rather financial dire straits, an aversion towards the world, and a bad lot in life that forces lovers to choose such measures of escape. Also, the actions of the courtesans should be seen for the cheap tricks they are and not as a good example to be followed. Both upstanding men and women, even when bound by deep love, should not allow themselves to give in to such a course of action. (Ihara 1976: 240–241)

Suicide for Saikaku was, as we see, a senseless escape.

This article presented the canons of sensual love *kōshoku/irogonomi* understood as certain models of male-female relations. In the court and

[17] Monzaemon Chikamatsu, the greatest dramatic author of the Genroku era, wrote plays called *shinjūmono* (plays about suicides) for the doll theatre and *kabuki*. His most famous plays are: *Sonezaki shinjū* (The love suicides at Sonezaki, 1703), *Meido no hikyaku* (The courier for hell, 1711) and *Shinjū Ten no Amijima* (The love suicides at Amijima, 1720). Chikamatsu's characters are torn between desires and moral obligations *giri*, they choose the way of love that eventually leads them to joint suicide.

townspeople cultures they were reflected mostly in their feelings, free from any social restraints, fulfilled in relations widely considered adulterous, illegal, or for some other reason against the current laws. The heroes of those love stories were often a high-ranking aristocrat and a woman of lower social strata or a beautiful courtesan and her client who spent his entire fortune on her. Both the aristocrats and the townspeople treated love eudemonistically, seeking sensual satisfaction and beautiful experiences.

Bibliography

Akiyama Ken 1984. *Ōchō no bungakushi* [The history of court literature]. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai (秋山虔、『王朝の文学史』 toukyou 東京大学出版会).

Ihara Saikaku 1964. *The Life of an Amorous Man,* Kengi Hamada (trans.). Boston, Rutland, Vermont, Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing.

Ihara Saikaku 1971. *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* [The Life of an Amorous Man]. Tōkyō: Shōgakkan (井原西鶴『好色一代男』小学館).

Ihara Saikaku 1975. *The woman who spent their life in Love.* Howard Hibbet (trans.) in: Howard Hibbett, *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction.* Boston, Rutland, Vermont, Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing.

Ihara Saikaku 1976. *Shoen ōkagami* [The Great Mirror of Beauties]. Tōkyō: Shōgakkan. 井原西鶴『諸艶大鑑』小学館.

Nakada Norio, Wada Toshimasa, Kitahara Yasuo [eds.] 1983. *Kogodaijiten* [Great dictionary of classical Japanese]. Tōkyō: Kawade Shōbo (中田祝夫 和田利政 北原保雄（編）『古語大辞典』小学館).

Kojiki 1981. *Kojiki, czyli księga dawnych wydarzeń* [Kojiki, the record of ancient matters]. Wiesław Kotański (trans.) 1981. Warsaw: PIW.

Leupp, Gary P. 1997. *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Lorris, Guillaume de, Jean de Meun 1997. *Powieść o róży* [The Roman de la Rose]. Małgorzata Frankowska-Terlecka and Teresa Giermak-Zielińska (trans.) Warszawa: PIW.

Mishima Yukio 1997. *Shinren'ai no kōza* [Lecture on new love]. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō [三島由紀夫『新恋愛講座』東京:摩書房].

Murasaki Shikibu 1976. *Genji Monogatari* [The tale of Genji]. Tōkyō: Shōgakkan (紫式部『源氏物語』東京:小学館).

Nakamura Shin'ichirō 1985. *Irogonomi no kōzō* [The structure of irogonomi]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shinsho (中村真一郎『色好みの構造』東京:岩波書店).

Nishijima Atsuya 1985. *Kinseibungaku no joseizō* [The portrait of a woman in modern literature]. Tōkyō: Sekai Shinchōsha (西島孜哉『近世文学の女性像』世界新潮社).

Nishiyama Matsunosuke et al. [eds.] *Edogaku jiten* [The dictionary on the study of the Edo period] 1994. Tōkyō: Kōbundō (西山松之助編『江戸学辞典』光文堂).

Orikuchi Shinobu 1966. *Jōdai kizoku seikatsu no tenkai* [The development of aristocratic life in ancient times]. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha (折口信夫『上代貴族生活の展開』中央公論社).

Paz, Octavio 2008. *Erotyzm i seksualizm* [Eroticism and sexualism]. Piotr Fornalski (trans.) [In:] Małgorzata Szpakowska [ed.] *Antropologia ciała* [Anthropology of the body]. Warszawa: WUW.

Pflugfelder, Gregory M. 2007. *Cartographies of Desire: Male–Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Takahashi Tōru 1990. *Irogonomi no bungaku to ōken* [Irogonomi literature and imperial rule]. Tōkyō: Shintensha (高橋亨『色好みの文学と王権』新典社).

Taketori 1932. *Taketori monogatari* [The Old Bamboo-Hewer's Story]. F. Victor Dickins (trans.), Tōkyō: Sankakusha. https://archive.org/details/cu31924073466520/page/

Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 1959. *Ren'ai oyobi shikijō* [Love and feelings]. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha (谷崎純一郎『恋愛および色情』中央公論社).

Tubielewicz, Jolanta 2000. *Mężczyźni i kobiety w starożytnej Japonii – miłość, seks, obyczaje* [Men and women of ancient Japan – love, sex, customs]. Warszawa: Nozomi.

Watanabe Hideo 1995. *Shika no mori – Nihongo no imēji* [The woods of words. Images of the Japanese language]. Tōkyō: Taishūkan Shoten (渡辺秀夫『詩歌の森ー日本語のイメージ』 大修館書店).

Yuhara Miyoko 1992. *Genji monogatari no yōshibi* [The beauty of appearance in Genji Monogatari]. Tōkyō: Benseisha (湯原美陽子『源氏物語の容姿美』勉誠社).

AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka
Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka - graduated from the Department of Japanese and Korean Studies at the University of Warsaw and Shinshū University (Japan), currently working at the Chair of Japanese Studies at the University of Warsaw. He specializes in classical literature and language as well as ancient and contemporary Japanese culture. As a fellow of Japanese Ministry of Education, Japan Foundation and Takashima Foundation, she repeatedly conducted research in Japan – at Shinshu University in Matsumoto and the International Centre for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) in Kyoto. She has published, among others, *Millennium of Genji Monogatari in Japanese Culture* (editor, WUW 2009), *The Floating World of Ukiyo, the Image of Urban Culture in the Works of Ihary Saikaku* (WUW 2010), *Tradition in Popular Culture of Japan* (co-editor with Agnieszka Kozyra, Japonica 2017), *Japanese Culinary Culture* (Japonica 2018).

Stanisław Meyer
ORCID: 0000-0003-3075-5677

Kanji Jigoku: An E-learning Platform for *kanji* Studies

DOI: 10.14746/sijp.2018.51/52/53/54.6

ABSTRACT

This paper introduces the e-learning platform for kanji studies that is being used at the Department of Japanology and Sinology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow. The platform has been created in response to educational challenges posed by the emergence of the information society, where students are excessively dependent on the Internet and mobile devices. Although the Kanji Jigoku platform facilitates the study of kanji, it cannot match a traditional dictionary and, above all, does not exempt students from hard work, as to master kanji requires as lot of time and patience.

KEYWORDS: Japanese language, didactics, e-learning, kanji

The Internet and mobile devices, such as smartphones, tablets and e-book readers, have brought about revolutionary changes in people's lives. That is to say, information has become accessible within three moves of a finger on a screen. In the academic world the Internet has profoundly changed study habits and methods of conducting research. A smartphone connected to the Internet may serve not only as a dictionary, encyclopedia or translator, but also as a device for research query and quick verification of information.

For students of Japanese language in Poland the Internet is a blessing. Nowadays everyone can afford Japanese dictionaries, including a *kanji* dictionary, which for an average student twenty years ago was too expensive and difficult to obtain. Some notable publishers have decided to release their works on the Internet for free. Dictionaries *Daijirin* (Sanseidō) and *Daijisen* (Shōgakukan), for example, are available at the Kotobank, Yahoo, Goo and Weblio portals. Apart from websites, publishers also offer applications for mobile devices. Applications that can be used offline are successfully competing with applications requiring a connection to the Internet: they do not generate costs for the Internet-data transfer, usually they are faster and ad-free.

Having noticed that students had bid farewell to paper dictionaries I realized that it was high time to introduce the Internet to my *kanji* classes. In 2010, I started developing a website for *kanji* studies, dedicated for

students of the Department of Japanology and Sinology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland. This website eventually evolved into a large e-learning platform, "Kanji Jigoku," or "Kanji Hell," which consists of a website and an application for devices running on the Android system.[1]

Issues Concerning Internet Sources

Despite their many assets, Internet dictionaries are also not without their shortcomings and pose some challenges to their users. The internet in general takes the edge off a sense of quality control. The problem of Wikipedia and other projects of this kind is that users take their reliability for granted, having no guarantee whatsoever that the content they get on the screen has been checked and proofread by a professional editor. This issue concerns all Japanese online dictionaries that constitute a compilation of various databases, the credibility of which is in some cases questionable. By juxtaposing professional and quasi-professional resources these dictionaries shift the responsibility of quality control to users, and this should not be the case. Take the Weblio portal, for example, where the corpus of the *Daijisen* dictionary is mixed with example-sentences extracted by an algorithm from Japanese Wikipedia and the Tatoeba database. The sentences from Wikipedia are often out of context and therefore useless. The sentences from Tatoeba are even more problematic, as many of them have been written by non-native speakers. Ordinary users, however, are not able to judge whether they are correct.

Speaking of example-sentences, the issue of *furigana* (reading) needs to be addressed. In Tatoeba and Tangorin *furigana* attached to sentences is generated "on the fly" by algorithms. The algorithms, however, are not perfect and generate errors – not many, but enough to question their credibility. Take for example the word 清水: it can be read either "Shimizu" or "Kiyomizu". In Tatoeba and Tangorin the sentences containing the expression "Kiyomizu no butai kara tobioriru" (lit. "to jump from the terrace of the Kiyomizu temple", to make a leap in the dark) are read "Shimizu no butai…" – an inexcusable error. Of course, we may say that errors occur in "traditional" dictionaries too, but in this case the problem concerns the removal of humans from the editing process, which brings us back to the issue of quality control.

[1] The "Kanji Jigoku" project would not have been completed without support from the Hakuko Foundation which granted me a research scholarship at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 2014-15.

Project Description

"Kanji Jigoku" (hereafter KJ) combines the functions of a textbook and a small dictionary. It contains 2,484 characters: the standard *jōyō kanji* set (2,136), *kyūji* (old versions of characters), and *jinmeiyō kanji* (characters used in names). All characters are organized into levels and classes. The three-year undergraduate curriculum at our department includes 1,800 characters which are organized into six levels, corresponding to six semesters. The curriculum is as following:

1st level: 251 characters, 22 classes (10-12 characters per class);
2nd level: 249 characters, 23 classes (10-12 characters per class);
3rd level: 325 characters, 25 classes (13 characters per class);
4th level: 325 characters, 25 classes (13 characters per class);
5th level: 325 characters, 25 classes (13 characters per class);
6th level: 325 characters, 25 classes (13 characters per class).[2]

The curriculum follows the order of *kanji* of the following textbooks: *Basic Kanji Book* (Nishiguchi 1994) (the first two levels) and *Kanji in Context* (Kano 1989). Each *kanji* contains a standard description that includes: character meanings, number of strokes, the radical, basic *on'yomi* and *kun'yomi* readings, Chinese readings in *pinyin*, and, in some cases, *nanori* readings (readings used in names). Following the description come compound-words (*jukugo*) and example sentences illustrating the usage of vocabulary. Each *kanji* is usually provided with four or five most representative compound words. Currently the KJ dictionary contains ca. 9,900 words and 5,600 example sentences.

Basic information about characters come from the *kanji* database created by Electronic Dictionary Research and Development Group (EDRDG). KJ, however, does not simply copy the EDRDG data, as is the case of many online dictionaries. All imported data has been carefully selected and double-checked. For example, historical and rarely used *kun'yomi* and *on'yomi* readings have either been omitted or marked as complementary. The EDRDG database is not free of errors, so they had to be corrected.

To present the comparative context of a *kanji*, KJ displays other characters from the same phonosemantic group. For examples, the character 語 is juxtaposed with 五 and 悟 (as they share the same component and reading

[2] To complete a level within the semester (fifteen working-weeks), students have to study two classes (20-26 characters) per week.

go). Some characters are provided with additional information about etymology etc. For example, KJ encourages the user to compare the character 与 with 挙, because historically they are related (与＝與, 挙＝擧) and therefore they share the same reading (*yo*). Another example: KJ informs that 勲 is not related to 動 and thus explains why the two characters do not share the common reading. In addition, KJ is linked with other online dictionaries. On the sidebar of the page there are links to Yamasa Kanji Dictionary, Jisho, Tangorin, Weblio, Goo and Chinese Etymology websites. This enables the user to check the character in other sources with one click.

The set of compound-words is based on the vocabulary list in *kanji* textbooks. As a principle, each *kanji* is provided with one word marked with a star, which is meant to be a catchword helping to memorize the *kanji*. For example, KJ recommends memorizing the character 貿 (*bō*) as a component of "trade" (貿易 *bōeki*), and 旅 as a component of "journey" (旅行 *ryokō*). To illustrate the meaning of a word related to Japanese culture, a picture from Wikimedia Commons is provided (for example: wooden clogs *geta*, sliding door *shōji*, paper fan *uchiwa* etc.).

The example sentences have been composed by lecturers of our Department or borrowed from various sources: dictionaries, textbooks of Japanese language, textbooks used in Japanese middle- and high-schools, newspapers, online articles etc.[3] They cover a wide range of topics, as the idea of KJ is to expand students' vocabulary in various fields. Hence students get some idea of the language of social sciences as well as physics, chemistry, biology and geography. The language difficulty and grammatical complexity of sentences have been adjusted to the level of students' skills: sentences at the 1st and 2nd levels are short and simple. All sentences are appended with *furigana* and translated into the Polish language.

It needs to be emphasized that KJ does not generate *furigana* "on the fly". The reading of each sentence has been inputted manually and saved in the database. KJ enables the user to import *furigana* from websites hosting *furigana* algorithms (Kanji Converter, Furigana Generator), but at the end it requires the administrator to approve the reading before saving it.

The KJ platform features various tests and exercises. Students can review the study material using flashcards or multiple-choice tests. KJ offers twenty-three different kinds of tests generated by computer algorithms,

[3] The copyright-protected materials are not accessible to guest-users of the platform. Full access is limited only to users of the Jagiellonian University network.

including tests for *kun'yomi* and *on'yomi* readings, meanings and readings of compound-words, *okurigana* (*kana* suffixes attached to *kanji*) and old characters.

KJ is dedicated not only to students but also teachers. The teachers (i.e. users with administrative permission) can generate and print out a test. Hence the task to prepare an exam sheet takes less than a couple of minutes.

The content of KJ is not fixed. I am still working on expanding the set of example sentences, in particular the sentences for beginners. KJ can also be perfected by adding expository notes about etymology to all *kanji*. I do not plan, however, to expand the vocabulary corpus or to add new characters. KJ is first of all a textbook and therefore shall not exceed students' limits of acquirement of knowledge.

Conclusions

From the perspective of the past few years, since I introduced KJ to my classes, I cannot say that the level of *kanji* knowledge among students of my Department has improved or worsened. KJ has not brought any revolutionary changes in *kanji* learning, but this is not what I was expecting. I have created KJ in response to the expansion of the Internet in our life. The Internet does not make people wiser or better informed. It does not improve people's learning skills. My biggest reservation about the Internet is that it makes information too easy to access, thus eliminating the act of searching from the process of learning. The act of searching is important, because it creates stimuli improving the memory. Above all, it helps uncover new layers of knowledge, and, by extension, it improves the study context. It does make a difference whether one can freely browse through library shelves and explore them, or can only pick up a book at a counter; it makes a difference whether one can *study* an encyclopedia, or simply get a piece of information on a screen. In this respect KJ, like other digital sources, cannot substitute a physical dictionary.

Studying *kanji* is very painful and solitary work that requires regular training, patience and time. First year students need, of course, some guidance from a lecturer, but basically teaching *kanji* can be easily moved to the Internet. After I had introduced KJ, I gave my students the freedom to decide whether they wanted to come to my classes or to study on their own. Most of them chose the latter, but, to my great satisfaction, they have gone on to pass their final exams. I have observed, however, that those students who come to class to be grilled at the blackboard statistically get better results in exams. After all, interpersonal relations and the atmosphere in the classroom are important factors stimulating the learning process.

References

Kanji Jigoku
http://info.filg.uj.edu.pl/~smeyer/kanji/
http://stachu.freehostia.com/kanji/ (mirror site)

Chinese Etymology
http://hanziyuan.net/

Jisho
http://jisho.org/

Electronic Dictionary Research and Development Group
http://www.edrdg.org/

Furigana Generator
http://furigana.sourceforge.net/

Goo
http://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/

Kanji Converter
http://nihongo.j-talk.com/

Kano, Chieko. 1989. *Basic Kanji Book*, Vol. 1, 2, Tokyo: Bonjinsha.

Kotobank
https://kotobank.jp/

Nishiguchi, Koichi. 1994. *Kanji in Context: A Study System for Intermediate and Advanced Learners*. Tokyo: Japan Times.

Tangorin
http://tangorin.com/

Tatoeba
https://tatoeba.org/

Weblio, http://ejje.weblio.jp/

Yahoo Japan Dictionary
http://dic.yahoo.co.jp/

Yamasa Kanji Dictionary
http://www.yamasa.org/ocjs/kanjidic.nsf/MainPage?OpenForm

AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Stanisław Meyer
Stanisław Meyer (PhD University of Hongkong) is assistant professor at the Department of Japanology and Sinology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He conducts research on Okinawan history, Japanese colonialism and Japanese minorities. As an academic lecturer he teaches Japanese history and kanji. In 2018 he published a monograph *Historia Okinawy* (The History of Okinawa).

Various Authors

Summer Poems

Tłumaczenie/translation/翻訳: Anna Zalewska
ORCID: 0000-0003-3044-7797

DOI: 10.14746/sijp.2018.52/53/54/55.7

ABSTRACT

This is the first Polish translation of the entire *Summer Poems* book of *Kokin wakashū* (*A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*, the first emperial anthology of Japanese poetry, compiled in the beginning of 10th century). *Summer Poems* is the third of twenty books or volumes of the antology and containing only 34 *tanka* poems, it is one of the shortest. The main motif of the poems in this volume is the cuckoo (Jp. *hototogisu*), a migratory bird, whose arrival is eagerly awaited; it is always depicted by its singing only, not by its appearance. Other motifs are summer flowers like wisteria or tachibana, the moon or the wind blowing in the endo of summer.

KEYWORDS: poetry, Japanese poetry, *waka*, poems, *tanka*, *Kokin wakashū*

Introduction

Natsu no uta (*Summer Poems*) is the third of twenty volumes in *Kokin wakashū* or *A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (905). Books 1 to 6 contain *waka* poems about the four seasons: books 1 and 2 cover spring, book 3 – summer, books 4 and 5 – autumn, and book 6 is on winter. Together, both books on spring contain 134 poems; and the two books on autumn include as many as 145 poems. However, the book on summer has only 34 poems, and there are even fewer poems on winter, just 29. This difference should be considered in connection to the aesthetics of that period: the Japanese at that time liked to compose poems about spring and autumn, they discussed and compared their respective beauties trying to determine which of the two seasons was the most beautiful. A very hot and humid summer or a cold winter held little charm for them.

In the lunisolar calendar used by the Japanese until modern times summer consisted of the fourth, fifth and sixth months, which corresponds to the period from the beginning of May to the beginning of August today. The subject matter of the summer poems is not very diverse: out of 34 poems only six do not mention a cuckoo (Jp. *hototogisu*, the lesser cuckoo, a bird

from the Cuculidae family). These six poems are placed at the beginning of Book 3 (poems 136 and 139) and at the end (poems 165–168). Other motifs to be found in the summer poems are: wisteria (Jp. *fuji*, poem 135), cherry (Jp. *sakura*, 136), tachibana orange (Jp. *tachibana*, 139, 141 and 155), deutzia (Jp. *unohana*, 164), lotos (Jp. *hasu*, 165), the moon (Jp. *tsuki*, 166), dianthus (Jp. *nadeshiko*, 167) and wind blowing at the end of summer (168).

The lesser cuckoo is a species of bird that migrates every year from the continent to spend the summer months in Japan, where it settles mostly in hilly terrain. It is for this reason that it is especially connected with the summer season. The poems mention only the sounds of the cuckoo: in each of the poems there are words like *koe* (voice) or *naku* (to sing), but the appearance of the bird is never described. Since it is a migratory bird, its coming to Japan is awaited and the times it has come before are remembered. What is the singing of the cuckoo associated with? The main motif seems to be yearning, longing for someone who has gone away or who no longer returns anymore, melancholy, loneliness, weariness of life, but also the enjoyment and appreciation of the beautiful voice of the cuckoo singing.

The following text is the first Polish translation of the entire *Summer Poems* book of *Kokin wakashū*.

For the convenience of readers, the original text is given both in Japanese writing (in one line, the way it usually was written in the original anthologies) and in alphabet (divided into five lines or verses).

References

Kyūsojin Hitaku. 2007. *Kokin wakashū* [a collection of poems ancient and modern] Vol. 1. Tōkyō: Kōdansha (久曽神昇『古今和歌集（一）』講談社).

Kokin wakashū* czyli *Zbiór pieśni japońskich dawnych i nowych

Pieśni o lecie

135

題しらず
よみ人しらず
わがやどの池の藤枝さきにけり山郭公いつかきなかむ
このうたある人のいはく、かきのもとの人まろが也

dai shirazu temat nieznany
yomibito shirazu twórca nieznany
waga yado no przy moim domu
ike no fujinami wisterie już nad stawem
sakinikeri pięknie rozkwitły,
yama hototogisu górska kukułko, kiedy
itsu ka kinakamu przylecisz, by w nich śpiewać
Kono uta aru hito no iwaku, Kakinomoto no Hitomaro ga nari.
Ktoś powiedział, że ten wiersz został ułożony przez Kakinomoto no Hitomaro.

136

う月にさけるさくらを見てよめる
紀としさだ
あはれてふ事をあまたにやらじとや春におくれてひとりさくらむ

Uzuki ni sakeru sakura o mite yomeru.
Widząc wiśnię kwitnącą w kwietniu ułożył ten wiersz.
Ki no Toshisada
aware chō jakby nie chciała
koto o amata ni dzielić się zachwytami
yaraji to ya z kwieciem wszelakim
haru ni okurete spóźniła się na wiosnę
hitori sakuramu i kwitnie tu samotna

137
題しらず
よみ人しらず
さ月まつ山郭公うちはぶき今もなかなむこぞのふるごゑ

dai shirazu temat nieznany
yomibito shirazu twórca nieznany
satsuki matsu górska kukułko,
yama hototogisu co czerwca wyczekujesz,
uchihabuki strzepnij skrzydełka,
ima mo nakanamu zaśpiewaj już, w tej chwili,
kozo no furugoe tak samo jak rok temu

138

伊勢
五月こばなきもふりなむ郭公まだしきほどのこゑをきかばや

Ise
satsuki koba gdy przyjdzie czerwiec,
naki mo furinamu wszędzie będą się rozlegać
hototogisu kukułek głosy,
madashiki hodo no więc pozwól mi już teraz
koe o kikabaya usłyszeć głos swój świeży

139
よみ人しらず
さつきまつ花橘のかをかげば昔の人の袖のかぞする

yomibito shirazu twórca nieznany
satsuki matsu kiedy czuję woń
hana tachibana no kwiatów pomarańczy, które
ka o kageba czerwca czekają,
mukashi no hito no myślę, że to aromat
sode no ka zo suru szat ludzi z dawnych wieków

140

いつのまにさ月きぬらむあしびきの山郭公今ぞなくなる

itsu no ma ni	sam nie wiem kiedy
satsuki kinuramu	nastały dni czerwcowe
ashibiki no	i już, już zaraz
yama hototogisu	usłyszymy wołanie
ima zo naku naru	kukułki z gór rozległych

141

けさきなきいまだたびなる郭公花たちばなにやどはからなむ

kesa ki naki	dziś przyleciała
imada tabi naru	kukułka od rana śpiewa
hototogisu	jeszcze w podróży
hana tachibana ni	chętnie dam jej schronienie
yado wa karanamu	na krzewie pomarańczy

142

おとは山をこえける時に郭公のなくをききてよめる
きのとものり
おとは山けさこえくれば郭公こずゑはるかに今ぞなくなる

Otowayama o koekeru toki ni hototogisu no naku o kikite yomeru.
Ki no Tomonori

Gdy przekroczył górę Otowa, usłyszał śpiew kukułki i wtedy ułożył ten wiersz.

Ki no Tomonori

Otowayama	górę Otowa
kesa koekureba	dziś rano przekroczyłem
hototogisu	a wtem kukułki
kozue haruka ni	wśród drzew odległych czubków
ima zo naku naru	rozlega się wołanie

143

郭公のはじめてなきけるをききてよめる
そせい

Hototogisu no hajimete nakikeru o kikite yomeru.
Sosei

郭公はつこゑきけばあぢきなくぬしさだまらぬこひせらるはた
Słysząc pierwszy śpiew kukułki ułożył ten wiersz.
Sosei

hototogisu	kiedy pierwszy głos
hatsukoe kikeba	kukułki usłyszałem
ajikinaku	w mym sercu miłość
nushi sadamaranu	wezbrała, choć sam nie wiem,
koi seraru hata	do kogo ja tak tęsknię

144

ならのいその神でらにて郭公のなくをよめる
いその神ふるき宮この郭公声許こそむかしなりけれ

Nara no Isonokamidera nite hototogisu no naku o yomeru.
Wiersz o śpiewie kukułki w świątyni Isonokamidera w Nara.

Isonokami	w dawnej stolicy
furuki miyako no	w świątyni Isonokami
hototogisu	dzisiaj już tylko
koe bakari koso	to kukułki wołanie
mukashi narikere	brzmi tak jak w dawnych wiekach

145

題しらず
よみ人しらず
夏山になく郭公心あらば物思ふ我に声なきかせそ

dai shirazu	temat nieznany
yomibito shirazu	twórca nieznany
natsuyama ni	jeżeli serce
naku hototogisu	masz, o kukułko górska,
kokoro araba	tą letnią porą
mono omou ware ni	nie śpiewaj mi tak smutno,
koe na kikase so	gdy ja sam tonę w smutku

146

郭公なくこゑきけばわかれにしふるさとさへぞこひしくなりける

hototogisu	gdy usłyszałem
naku koe kikeba	jak kukułki wołają
wakarenishi	nawet do wioski
furusato sae zo	rodzinnej zatęskniłem
koishiku narikeru	tej, którą opuściłem

147

ほととぎすながなくさとのあまたあれば猶うとまれぬ思ふ物から

hototogisu	ty w tylu wioskach
na ga naku sato no	śpiewasz, moja kukułko,
amata areba	że ktoś, kto o tobie,
nao utomarenu	myślał dotąd z czułością
omou mono kara	może cię przestać lubić

148

思ひいづるときはの山の郭公唐紅のふりいでてぞなく

omoiizuru	gdy ją wspominam
Tokiwa no yama no	płaczę, aż gardło zdarte,
hototogisu	jak ta kukułka
karakurenai no	co na górze Tokiwa
furiidete zo naku	śpiewa zduszonym głosem

149

声はして涙は見えぬ郭公わが衣手のひづをからなむ

koe wa shite	głos się rozlega,
namida wa mienu	lecz łez twoich nie widać,
hototogisu	smutna kukułko,
waga koromode no	ja mam mokre rękawy
hizu o karanamu	chętnie ci ich użyczę

150

あしびきの山郭公をりはへてたれかまさるとねをのみぞなく

ashibiki no	z gór rozłożystych
yama hototogisu	kukułki przyleciały
orihaete	i bez wytchnienia –
tare ka masaru to	„która z nas jest nalepsza?” –
ne o nomi zo naku	na cały głos śpiewają

151

今さらに山へかへるな郭公こゑのかぎりはわがやどになけ

ima sara ni	jeszcze nie teraz,
yama e kaeru na	nie wracaj w swoje góry,
hototogisu	piękna kukułko,
koe no kagiri wa	póki głosu ci starcza
waga yado ni nake	śpiewaj przy moim domu

152

みくにのまち

やよやまて山郭公事づてむ我世の中にすみわびぬことよ

Mikuni no Machi

yayoya mate	hejże, zaczekaj
yama hototogisu	wiadomość ci powierzę,
kotozutemu	górska kukułko,
ware yo no naka ni	że życie na tym świecie
sumiwabinu koto yo	już mi się uprzykrzyło

153

寛平の御時のきさいの宮の歌合のうた

紀とものり

五月雨に物思ひをれば郭公夜ふかくなきていづちゆくらむ

Kanpyō no ōntoki no kisai no miya no utaawase no uta.

Ki no Tomonori

Wiersz ułożony w trakcie turnieju poetyckiego w pałacu cesarzowej, w erze Kanpyō.

Ki no Tomonori

samidare ni	deszcze czerwcowe
monoomoi oreba	ja w myślach pogrążony
hototogisu	do późnej nocy
yo fukaku nakite	kukułka mnie wołała
izuchi yukuramu	dokąd teraz poleci?

154

夜やくらき道やまどへるほととぎすわがやどをしもすぎがてになく

yo ya kuraki	czy to że noc ciemna,
michi ya madoeru	czy że w drodze zbłądziła,
hototogisu	kukułka woła
waga yado o shi mo	przed mym domostwem, jakby
sugigate ni naku	ominąć go nie mogła

155

大江千里

やどりせし花橘もかれなくになどほととぎすこゑたえぬらむ

Ōe no Chisato

yadori seshi	wciąż nie przekwitły
hana tachibana mo	kwiaty drzew pomarańczy
karenaku ni	gdzie siadywała,
nado hototogisu	dlaczego więc kukułki
koe taenuramu	głos już się nie rozlega?

156

きのつらゆき

夏の夜のふすかとすればほととぎすなくひとこゑにあくるしののめ

Ki no Tsurayuki

natsu no yo no	tej letniej nocy
fusu ka to sureba	ledwo się położyłem,
hototogisu	gdy wtem zaczęła
naku hitokoe ni	mała kukułka śpiewać,
akuru shinonome	świt zaróżowił niebo

157

みぶのただみね
くるるかと見ればあけぬるなつのよをあかずとやなく山郭公

Mibu no Tadamine

kururu ka to	ledwo zapadł zmierzch
mireba akenuru	a już się rozjaśniło
natsu no yo o	tej letniej nocy
akazu to ya naku	czy będzie nieznużenie
yama hototogisu	śpiewać górska kukułka?

158

紀秋岑
夏山にこひしき人やいりにけむ声ふりたててなく郭公

Ki no Akimine

natsuyama ni	czy ktoś jej miły
koishiki hito ya	znalazł w górach schronienie
irinikemu	przed skwarem lata?
koe furitatete	kukułka głos wytęża
naku hototogisu	jakby kogoś wołała

159

題しらず
よみ人しらず
こぞの夏なきふるしてし郭公それかあらぬかこゑのかはらぬ

dai shirazu	temat nieznany
yomibito shirazu	twórca nieznany
kozo no natsu	zeszłego lata
nakifurushiteshi	śpiewała aż zachrypła
hototogisu	mała kukułka
sore ka aranu ka	to ta, czy może inna?
koe no kawaranu	jej głosik brzmi tak samo

160

郭公のなくをききてよめる
つらゆき
五月雨のそらもとどろに郭公なにをうしとかよただなくらむ

Hototogisu no naku o kikite yomeru.
Tsurayuki
Ułożył ten wiersz słysząc wołanie kukułki.
Tsurayuki

samidare no	czerwcowe deszcze
sora mo todoro ni	aż niebo wokół huczy
hototogisu	kukułka woła
nani o ushi to ka	przez noc całą, a cóż to
yo tada nakuramu	tak ją zasmucić mogło?

161

さぶらひにてをのこどものさけたうべけるに、めして「郭公まつうたよめ」とありければよめる
みつね
ほととぎすこゑもきこえず山びこはほかになくねをこたへやはせぬ

Saburai nite onokodomo no sake taubekeru ni, meshite „hototogisu matsu uta yome" to arikereba yomeru.
Mitsune
Gdy panowie raczyli się sake w kwaterach na dworze, został zawołany i poproszony o wiersz o czekaniu na kukułkę, i wtedy ułożył poniższe.
Mitsune

hototogisu	nawet nie słychać
koe mo kikoezu	tutaj głosu kukułki
yamabiko wa	czy górskie bóstwa
hoka ni naku ne o	mogłyby kazać echu
kotae ya wa senu	odbić jej śpiew z oddali?

162

山に郭公のなきけるをききてよめる
つらゆき
郭公人まつ山になくなれば我うちつけにこひまさりけり

Yama ni hototogisu no nakikeru o kikite yomeru.
Tsurayuki
Ułożył ten wiersz, gdy usłyszał śpiew kukułki w górach.
Tsurayuki

hototogisu	śpiewa kukułka
Hitomatsuyama ni	na Górze Oczekiwań
naku nareba	może dlatego
ware uchitsuke ni	me serce niespodzianie
koi masarikeri	miłością zapłonęło?

163

はやくすみける所にてほととぎすのなきけるをききてよめる
ただみね
むかしべや今もこひしき郭公ふるさとにしもなきてきつらむ

Hayaku sumikeru tokoro nite hototogisu no nakikeru o kikite yomeru.
Tadamine
Ułożył ten wiersz słysząc wołanie kukułki w miescu, gdzie dawniej mieszkał.
Tadamine

mukashibe ya	czy za dawnymi
ima mo koishiki	czasami zatęskniła
hototogisu	dzisiaj kukułka?
furusato ni shi mo	do swej rodzinnej wioski
nakite kitsuramu	wróciła i wciąż śpiewa

164

郭公のなきけるをききてよめる
みつね
郭公我とはなしに卯の花のうき世の中になきわたるらむ

Hototogisu no nakikeru o kikite yomeru.
Mitsune

Ułożył ten wiersz słysząc wołanie kukułki.
Mitsune

hototogisu	kukułka śpiewa
ware to wa nashi ni	całkiem się zapomniała
unohana no	w świecie nietrwałym
ukiyo ni naka ni	niczym żylistka kwiaty
nakiwataruramu	rozlega się wołanie

165

はちすのつゆを見てよめる
僧正へんぜう
はちすはのにごりにしまぬ心もてなにかはつゆを玉とあざむく

Hachisu no tsuyu o mite yomeru.
sōjō Henjō
Ułożył ten wiersz widząc rosę na lotosach.
wikariusz Henjō

hachisu ha no	tak czyste serca
nigori ni shimanu	że ich błoto nie barwi
kokoro mote	liście lotosów
nani ka wa tsuyu o	kogą chcą zwodzić rosą
tama to azamuku	co jak klejnoty błyszczy?

166

月のおもしろかりける夜あかつきがたによめる
深養父
夏の夜はまだよひながらあけぬるを雲のいづこに月やどるらむ

Tsuki no omoshirokarikeru yo akatsukigata ni yomeru.
Fukayabu
Ułożył ten wiersz w o świcie nocy, kiedy księżyc był szczególnie piękny.
Fukayabu

natsu no yo wa	tej letniej nocy
mada yoinagara	myślałem, że wciąż wieczór,
akenuru o	gdy już świt nastał
kumo no izuko ni	a księżyc? gdzie też wśród chmur
tsuki yadoruramu	znalazł sobie schronienie?

167

となりよりとこなつの花をこひにおこせたりければ、をしみてこのうたをよみてつかはしける

みつね

ちりをだにすゑじとぞ思ふさきしよりいもとわがぬるとこ夏のはな

Tonari yori tokonatsu no hana o koi ni okosetarikereba, oshimite kono uta o yomite tsukawashikeru.

Mitsune

Ktoś z sąsiedztwa przysłał list z prośbą o kwiaty goździków, lecz było mu ich szkoda, więc ułożył i odesłał tylko ten wiersz.

Mitsune

chiri o dani	tak o nie dbałem,
sueji to zo omou	by nic ich nie skalało,
sakishi yori	odkąd zakwitły
imo to waga nuru	bliskie mojemu sercu
tokonatsu no hana	piękne goździków kwiaty

168

みな月のつごもりの日よめる

夏と秋と行きかふそらのかよひぢはかたへすずしき風やふくらむ

Minazuki no tsugomori no hi yomeru.

Ułożył to ostatniego dnia szóstego miesiąca.

natsu to aki to	lato i jesień
yukikau sora no	mijają się na swoich
kayoiji wa	ścieżkach podniebnych
katae suzushiki	i od jednego z nich
kaze ya fukuramu	wiatrem powiewa chłodnym

TRANSLATOR'S PROFILE

Anna Zalewska
PhD, assisstant professor in Chair of Japanese Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw; between 2010–2013 also assistant professor in Japanese Language & Culture Center, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Graduated from Japanese Studies Department of University of Warsaw, also studied at Gakugei University in Tokyo, Hokkaido University in Sapporo and Kyoto University (PhD course, 1999–2004). Specializes in Japanese classical literature and traditional culture (calligraphy, the way of tea), translates into Polish Japanese *tanka* poetry (*Zbiór z Ogura – po jednym wierszu od stu poetów* [Ogura Collection – One hundred poems from one hundred poets], Jeżeli P To Q, Poznań 2008) and modern Japanese literature (Kawakami Hiromi, *Pan Nakano i kobiety* [The Nakano Thrift Shop], translation, WAB, Warszawa 2012, and *Sensei i miłość* [The Briefcase], translation, WAB, Warszawa 2013 et al.). Latest publications: *Kaligrafia japońska. Trzy traktaty o drodze pisma* [Japanese Calligraphy. Three treatises on the way of writing], translation, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2015.

PRACE NADSYŁANE / FOR CONTRIBUTORS / 投稿

1. Przyjmujemy niepublikowane gdzie indziej dokumenty w formacie MS Word, w objętości do ok. 40 000 znaków z włączeniem spacji. Wymagany język dokumentów do publikacji to angielski lub japoński. W innych językach przyjmowane są wyłącznie tłumaczenia japońskich tekstów.
2. Prosimy dostosować transkrypcję wyrazów japońskich do standardu Hepburna lub Kunrei, przy użyciu dostępnych czcionek. Transkrypcja wyrazów niejapońskich powinna być zgodna ze standardem *de facto* dla danego języka. Redakcja może zasugerować zmianę systemu transkrypcji tekstu.
3. Przypisy powinny znajdować się na dole strony.
4. Do tekstu głównego powinno zostać załączone krótkie streszczenie oraz informacja o autorze w języku angielskim.
5. Komitet redakcyjny decyduje o dopuszczeniu tekstu do publikacji i powiadamia o tym fakcie autora.
6. Nadesłanie tekstu oznacza zgodę na jego publikację drukiem i na wprowadzenie do tekstu niezbędnych zmian edytorskich.
7. Teksty prosimy nadsyłać pocztą elektroniczną.

1. We accept documents unpublished elsewhere in MS Word format, not longer than 40 000 characters including spaces. Documents should be in English or Japanese. Only translations from Japanese may be accepted in other languages.
2. Use available fonts to adjust the romanization of to the Hepburn or Kunrei standard. Words other than Japanese should be romanized according to the *de facto* standard for a given language. We may recommend the change of romanization system.
3. Footnotes should be included on the bottom of the page.
4. Main text should come with short summary and information on the contributor in English.
5. The editorial board qualifies a text for publication and notifies the author of this fact.
6. It is understood that by submitting the text the contributors give their consent to its publication in print and to making necessary editorial changes.
7. We await your e-mail (computer file) contributions.

１．MS Word を用いて書かれた４万字以内の未刊行の文章を受領する。用いられるべき言語は英語または日本語である。ただし、日本語テキストからの翻訳については、他言語の文章も受領される。
２．日本語語彙のローマ字表記は、ヘボン式または訓令式とし標準フォントを使用すること。日本語以外の語彙のローマ字表記は、各言語の標準に従う。編集委員会は、ローマ字表記規則の変更を求める場合もある。
３．注釈はページ下に載せる。
４．本文に要約と著者紹介を英語で付記すること。
５．編集委員会は、投稿原稿の掲載の可否を決定し、その旨投稿者に通知する。
６．論文は、投稿された段階で、委員会がそれを公刊し、編集上不可避の変更を行うことを許可したものと見なされる。
７．原稿は、電子メール（電子文書版）で、下記に送付すること。

Silva Iaponicarum
Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza
Katedra Orientalistyki, Zakład Japonistyki
ul. Grunwaldzka 6
60-780 Poznań, Poland
E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl