This volume is dedicated to the memory of
Alexander (Sasha) Vovin,
a Teacher, Mentor, and Friend

Editorial Note

Dear Readers,

炎暑ことのほかきびしい中、いかがお過ごしでしょうか。
The past six months that separate us from the previous release of *Silva Iaponicarum* (Fasc. 66/Winter 2021) have been an excruciatingly difficult time for many, most notably due to the Russian attack on Ukraine and the atrocity of war that has continued in Ukraine since. Our thoughts in Silva, too, go out to all those who have directly suffered through this disturbing 戦の世, as well as to those who relentlessly and often heroically bring aid and hope to those in need, within and without Ukrainian borders.

Thousands of kilometers to the east from the war front in Ukraine, Japan is reeling from the very recent assassination of the ex-Prime Minister Shinzō Abe, an act of terror which has taken the world aback. We extend our condolences and support to all those affected in the country we all hold dear and owe so much.

Many of us may wonder what the role of academia during these troubling times should be. Although we at Silva do not find ourselves competent nor prepared for addressing such deep philosophical-ethical questions, we do believe that the right way to go is to continue doing the best we can at what we have done so far – observing, describing, and examining the facts as well as abstracting world-explaining models based upon these facts – while acknowledging the somber reality.

In accordance with the above, we bring you the *Silva* Fasc. 67/Summer 2022. The present fascicle includes two research papers in linguistics by young and promising researchers. Michał Pelc discusses the intricacies of the development of the Japanese -(r)are-marker, bringing several illuminating insights into the marker's functional expansions and transitions spanning from Old to contemporary Japanese. In turn, Sylwester Kacała discusses aspects of second-person referentiality from the perspectives of politeness and empathy, making a commendable effort at untangling the complexities of metapragmatic variables dictating the choice of second-person referential terms in Japanese.

The fascicle also features an original miscellany in the form of a compilation of five essays by the students of Arts Management at the

University of Gdańsk, Poland, edited and supervised by their professor, Sylwia Dobkowska, Ph. D. The essays are the students' reports on their course assignments in which they had to take on an area of traditional Japanese theatrical/performance craft of their choice, make a work of their own, and present it publically. The students' respective works were presented at the 12th International Between.Pomiędzy Festival of Theatre and Literature in May 2021. The essays are a testimony not only to the creativity and passion of their authors but also to the vitality and energy of the creative process inspired by traditional Japanese art, showing how the convergence of European and Japanese artistic sensibilities enriches the perceptions and worldviews of young European artists in the making.

Finally, the fascicle contains a review written by Georg Orlandi of Alexander (Sasha) Vovin and Sambi Ishisaki-Vovin's 2021 The Eastern Old Japanese Corpus and Dictionary. As many of you may know, also from *Silva*'s online platforms, the tragic news of Sasha Vovin's passing hit us on April 8, 2022. It is an indescribable loss, among countless other fields, to Japanese studies, in particular to the study of Old Japanese language and literature – suffice it to think of all the Man'yōshū translation volumes which Sasha had planned and eventually never got the chance to finish. At the same time, this tragedy personally affected Sasha's numerous friends and disciples, among which one can count Georg Orlandi and *Silva*'s editor-in-chief. It is due to this individual link between *Silva* and the irreplaceable Sasha Vovin that this fascicle is dedicated to his memory.

It is therefore only appropriate that Fasc. 67 is finished off by a review of what turned out to be one of Sasha's last monographs, preceded by a recount of Sasha's contributions and achievements. Knowing Sasha, he would likely have preferred to have his life celebrated rather than his death mourned; Orlandi's review would fit nicely with these preferences.

We hope that we all are about to welcome a relaxing and regenerating summer season, as well as a much more uplifting second half of the year.

楽しんでお読みいただけましたら幸甚です。

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MISCELLANEA

REVIEWS

RESEARCH PAPERS

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Diachronic Analysis of the Functions of the Japanese -(r)are- Marker

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyze the functions of the *-(r)are-* marker from a diachronic perspective. The paper poses a hypothesis that the primary function of *-(r)are-* is expressing passive voice and aims to illustrate when and under what circumstances the remaining functions had been acquired. For this purpose, an analysis of several examples from sources representative of different periods of the Japanese language spanning from the 8th to mid-19th century was conducted. Also, the previous studies concerning functions of the *-(r)are-* marker are briefly introduced. There seems to be no universal consensus regarding the development of functions of *-(r)are-*, with some studies describing adversative as its primary function and others stating that the adversative function had not come into use until the 19th century. The study aims to reevaluate those statements by looking over examples from classical Japanese sources. Instead of describing how the Japanese passive voice has developed, the focus of this study is to provide a diachronic overview of how the *-(r)are-* marker was used in historical texts and what functions it has carried. This approach allows to treat particular functions together, as the connection between them is evident.

KEYWORDS: Japonic linguistics, historical linguistics, typology, grammatical voice, morphology

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Michał Pelc

Introduction

In present-day Japanese, the verbal suffix *-(r)are-* serves as a grammatical marker for several functions. Synchronically, passive voice is typically considered the main function, hence the suffix in question is often described as the passive marker. However, the scope of its functions extends far beyond the category of voice, reaching territories such as mood (potentiality), aspect (spontaneity), and pragmatics (honorific speech).

The study aims to provide an overview of the development of *-(r)are-* through an analysis of several linguistic examples. The analysis was conducted based on representative linguistic examples taken from texts from different periods of the Japanese language history from the 8th to the mid-19th century, 17 of which are presented in this paper. The selected texts also vary in genres and level of formality of the used language. All linguistic examples have been collected from The Corpus of Historical Japanese *Chūnagon* (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics 2021) unless stated otherwise.

The motivation behind this study is the willingness to create a compact diachronic description focusing on all of the functions of the *-(r)are-* suffix at once. This attempt aims to provide a consistent explanation of how the functions of the marker have changed and what the relationships there are among them. The study also highlights the relationship between *-(r)are-* and other markers, which is necessary for the full view of the subject[2].

In this paper, the periodization proposed by Frellesvig (2010: 1) is adopted: Old Japanese (OJ), 7th–8th century; Early Middle Japanese (EMJ), 8th–12th century; Late Middle Japanese (LMJ), 12th–16th century; Modern Japanese (NJ), from 16th century. Additionally, the term Contemporary Japanese (cNJ) is used to denote present-day Japanese, more specifically, the language from 1945 onward. These periods partially overlap with major political periods but also mark important phonological and morphological changes (ibid., 1–2).

An explanation regarding the transcription convention adopted here is in order. Hepburn romanization is used as the notation system to write Japanese terms and linguistic examples from the Modern Japanese period onward. These terms are written in italics. Linguistic examples from Old Japanese

and Early Middle Japanese are written in accordance with the transcriptions proposed in Vovin (2020: 27) and Vovin (2003: 11), respectively. Linguistic examples from Christian transcriptions of *Heike Monogatari* are provided in their original notation. All linguistic examples are provided with glosses and English translations, which were done by the author unless stated otherwise. Abbreviations used in glosses are listed at the end of the paper. A hyphen (-) in glosses symbolizes morpheme boundary, whereas a dot (.) separates two (or more) functions of the same morpheme.

1. Functions of *-(r)are-*

Before proceeding to discuss the relationship among the different functions of the *-(r)are-* marker, it is necessary to clarify a few supplementary terms, especially those specific to Japonic linguistics.

Passive voice is understood pragmatically as "the voice construction in which the patient is more topical than the agent, and the agent is extremely non-topical ("suppressed", "demoted")" (Givón 1994: 9). Prototypical passive can be described as an operation of changing the syntactic valency of a semantically bivalent clause (Payne 1997: 204).

Spontaneity is understood as events that occur naturally or involuntarily and in an objective manner (Toyota 2011: 18). Thus, the agentivity level in spontaneous constructions is very low. In contemporary Japanese, the spontaneous function relies heavily on the semantics of the verb, as not every verb is able to produce a spontaneous reading. Verbs that historically would typically be found in spontaneous clauses are usually perception verbs or verbs expressing emotional and intellectual states and reactions, e.g., *mi-* 'see', *omo(w)-* 'think', *wasure-* 'forget', *oboe-* 'to recall', *nak-* 'cry', *wara(w)-* 'laugh'. Japanese spontaneous can also be comprehended in terms of inchoativity, as semantically spontaneous verbs can express the inception or instigation of an action (Jarosz 2022: 11).

Anticausative voice is described as a semantic and syntactic valency decreasing operation in which the agentive argument is removed from the argument structure, and the subject corresponds to the patient-like argument (Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019: 41). The former agent is removed not only syntactically but also semantically and thereupon is unrecoverable, which differentiates anticausative voice from passive. The use of anticausative is generally available only to bivalent verbs of specific semantics, i.e., verbs denoting events which can happen spontaneously (e.g. 'break') (ibid., 40).

One important difference between Japanese spontaneous and prototypical anticausative is that anticausative, as a detransitivizing device, is marked on

semantically bivalent verbs, while spontaneous clauses usually (although not always) include prototypical intransitive verbs.

Japanese honorificity is the speech pattern used to refer to or speak about someone superior or generally on a higher level in the social hierarchy, typically a supervisor or a boss, or historically the emperor. In order to convey honorificity, *-(r)are-* suffix is attached to the verb intended to be expressed exceptionally politely, with no changes in the clause structure.

Apart from the prototypical passive, Japanese also displays what is called "adversative passive". Despite its differences from the prototypical passive, this type of valency changing operation is broadly interpreted as passive. It expresses the malefactive affectedness of the subject by the underlying process (Toyota 2011: 14). Morphosyntactically, adversative passive demotes the agent to an oblique role but does not promote the original patientive argument to the role of the subject. Instead, it introduces a new element (preferably human, usually first-person) as the new subject (ibid., 14–16). For this reason, adversative passives can be created from not only bivalent but also monovalent verbs. In a broader sense, by "adversative" passive, one can also understand a clause in which morphosyntactically prototypical passive is used to indicate and emphasize a strong malefactive affectedness of the subject.

A brief introduction to the morphology of *-(r)are-* is also mandatory. The suffix in question was attested already in the oldest known sources of Japanese, i.e., in the Old Japanese corpus. In OJ, it had two allomorphs: *-are-* and *-ar-* (Vovin 2020: 756), which would always follow consonant-stem verbs. First instances of the suffix following vowel-stem verbs were found in Early Middle Japanese. From EMJ onward, the suffix would have four allomorphs: *-rare-*, *-rar-*, *-are-*, and *-ar-*. For the sake of convenience, in this paper, the suffix is always referred to as *-(r)are-*, regardless of the specific surface allomorph and period.

As mentioned above, the *-(r)are-* marker has been attested in sources from every period of the Japanese language history. At the same time, however, the passive voice as well as spontaneous and potential functions have historically been expressed through a variety of devices, not necessarily limited to *-(r)are-*. A marker of particular importance to this subject matter is the OJ *-(ra)ye-* marker. An understanding of the relationship between *-(r)are-* and *-(ra)ye-* is necessary to get the whole picture of the development of the functions of *-(r)are-*.

Both *-(ra)ye-* and *-(r)are-* were used to express passive voice in OJ, with *-(ra)ye-* being evidently dominant. However, in the transition between

OJ and EMJ, *-(ra)ye-* was on the decline, which eventually led to its disappearance as a productive marker. Some verbs followed by the *-(ra)ye-* marker underwent lexicalization and survived into contemporary Japanese (cNJ), with examples such as *mie-* 'to be seen' (< OJ *mi-* 'see' + *-ye-*), *kikoe-* 'to be heard' (< OJ *kik-* 'hear' + *-əye-*) or *omoe-* 'to seem, to appear likely' (< OJ *omop-* 'think' + *-oye-*).

In OJ, *-(ra)ye-* was attested to expressing mainly spontaneous and potential functions, and it occurred with a very limited number of verbs, primarily *mi-* 'see', *oməp-* 'think', *wasur-* 'forget', *kik-* 'hear', *ne-* 'sleep', *nak-* 'cry' and *sak-* 'bloom'. It was occasionally attested with other verbs such as *i-* 'shoot' when it is used to denote passive voice, but never spontaneous/potential. In turn, this constraint seems less strict with *-(r)are-*, which appears to be following verbs irrespective of their lexical meanings.

Although *-(ra)ye-* and *-(r)are-* were functionally overlapping in OJ, the difference in their patterns of use may suggest that the two markers had once been expressing different functions and could not be used interchangeably. Jarosz (2022) argues that in Proto-Japonic, there were two different markers (reconstructed as *-(ra)ye- and *-(ra)ray-), which were sources for *-(ra)ye-* and *-(r)are-* respectively with the former serving as a spontaneous/inchoative or anticausative marker and the latter as the passive voice marker. Due to partial functional overlapping, the Proto-Japonic markers were supposedly "competing" in daughter languages to the result of one eventually winning over the other. In the case of Western Old Japanese (WOJ), the "winning" marker turned out to be *-(r)are-*.

The syncretism between such different functions as those listed above for *-(r)are-* might be surprising at first. There seems to be no link connecting, for instance, the notions of spontaneity and honorificity. One possible explanation for such polyfunctionality is provided by Shibatani (1985). According to Shibatani, the underlying semantic link between all these functions is the notion of agent-defocusing.

Shibatani claims that the primary function of passivization is not necessarily topicalization of the patient but rather defocusing of the agent. Considering this, the conceptual connection of passive voice with honorificity, spontaneously, and potentiality becomes more clear. Shibatani explains the matter as follows:

> The notion of agent defocusing supplies a key to the task of unraveling the passive connections of the honorifics, potentials and spontaneous constructions. (…) A universal characteristic of honorific speech lies in

its indirectness; and one of the clear manifestations of this is avoidance
of the singling out of an agent which refers to the addressee, the speaker,
or the person mentioned (…).

Defocusing of an agent is highly germane to spontaneous events and
states. (…). [A]n event dissociated from an agent is one occurring
spontaneously. Thus a sentence with a defocused agent may be utilized
to describe a spontaneous event. (…).

It is only one small step from the spontaneous to the potential. An event
that occurs spontaneously has a strong propensity to happen. If this
automatic happening is negated, then a reading of impotentiality is
implied. (…).

Thus the correlation of the passive with honorifics, spontaneous, and
potentials results from the common pragmatic function of agent
defocusing (Shibatani 1985: 837–839).

Shibatani's theory provides an accurate explanation of how all the main
functions expressed by the *-(r)are-* marker are conceptually connected. In
this paper, an attempt is made to establish when and under what
circumstances the particular functions had come into use. In order to achieve
that, linguistic examples from different periods of Japanese language history
have been collected and analyzed. The analysis of said examples has led to
the conclusion that expressing passive voice is the main function of
the *-(r)are-* marker. The *-(r)are-* suffix expressing the passive voice can be
found in every material from every analyzed period. Unlike honorific or
spontaneous functions, *-(r)are-* denoting passive appears not to be confined
to verbs of a specific lexical meaning and seems to be used freely with any
transitive verb.

Contrary to the hypothesis posed in this paper, it is frequently argued that it
is not the passive voice, but spontaneity that was the original function of the
-(r)are- suffix (Ōno 1990: 1468–1470, Ikeda 1975: 112 among others). Ōno
(1990: 1468) explains his theory with the help of the transitive-intransitive
verb pairs (such as *okosu* 'to cause', 'to wake' versus *okoru* 'to occur') and
claims that the concept behind the *-ru-* suffix was always to express „natural
development" and "unintentional" actions, therefore describing *-ru-* and, by
extension, *-(r)are-* as expressing spontaneity in its roots. However,
-ru-(/-(r)are-) does not seem to always express spontaneity as much as
simply intransitivity, given such verb pairs as *kaesu* 'to return (something)'
versus *kaeru* 'to return, to go back', in which case it is difficult to make an
argument that 'going back' has anything to do with spontaneity.

Statistical analysis of the available sources also seems to provide evidence in favor of Shibatani's theory. Data collected from other Japonic languages shows a pattern which strongly suggests the existence of one marker (the source for Japanese *-(r)are-*) expressing predominately passive and anticausative and another (the source for *-(ra)ye-*) expressing spontaneity and potentiality (Jarosz 2022: 35–41).

Following these claims, the passive is defined here as a "starting point" for other functions of *-(r)are-* to arise. The following sections provide possible explanations of how the remaining functions of *-(r)are-* might have emerged and developed.

2. Prototypical and Adversative Passive

Since it is the passive voice which is claimed here to have been the starting point for other functions to arise, it seems reasonable to begin the discussion by presenting properties of a prototypical Japanese passive clause and a few instances of *-(r)are-* expressing passive. Then, the adversative type of passive will be examined.

2.1. Passive Voice

In a passivized clause, the original agent in the oblique role is predominately marked by dative *-ni* or is not expressed overtly (Martin 1987: 295). This syntax can be found even in the earliest linguistic examples. In Modern Japanese (NJ, from the 17th century), the new subject is marked by the nominative marker *-ga* (or topical marker *-wa*). This, however, was not common in historical varieties of Japanese. In most of the OJ instances of *-(r)are-*, the subject is usually the speaker and is usually implicit (Vovin 2020: 756–757). Predominately, agents in Japanese passive clauses are animate and preferably human. Martin (1987: 296) points out that passive clauses with inanimate agents are usually found in metaphorical phrases, such as *rajio-ni kokoro-o ubawarete* 'one has their heart stolen by the radio', or in formal written language.

First instances of passive *-(r)are-* can be found already in *Man'yōshū* ('Collection of Myriad Leaves', ca. 759).

> (1) *mərəkosi-nə təpo-ki   sakapi-ni   tukapas-are*
>   China-GEN   be.distant-ATR   border-LOC   send-PSV.INF
>   'being sent to the distant border of China'
>   (MYS 5.894, after Vovin 2020: 757)

Example (1) is undoubtedly a passive clause, as the transitivity of the verb is strong, and no other reading seems to be possible. Here, as it is with other examples of passive *-(r)are-* in OJ, the agent is not overtly expressed. However, it probably should not be taken as a rule, as it is rather due to the very low number of occurrences of *-(r)are-* in OJ. For comparison, there are several examples of passive clauses with *-(ra)ye-* in OJ where the agent is overtly expressed and marked by dative *-ni*, such as *papa-ni kər-əp-aye* mother-DAT scold-ITR-PSV.INF 'scolded by [my] mother' taken from *Man'yōshū* (MYS 14.3529, after Vovin 2020: 751).

In EMJ, along with the decrease of *-(ra)ye-* occurrences, passive *-(r)are-* surfaces in more contexts, including clauses with an overtly expressed agent; cf. example (2) from *Makura-no Sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*, ca. 1001).

> (2) *omof-u   fito-no   fito-ni   fome-rare*
>   think-ATR   person-NOM   person-DAT   praise-PSV.INF
>   '[when] the person [you] highly regard is praised by someone
>   (…).' (*Makura-no Sōshi*: *Ureshiki*)

With both agent and patient being overtly expressed, (2) is a very prototypical example of a passive clause, as both entities can be identified as not only animate but also human. Apart from minor differences, the syntax of the clause in example (2) is quite reminiscent of passive clauses in cNJ. Given that this example is not an exception in sources from that period, it can be said that the passive function of *-(r)are-* as well as the pattern of passive clause syntax as known in cNJ were established very early on.

2.2. Adversative Passive

Adversative use of *-(r)are-* as known today seems to have appeared relatively late, but some early instances reminiscent of adversative passive can be found in EMJ.

The following example (3) of the use of *-(r)are-* found in *Makura-no Sōshi* conveys a clear adversative meaning.

> (3) *masafiro-fa imiji-u   fito-ni   waraf-ar-uru mono kana*
>   Masahiro-TOP great-INF human-DAT laugh-PSV-ATR person EP
>   'Masahiro is a person who is often laughed at (by people)!'
>   (*Makura-no Sōshi*: *Masahiro*)

However, (3) could be easily debunked as an instance of adversative passive – syntactically, it resembles a typical passive like (2) in 2.1., with the agent expressed in an oblique role marked by -*ni* and the experiencer in the subject role marked by -*wa*. The only difference is the clear adversative meaning of the utterance.

What is not typical is the fact that EMJ *wara(f)*- 'laugh' was a labile verb, meaning it could serve as transitive or intransitive (cf. *kura-ki-o waraf-ite* dark-ATR-ACC laugh-GER 'laugh at the darkness' from *Makura-no Sōshi*). Although *waraf-ar-* in (3) could be treated as a typical instance of a passivized transitive verb, there is also a prospect for this utterance to be analyzed as a passivized intransitive. It can be argued that the ambiguity of the transitivity of the verb *wara(f)*- might have paved the way for other intransitive verbs to appear in such clauses in order to convey an adversative meaning. However, verbs which are prototypical of adversative passive clauses in contemporary Japanese, such as *shin*- 'die' were not found in the corpus until late Late Middle Japanese (LMJ, 13th–16th century). Therefore, it is difficult to say whether -*(r)are*- was productively used as an adversative passive marker in EMJ.

Example (4) is an instance of the causative-passive taken from Christian transcriptions of *Heike Monogatari* (*The Tale of the Heike*, 1592).

(4) *core-ua touo bacari-no toqi chichi-ni*
    it-TOP ten only-GEN times father-DAT

   vocure-ʃaxe-rare-te minaxigo-ni nar-axe-rare-ta
   be.late-HON-PSV-GER orphan-DAT become-CAU-PSV-PST

   'When [he] was only ten, his father passed away [on him] and he became on orphan' (*Heike Monogatari*: vol.1, page 7)

While for the first verb *chichi* 'father' is the causer, which makes the clause a prototypical passive clause, in the case of the second verb, *minaxigo* 'orphan' expresses the endpoint of the change. Because the verb conveys the event in which the subject is maleficiary, the clause is likely to be interpreted as an instance of adversative passive.

The use of the verb *naraxerareta* here creates some ambiguity. It can be argued that *chichi* 'father' remains the causer, by whom the child was 'made to become an orphan', given the causative-passive form. However, similarly to example (3), it can be treated as an early sign of adversative use. If one were to take *chichi* as a causer for *vocureʃaxerarete* but not for *naraxerareta*, this example would be a more straightforward instance of adversative passive

than the example found in *Makura-no Sōshi*. In (4), the verb *naraxerareta* would normally be expressed in active voice (*minashigo-ni nat-ta* orphan-DAT become-PST 'became an orphan'). Nevertheless, the choice to express the clause with the use of the passive marker must have been motivated by the need to emphasize the adversative nuance of the event, which is very clear here.

In the late NJ stage, the use of adversative passive became more prominent. In the following example (5) from *Shunshoku Renri-no Ume* (lit.: 'Spring colors: The plum of a bond', 1858) by Hagiwara Otohiko, *-(r)are-* is used to express the negative affectedness of the event upon the speaker. Here, although *otto* 'husband' is the only direct participant in the event of 'dying', the adversative passive introduces the speaker as the new, implicit subject who is indirectly affected by the event. Upon such examples found in the late NJ corpora, it can be said that by the end of the 19th century, the adversative passive function had been fully established.

(5) *o-ume-ga   mada chiisa-I   uchi-ni   otto-ni*
    HON-plum-NOM yet   little-NPST while-LOC   husband-DAT
    haya-ku   shin-are-mashi-ta
    quick-INF die-PSV-POL-PST
    'when the plum tree [flowers] were still small, [my] husband passed away [on me]' (*Shunshoku Renri-no Ume*: vol.5)

3. Spontaneity and Potentiality

Spontaneous and potential functions were attested already in OJ. According to Vovin (2020: 756), *-(r)are-* had two functions in WOJ, namely passive and spontaneous. However, in Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ), *-(r)are-* is attested only in passive and potential functions but not spontaneous. It should be noted that the number of occurrences of *-(r)are-* was very low (significantly lower than *-(ra)ye-*, see section 1.), and therefore, there is a great chance that the potential function for WOJ and spontaneous for EOJ were present, but never attested in sources.

3.1. Spontaneity

To understand how the spontaneous meaning emerged, one needs to acknowledge its conceptual connection to the anticausative voice. Passive *-(r)are-* had probably started to serve as an anticausativity marker, given the semantic link to the notion of agent-defocusing. When

anticausativity is applied to semantically monovalent verbs, the spontaneous reading becomes possible.

In OJ, spontaneity was marked almost exclusively with the *-(ra)ye-* suffix. A careful examination of instances of both *-(ra)ye-* and *-(r)are-* may lead to the impression that the spontaneous function of *-(r)are-* had not yet been as established as it was for *-(ra)ye-*. The occurrences of spontaneous *-(r)are-* are infrequent and, unlike *-(ra)ye-*, there seems not to be any key that would semantically link the verbs which have been attested with *-(r)are-*. Thus, given the functional similarity that the two markers already had at that time, it could be argued that the spontaneous reading for *-(r)are-* arose as an analogy with that of *-(ra)ye-* (see section 1.).

Example (6), one of the very few examples of OJ *-(r)are-* in the spontaneous function taken from *Man'yōshū*, can hardly be considered a typical spontaneous, which was usually formed from perception verbs or verbs denoting emotional reactions. In example (6), *uk-* 'float' cannot be classified as either. Nevertheless, it could be understood as an instigation of an action. This inchoative reading also fits the criteria of spontaneity established in section 1.

> (6) *ukɛ-nə   wo-nə   uk-are   ka yuk-am-u*
>   float-GEN string-CMP float-PSV/SPON.INF   IP go-TNT-ATR
>   'shall [we] go away floating like floating strings [of nets]?'
>   (MYS 11.2646, after Vovin 2020: 756)

As described in section 1., in EMJ, a shift in use of the *-(ra)ye-* and *-(r)are-* suffixes occurred. The lexicalization of verbs with *-(ra)ye-* had restricted *-(r)are-* from fully taking over the spontaneous function and may hint at the beginning of the disappearance of "spontaneity" as a productive category in Japanese. In cNJ, the concept of spontaneity is generally incorporated in the lexical meaning of a verb and not expressed through verbal suffixes. However, the meaning of spontaneity or inchoativity can be enhanced by auxiliary verbs such as *das-* 'to put out' as in, for instance, *nak-i-das-* cry-INF-go.out 'burst into tears'. This mechanism can be partly seen already in EMJ, as most of the instances of spontaneous *-(r)are-* contain verbs already involving a spontaneous semantic component or followed by another auxiliary denoting spontaneity, namely *-ide-*; cf. the example (7) from *Makura-no Sōshi.*

> (7) *maturi-no   mafibito-nado-no*

festival-GEN   dancing.people-APRX-GEN

omof-i-ide-rar-uru   *naru-besi*
think-INF-put.out-PSV/SPON-ATR   COP-NEC

'[the view of] people dancing during the festival must come to mind' (*Makura-no Sōshi*: *Yama*)

It seems unlikely for a verb which is not itself semantically suited for a spontaneous reading to form a clause that could be interpreted as spontaneous. Such instances, however, still can be found, as in the following example (8) of a motion verb *isog-* 'rush' taken from *Makura-no Sōshi*. The action of 'rushing' is always intentional and cannot happen involuntarily. Therefore, the prototypically spontaneous interpretation seems impossible. However, here *-(r)are-* is used to express instigation of an action.

(8) *akatuki-ni-fa   to-ku   ori-n-am-u-to*
    dawn-LOC-TOP   quick-INF   go.down-PRF-TNT-FIN-CMP

    isog-ar-uru
    rush-PSV/SPON-ATR

    'at dawn I hurried away, (…)'[3] (*Makura-no Sōshi*: *Miya*)

In the next centuries, the spontaneous use of *-(r)are-* has gradually phased out. Nevertheless, the potential function in negative clauses (3.2.) was still in use. In cNJ, apart from some quantitatively scarce, relatively lexicalized examples, such as *shinobareru* 'to come to mind', the *-(r)are-* suffix does not express the notion of spontaneity.

3.2. Negative Potentiality

In the history of the Japanese language, there has been a strong correlation between the spontaneous and potential functions. Potentiality can be said to have developed from spontaneity. Following Shibatani's (1985) claim, potential reading is applied when a spontaneous clause is negated. An early and the only attested example of potential *-(r)are-* in OJ can be found in EOJ corpus in *Man'yōshū*.

(9) *kaŋgə   sapε   mi-ye-te*   *yə-ni*
    shadow   RP   see-PSV.INF-GER   world-LOC

    wasur-are-nz-u

---

[3] Translation by Arthur Waley (Waley and Washburn 2011: 26).

forget-PSV/POT-NEG-FIN
'just seeing [her] shadow, [I realize I] cannot forget [her] in this life' (MYS 20.4322, after Kupchik 2011: 736)

It is difficult or even impossible to draw the line between negative spontaneous and negative potential – if something does not happen spontaneously, one can presume that it cannot happen (consider how the utterance 'it didn't come to my mind' conveys an idea similar to 'I couldn't recall it'). Such a reanalysis of negative spontaneous clauses may have paved the way for their potential interpretation.

There are several instances of potential clauses found in OJ (only with -*(ra)ye*-) and, unsurprisingly, all of them are negative clauses with perception verbs and verbs denoting emotional reactions, such as *kik-əye-ⁿzi* hear-POT-NEG 'cannot hear' or *ne-raye-n-umo* sleep-POT-NEG-EXL 'cannot sleep!' (Vovin 2020: 754).

As mentioned in 3.1., the lexicalization of verbs with -*(ra)ye*- in EMJ had prevented -*(r)are*- from fully taking over the spontaneous function; however, it had come to be used as the main way to express passive and negative potential functions.

Over time, the negative potential function expanded its use. The lexical meaning of the host verb would not be a factor allowing or disallowing the negative potential reading anymore. As a consequence, verbs which were not prototypical perceptive verbs also started to be able to take on the potential -*(r)are*- as well. In example (10), taken from *Taketori Monogatari* (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, 10th century), -*(r)are*- with a negative suffix (-*ji*) expresses inability to perform an action of shooting. The verb *i-* 'shoot' is not a perception verb that would prototypically host negative potential marking, which evidences an already wider range of -*(r)are*- in terms of the lexical meaning of the verb.

(10) *yumiya s-ite   i-rare-ji*
     weapon do-GER   shoot-PSV/POT-NTNT
     'I would not be able to shoot with my weapon'
     (*Taketori Monogatari*)

In Old and Middle Japanese texts, however, the potential meaning was still conditioned by a negative suffix, and the -*(r)are*- marker alone without a negative suffix was not possible to be read as potential.

The negative potential function remains one of the main functions of the *-(r)are-* function even in present-day Japanese.

3.3. Affirmative potentiality

Despite the expansion in the use of potential *-(r)are-*, it would still be limited to negative clauses only until the emergence of the spontaneous/potential verb *deki-* 'be done/be able to do'.

One of the earliest instances of *deki-* is found in Christian transcriptions of *Heike Monogatari*. In earlier sources, numerous examples of the verb *ide-* 'go out' with auxiliary *k-* 'come' (which gave rise to *deki-*, see Majtczak 2008: 43) are found marked by spontaneous *-(r)are-*. In Christian transcriptions of *Heike Monogatari*, *deki-* coexisted with the non-suppletive stem *s-* 'do' (transcribed as *x-* here) marked by the *-(r)are-* suffix, as presented in the examples (11) and (12) below.

> (11) *cane-te   ʃo-no   yôy-uo   xe-rare-ta*
> in.advance-GER this-ATR preparation-ACC do-HON(POT?)-PST
> 'he had prepared for this in advance'
> (Heike Monogatari: vol.1, page 5)
> (12) *mutçucaxi-j coto-ga   deqi-ta-ni   yot-te*
> difficult-NPST thing-NOM be.done-PST-DAT rely-GER
> 'because [s/he] managed to do this difficult thing'
> (*Heike Monogatari*: vol.1, page 20)

It can be argued that the emergence of *deki-* 'get done/can be done' allowed the potential meaning to be applied in contexts where such a reading had been not available before, such as affirmative clauses. Despite the fact that *-(r)are-* in affirmative clauses was very rarely used to denote spontaneity in LMJ, the potential meaning was still confined to the negative clauses. This shows the conceptual integration of the notions of spontaneity and potentiality. The emergence of *deki-* made the potential interpretation possible in affirmative clauses and, as a result, the whole notion of potentiality as a category independent from the category of polarity. A new conjugational option was created, one that would eventually be occupied by *-(r)are-* by the rules of analogy.

In NJ, another conceivable step in expanding the use of potential *-(r)are-* can be found. This time, it has to do with the ambiguity between passive and potential functions, as exemplified in (13) taken from *Oku-no Hosomichi* (*The Narrow Road to The Deep North*, 1689) by Matsuo Bashō.

(13) *ne-wa   tsuchikiwa-yori futaki-ni   wakare-te*
root-TOP soil.surface-ABL   two.branches-DAT   split-GER

mukashi-no sugata   ushinaw-az-u-to   shir-ar-u
old.times-GEN appearance lose-NEG-FIN-CMP know-PSV(/POT)-FIN

'the root of the tree is known to split into two by the surface and maintain this appearance through ages'/'by the surface of the soil the root of the tree splits into two, and by that one can see the old appearance of the tree' (lit. 'the appearance is known')
(*Oku-no Hosomichi*: ch.19)

The use of *-(r)are-* here can be interpreted as passive ("is known") or potential ("one can know/see that"), which is allowed by the lexical meaning of the verb *shir-* 'know'. If the potential interpretation is applied, the use of *shir-* in the example above is similar to *wakar-* 'know/understand' in present-day Japanese. Clauses similar in type to (13) were likely to be reanalyzed as potential, which may have led to an increase in the use of potential *-(r)are-* with other verbs in affirmative clauses.

However, the affirmative potential meaning was not fully individuated until the emergence of the potential *-e-* marker. The potential *-e-* marker, which for consonant verbs is thought to have appeared in the 15th century, seems not to be attested systematically until the late NJ (Frellesvig 2010: 338). It was probably formed through phonetic reduction of *-(r)are-*, although according to another theory, *-e-* has developed from the auxiliary verb *e-* (< OJ *e-* 'to get'). Initially, the newly formed suffix was thought to have been used just as *-(r)are-*, applied for passive, spontaneous, and potential functions. Later on, the suffix lost its passive and spontaneous functions to become an exclusively potential suffix (ibid.).

The potential *-e-* marker started to appear more frequently in texts of the late NJ, especially in popular literature, whose language was more reminiscent of the contemporary spoken language. At that time, *-(r)are-* in its potential use without a negative suffix also seems to have become a standard. The following (14) is an example of the use of potential *-e-* taken *from Oranda Kagami* (*The Western Mirror*, 1798) by Karigino Yukinaga.

(14) *yom-e-n-u   tokoro-mo yom-e-ru   kao   sh-ite*
     read-POT-NEG-NPST place-FP   read-POT-NPST face   do-GER

     yon-de-i-ru
     read-GER-PRG-NPST

     'Even the parts [I] cannot read, [I] read as if [I] can'
     (*Oranda Kagami*)

A similar transition is now happening in cNJ with the vowel-verb allomorph of the *-e-* suffix: *-re-* as in *ne-re-na-i* sleep-POT-NEG-NPST 'cannot sleep'. *-re-* is broadly used as a means to express potentiality for vowel verbs in the spoken language, although it is not yet considered a part of formal language, in which *-(r)are-* is still preferred (Oshima 2008: 313).

4. Honorificity

Another typical function of the *-(r)are-* marker is conveying honorificity. Throughout the history of the Japanese language, the honorific *-(r)are-* suffix appeared mostly with verbs whose lexical roots already indicated some inherent degree of respect, such as *ōse-* 'say'(HON) (< EMJ *ofose-*) or *mōs-* 'say'(MOD) (< EMJ *maus-*). This *-(r)are-* is typically attached to verbs denoting an action or state performed by an actor of a higher status in the social hierarchy than the speaker. Historically, honorific language was mainly associated with aristocrats and members of the imperial family and would always be used when referring to them, which is why different types of honorific expressions are prominent in sources from EMJ and early LMJ (Frellesvig 2010: 369–371).

Although honorificity expressed by *-(r)are-* was not systematically attested until EMJ, several examples found in the OJ corpus might hint at an honorific reading. The following (15) is an example from *Man'yōshū* with the OJ suffix *-are-* used with the verb *ip-* 'say' (after Vovin 2020: 756).

(15) *ip-are-si   kimi-pa   tare-tə   ka*
     say-PSV(HON?)-PST.ATR lord-TOP who-CMP IP

     n-uram-u
     sleep-TNT2-ATR

     '[my] lord, who suddenly declared [that we are involved], with whom do [you] sleep?' (MYS 4.564, after Vovin 2020: 756)

Vovin (2020: 756) classifies this as an instance of spontaneous *-(r)are-*, hence the expression 'suddenly' in his translation. Nevertheless, given the lexical meaning of the verb *ip-*, this example is somewhat unusual compared to the other examples of spontaneous clauses, such as, for instance, (6) and (7) in 3.1. The clause in (15) may be understood as indicating a sudden beginning of an action (e.g., 'to come out (with something)'). It is difficult to classify 'say' as an instance of a perception verb or as a verb denoting emotional reaction, which is usually expected in spontaneous clauses. It is not difficult, on the other hand, to attribute honorific meaning to the clause since it has an actor of high social status, namely the 'lord'.

What might be used as an argument against such interpretation is the use of non-honorific *ip-* 'say' instead of *ofose-* 'say', which is more polite and which was broadly used with honorific *-(r)are-* in the later periods. Nevertheless, most of the honorific *-(r)are-* occurrences found in EMJ and LMJ text corpora were with the verbs expressing the action of speech, such as *ofose-/ ōse-* 'say(HON)' mentioned above, *maus-/mōs-* 'say(MOD)', or *mes-* 'order(HON)'. Thus, an instance of honorific *-(r)are-* with the verb *ip-* 'say' would match the pattern.

The co-occurrence of *ofose-* 'say(HON)' and honorific *-(r)are-* is apparent, especially in sources from EMJ. In *Taketori Monogatari*, in most cases *ofose-* is followed by another respective auxiliary *-tamaf-* and only occasionally by *-(r)are-*, as in example (16). This tendency changes in later periods, as, for example, in *Makura-no Sōshi*, *ofose-* is almost exclusively followed by *-(r)are-*.

> (16) *sore-wo   mi-te   dani   kafer-in-am-u*
>   that-ACC   see.INF-GER   at.least   return-PRF-TNT-FIN
>   *to   ofose-rar-ure-ba*
>   CMP   say-HON-EV-CON
>   'when [the emperor] said "[Let me] at least see that and I will come back", (…)' (*Taketori Monogatari*)

It is important to keep in mind that at this time, *-(r)are-* was not the primary means to express honorificity. There were also other markers such as *-(s)ase-* or auxiliary *-tamaf-*, sometimes combined together, as in *katar-ase-tamafi-* tell-HON-HON, which would be attached to verbs more freely than *-(r)are-* in terms of the lexical meaning of the host verb. It is very rare in EMJ to find an instance of honorific *-(r)are-* with a non-honorific verb, unlike *-(s)ase-* and *-tamaf-*.

On the other hand, there are also several examples of honorific *-(r)are-* with verbs which do not inherently imply honorificity. One such example is (17), taken from *Shūi Wakashū* (*Collection of Gleanings*) (1005), an imperial anthology of *waka* poetry.

(17) *onaji koto koso se-rare-ker-e*
     same thing FP   do-HON.INF-PST-EV
     '(you) had done the same thing' (*Shūi Wakashū*)

Examples like (17) show that in EMJ *-(r)are-* already had the honorific meaning assigned to it, and it was not used only in fixed phrases like *ofose-rar-* or *goran-ze-rar-*. Nevertheless, this example is an exception rather than the norm for that period. Taking this into consideration, it becomes apparent that the honorific use of *-(r)are-* was not fully productive in the first stages of EMJ.

To unravel the source for the honorific use of *-(r)are-*, it will be, again, helpful to turn to the theory presented by Shibatani (1985). Shibatani claims that the honorific function is probably related to the need for more indirect and thus more polite expressions. The passive voice, which involved the notion of agent-defocusing, seemed a good candidate for fulfilling that need, which appears to be a universal tendency (consider the level of politeness in the utterance 'it would be much appreciated if you could…'). Given the frequent avoidance of overt subject expression in Japanese, the passivization of the verb can often be applied without an explicit change in the argument structure of the clause. Under such circumstances, the putative early uses of the agent-defocusing *-(r)are-* with honorific verbs might have been reanalyzed as honorific and the *-(r)are-* suffix as an honorific marker. Later *-(r)are-* has extended its use as a marker denoting honorificity without any change in the argument structure. This theory is supported by the fact that a major part of the earlier honorific *-(r)are-* occurrences were used in clauses involving quotations, where the agent was not expressed overtly (e.g., […] *-to ofose-rar-uru*, -CMP say-HON-ATR 'said that […]').

Honorific *-(r)are-* continued to be found predominantly with honorific verbs in texts for the next centuries, but this restriction was gradually receding. In *Towazugatari* (*The Confessions of Lady Nijo*, ca. 1307), *-(r)are-* with *mōs-* 'say.MOD', *ōse-* 'say.HON', and *mes-* 'call/order.HON' make up nearly 30% of all the occurrences of *-(r)are-*, including its non-honorific uses.

New tendencies can be noticed in the late LMJ, specifically in Christian transcriptions of *Heike Monogatari*. While *ōse-* 'say.HON.' continued to be

followed by the honorific suffix in almost all examples in LMJ, *-(r)are-* after other honorific verbs such as *mōs-* 'say.MOD' or *mes-* 'call/order.HON' is present in less than half of their occurrences. These tendencies become even more visible in NJ. In Bashō's *Oku-no Hosomichi*, the honorific use of the suffix in question is very rare, with no instances of either *ōse-* or *mes-* with *-(r)are-*. There are only some instances of modest *mōs-*; however, they all appear without the respective *-(r)are-*. Regarding this, *Oku-no Hosomichi* can serve as evidence for further stages of the process of honorific *-(r)are-* becoming independent from the lexical meaning of the host verb.

Conclusions

The *-(r)are-* suffix had several different forms throughout its reconstructible history, from the hypothetical *-(ra)ray-* in Proto-Japonic and Pre-OJ, through *-are-* in OJ to *-(r)are-* from EMJ on. Moreover, according to one of the hypotheses (see 3.3.), the potential *-e-* (> cNJ *-(r)e-*) is also thought to be formed from the *-(r)are-* suffix.

In most of the stages of the Japanese language development, the *-(r)are-* suffix displays most or all of the four main functions: passive, spontaneous, potential (negative or affirmative), and honorific. The present analysis showed that for the *-(r)are-* marker, the passive function is possible to observe in the earliest examples of the literate period. Unlike the potential and spontaneous interpretation, the passive interpretation was not limited to, for instance, specific semantics of the passive-marked verbs or the concurrence with specific other markers, such as negative markers. For this reason, it can be concluded that denoting passive voice has been the primary, central, and fundamental function of *-(r)are-*, and the other functions appeared after it (see section 1.). The claim made here is that the spontaneous function for *-(r)are-* emerged after passive, and the negative potential function appeared after spontaneity. It is, however, difficult to establish when exactly those functions appeared as it had probably already happened before the compilation of the earliest known Japanese texts.

The following chart displays possible development paths for all of the discussed functions of the *-(r)are-* marker. The visualization is based on occurrences of the *-(r)are-* marker in examples from the selected texts: *Man'yōshū* (MYS), *Taketori Monogatari* (TM), *Makura-no Sōshi* (MNS), *Heike Monogatari* (HM), *Oku-no Hosomichi* (ONH) and *Shunshoku Renri-no Ume* (SRU).
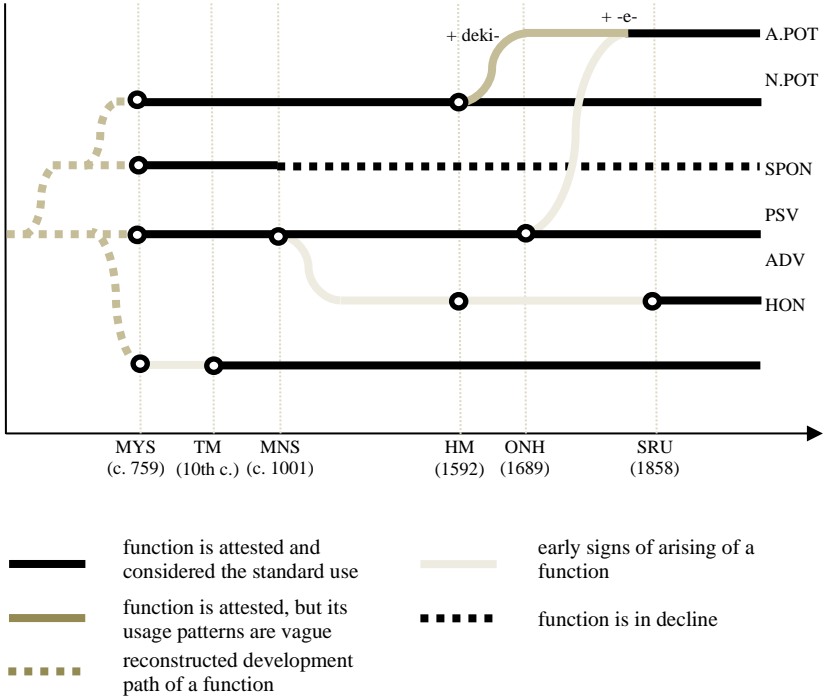
Figure 1 Visualization of development paths of different functions of the -*(r)are-* marker over time[4]

The functions of spontaneity and potentiality began to be taken over by the -*(r)are-* marker already in Old Japanese after their former marker -*(ra)ye-* had begun to gradually disappear (see 3.1.). Although the concept of spontaneity in the Early Middle Japanese period began to be lexicalized and was losing its productivity as a grammatical category, the category of potentiality continued to be systematically expressed by the -*(r)are-* marker in combination with the negative marker (see 3.2.). In the later periods, potentiality began to be expressed by new formations: the verb *deki-* and the suffix -*e-*, which allowed the dimension of potentiality to occur with both values of polarity (see 3.3.).

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[4] The gaps between consecutive dates serve the purpose of visibility and do not reflect any relevant chronological information.

The category of honorificity was also probably developed before the Early Middle Japanese period, as suggested by the comparative data from Ryukyuan languages (Jarosz 2015: 279–280). However, in the internal Japanese sources, its systematic use can only be observed from the EMJ onward, with some possible but questionable occurrences in OJ (see (15) in 4.). Originally, the *-(r)are-* suffix only enhanced the honorific nuance of specific honorific verbs whose semantics was mainly related to the act of "speaking". Over time, *-(r)are-* became independent as an honorificity marker and began to be used regardless of the lexical meaning of the host verb (see 4.).

One additional use of *-(r)are-* which is attested only in the later sources is the adversative passive. Some early instances of clauses with an adversative reading can be already found in EMJ, where verbs which can be interpreted as either transitive or intransitive are attested with the *-(r)are-* marker. Adversative passive constructions could be argued to have arisen from such clauses. The use of *-(r)are-* with labile verbs might have allowed the reanalysis that the marker expresses the indirect adversative affectedness of the intransitive event upon the subject. Verbs which usually appear in present-day Japanese adversative passive clauses, such as *shin-* 'die', were not found in this function in EMJ sources. However, such instances can be found in LMJ and especially in NJ. Therefore, the adversative passive function can be argued to have begun to form as early as in EMJ but was not productive until NJ (see 2.2.).

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	ITR	iterative
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
ADV	adversative passive	MOD	modest
A.POT	affirmative potential	NEC	necessitive
APRX	approximation	NEG	negative
ATR	attributive	NOM	nominative
CAU	causative	N.POT	negative potential
CMP	complementizer	NPST	non-past
COP	copula	NTNT	negative tentative
DAT	dative	POL	polite
EP	emphatic particle	POT	potential
EV	evidential	PRF	perfective
EXL	exclamative	PRG	progressive
FIN	final	PST	past

FP	focus particle	PSV	passive
GEN	genitive	RP	restrictive particle
GER	gerund	SPON	spontaneous
HON	honorific	TNT	tentative
INF	Infinitive	TOP	topical
IP	interrogative particle		

Languages

cNJ	Contemporary Japanese
EMJ	Early Middle Japanese
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
LMJ	Late Middle Japanese
NJ	Modern Japanese
OJ	Old Japanese
WOJ	Western Old Japanese

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Metapragmatic Aspects of Politeness and Empathy in Japanese Second-person Referentiality System

ABSTRACT

This study aims to present the relation between empathy and honorifics regarding the use of second-person reference forms present in the contemporary Japanese language. This relation is analyzed metapragmatically, indicating the elements which typical Japanese speakers take into account in order to communicate with the addressee in a proper way. The author presents three main categories of influence – age, social position, and gender. Those, in turn, are examined in accordance with the setting of discourse. It is important to note that even if the relationship between the addressee and the speaker is an informal one (e.g., close friends), a formal setting can change how the speaker feels about the way to communicate. Because of that, the author feels it is important to focus on the setting rather than the relationship between the interlocutors. Additionally, honorific suffixes are also evaluated in this manner.

KEYWORDS: second person referentiality, empathy, honorifics, discourse

Introduction

When studying person referentiality, one has to take into account many peculiarities which may not be present in one's mother tongue. Some of those (in the context of this study) may include, but not be limited to, a complex honorific speech system, a highly developed personal pronoun system, the act of omitting a personal pronoun altogether, etc. In the case of

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the Japanese language, analyzing the person reference system metapragmatically requires a step-by-step comparative examination of factors which directly or indirectly affect the speech of interlocutors. The factors themselves represent, e.g., the age of an interlocutor, social status, gender (or sex), etc., but also mannerisms such as the manner of speaking of the addressee, the level of familiarity between interlocutors, and/or the conduct of the conversational partner towards the other participant in a given discourse. Other than that, one may also include concepts such as place and occasion, as those can affect how one shapes their speech. All of these elements of influence were included in this study when necessary. From this point onwards, everything that can influence the discourse in the above-mentioned context, will also be referred to as the metapragmatic variables, or just variables (given that their presence, or lack thereof, influences the selection of words by the speaker).

Those metapragmatic variables could be described as the engine for honorific speech. According to O'Neill (2008: 15), "the use of respect language varies with the individual and his particular circumstances at the time". The variables mentioned above fit this idea, as they refer to both the speaker and the speech. To elucidate the complexity and a sort of unpredictability of second-person reference forms in the Japanese language and the variables which shape the usage of those forms, the author had split them into three main categories: personal pronouns, proper names, and proper nouns. The first one includes the second-person pronouns existing in the contemporary Japanese language. Their selection was carried out mainly in accordance with the research by Ishiyama Osamu (2019) and Fujii Akihiro (1977). The latter categories include the means of reference by one's given name or last name, with or without the use of a specified honorific suffix, as well as kinship terms and selected titles.

In the article, the usage of the word "pronoun" mentioned above pertains to a specific category of reference speech, as the meaning of the term itself is not standardized and, depending on the scholar, can describe a different idea. According to Bhat (2004: 4–5), the meaning behind this term is too complex to explain the linguistic qualities sufficiently, which is why he distinguishes two main categories of pronouns – personal (referring to the first and second person as the main roles in discourse, and the referents distinguished by them in a given described event) and proforms (that which may denote the participants in an event, or even the event itself). On the other hand, there are researchers, such as Kanaya Takehiro, who state that the Japanese language does not have any personal pronouns. The reasons given are, e.g.,

that one can use an adjective to describe them, or that the library of forms considered to be personal pronouns is too numerous (Ishiyama 2019: 7). It is not the aim of this paper to put forward a new definition, but it is important to choose a description which best encapsulates the idea behind the so-called personal pronouns. In his studies, Ishiyama assumes a balanced approach, and, by means of historical analysis of the forms and their relation to other parts of speech (such as nouns or demonstratives), he follows the research of Benveniste. According to him, first- and second-person reference forms are inherently deictic, which cannot be said about the third-person forms that are more demonstrative in nature (Ishiyama 2019: 2–3). Due to this reason, Ishiyama's framework may seem more comprehensive than that of his contemporaries. Even then, the problem of a universal definition of personal pronouns still holds, hence the use of the more straightforward term "reference form" in this study relating to the forms of reference, mostly regarding the second person. The term "pronoun", however, is used to point to the forms of reference that, with time, developed a different semantic or deictic meaning and originated from either nouns or demonstratives.

1. Honorific Speech and Empathetic Speech
As explained by O'Neill (2008: 15), honorific speech is a "special style of speech […] used in Japanese to show respect to persons, and, occasionally, to especially revered things". The speaker can use this special type of speech to express their respect during the act of communication, either to other people that are participating in the act of speech themselves and people talked about (2nd or 3rd person), or to a thing/place. Politeness in Japanese is very apparent in speech, much more so than in English (ibid., 16).

There is, however, a problem in the distinction between politeness as an expression of respect and politeness as a language medium. O'Neill (ibid.) states that "In English, [politeness and respect] are expressed in words much less than in Japanese", which could be interpreted that Japanese is more polite a language than English. In the Japanese language, it is virtually impossible not to use an honorific form (such as, e.g., honorific suffixes used in everyday speech), no matter the situation in which the discourse is happening. This does not generally mean that Japanese is more polite than English. The aspect of "polite language" should thus be interpreted by a cultural and historical (more objective) framework, but the "polite language usage" should pertain to individual, social, cultural, and historical changes (more subjective). Due to this interpretation, the "polite language" aspect of English does not fall short of Japanese, though the

difference in "polite language usage" between the two is very apparent (Janney and Arndt 2005: 27).

It is also crucial to differentiate between the so-called horizontal and vertical axes of politeness in the Japanese language. Chie Nakane described Japanese society as a vertical one in contrast to horizontal societies, such as the United States of America, in regard to social ties (Koga and Pearson 1992: 86–87). The term vertical society refers to numerous social groups of different statuses and the relations between them. Horizontal society on the other hand, is based on assumed equality between different people. In summary, the vertical societal structure pertains to power distance, and the horizontal one is connected with social distance (Leech and Larina 2014: 27). Therefore, one can describe the verticality of politeness when discussing the forms used between people of different statuses (power dynamics), and conversely, horizontal politeness could be best described as the forms used between people of a given social status/group (social dynamics).

There are different ways to categorize the formality of Japanese, such as the informal-formal paradigm presented briefly by Janet S. Shibamoto Smith (2003: 209). For the sake of including the social dynamics of politeness, the author had categorized the formality of speech into informal, neutral, and formal categories, with the special category called "offensive speech".

This type of politeness is used to increase/shorten the distance between interlocutors, which in turn shows the level of intimacy and the affiliation to a given group (*soto-uchi* classification meaning 'outside-inside'). The emotional distance between interlocutors can shape the formality of the discussion (lesser distance – less formality).
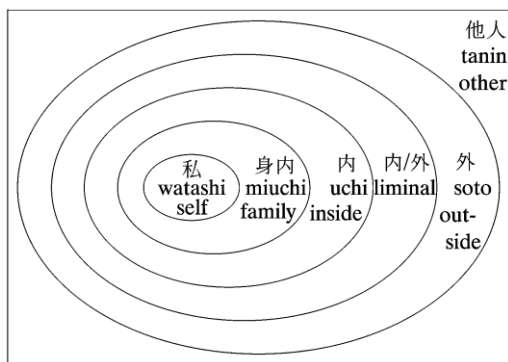

Figure 1 A variant of the *Uchi/Soto* Model (Adams et al. 2009: 6)

Vertical politeness, on the other hand, focuses more on the hierarchy axis, meaning if one is below or above a given individual, and illustrates their relationship.

Thus, the vertical factors are ones such as age or status, and the horizontal ones pertain mostly to the interpretation of "one's outside circle" and "one's inside circle" by the speaker (Nelson 1987: 28–31).
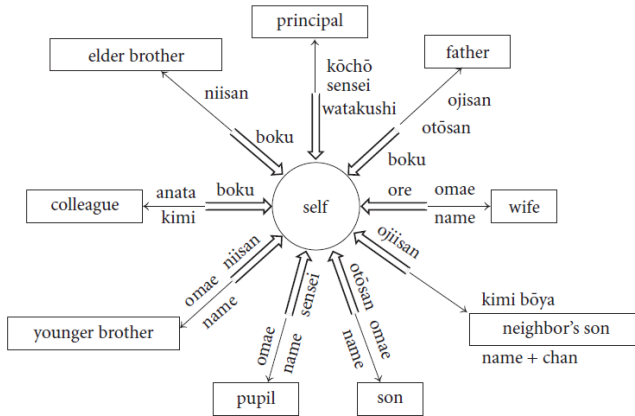
Figure 2 The Addressee-Addresser relation (Ide 2005: 49)

On the contrary, the empathetic speech works on a different premise. When choosing a given form of address, the speaker inevitably evaluates the surroundings, meaning the addressee, the relation to them, the setting of discourse, and, of course, oneself (Menn et al. 1999: 318). All of those elements put pressure on the speaker, slightly "nudging" them to choose a given form of reference and, more broadly, a given form of speech.

One can evaluate this process in two different ways. The first one, called the hearer-oriented evaluation, suggests that the speaker takes into account the feelings and needs of the hearer over their own. The problem with this kind of evaluation is that the speaker is most likely unaware of the extent of the hearer's feelings and needs, or at least he does not know all that is important to know. That is why the second form of evaluation is as, if not more, important. The speaker-oriented evaluation takes into account the impulses and factors directly related to the speaker that may shift the assessment of the hearer and the setting of discourse. One of those elements is empathy towards the addressee (ibid., 318–319).

Nonetheless, this kind of empathy is different from its linguistic manifestation, which is mostly realized in the form of "cognitive orientation decodable from the form of an utterance" (ibid., 323–324). The term "empathy" presented here describes an affective state of the speaker, not the emotion in the communication itself. Therefore, it is important to differentiate between the affective state, which from here on will be called "empathy", and the decoded state in the form of a decipherable message. The latter will be referred to as "perspective". This term was chosen because it is related to the process of "empathetic identification", which will be described later in this chapter.

Kuno Susumu describes perspective realization as a way of "identifying oneself with the element/person that is taking part in the act of communication" (1987: 206). This identification may be full or partial, depending on the stance of the identifier. Partial identification could be described as an evaluation of the speaker/setting from a third-person viewpoint or the standpoint of a nearby camera (ibid., 204). Full identification requires the first-person viewpoint from the identifier. Depending on the identification, the perspective changes. Illustrations showcasing partial and full identification are as follows:
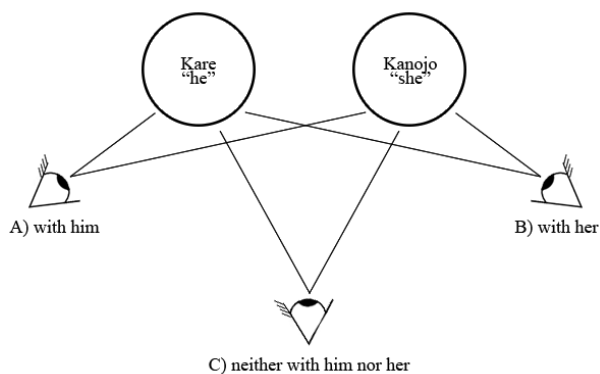
Figure 3 Partial identification of the speaker, based on Kuno Susumu's theory (Kuno 1987: 204)
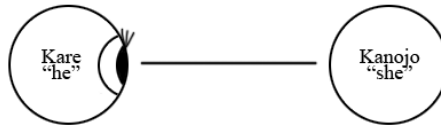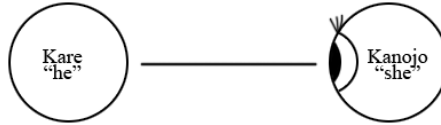
Figure 4 Full identification of the speaker, based on Kuno Susumu's theory
(Kuno 1987: 204)

To further illustrate the process displayed in the illustrations above, an example situation is examined below. Assuming that both the man and the woman represented in the figures 3 and 4 were close coworkers, and the woman double-crossed the man, which resulted in her getting a raise, there is a number of ways in which one could describe the above-mentioned persons. Of course, it is a made-up situation in which all this information is told directly to the identifier, which also means that they most likely know both "him" and "her" quite well, or at least well enough. If the identifier decides to comment as the speaker, they could say one of the following, depending on the perspective taken, as presented by Kuno (1987: 205–206). The ** symbols means that the sentence is incorrect in a given perspective:

Perspective A)
      1. "He was double-crossed by her"
      2. "He was double-crossed by his coworker"
      3. "His coworker double-crossed him"
      3. "She double-crossed him" **
      4. "She double-crossed her coworker" **

Perspective B)
      1. "He was double-crossed by her" **
      2. "He was double-crossed by his coworker" **
      3. "His coworker double-crossed him" **
      4. "She double-crossed him"
      5. "She double-crossed her coworker"

Perspective C)
      1. "He was double-crossed by her"
      2. "He was double-crossed by his coworker" **
      3. "His coworker double-crossed him" **
      3. "She double-crossed him" **
      4. "She double-crossed her coworker" **

Perspective D) and Perspective E) are rarely seen in a conversation but occur very often in narratives (ibid.).

Looking at these sentences, one can discern an important aspect which changes the meaning drastically when looking from the standpoint of the Japanese language. All of the above-mentioned methods of reference were realized only by using the pronouns "he"/"she", or in the case of the Japanese language, *kare* and *kanojo*. Because of that, one needs to apply the data presented in this study to the expressions used in the examples above.

In perspective A), the speaker identifies and empathizes more with the man than the woman. If, as mentioned before, they know both him and her quite well, the speaker may change the ways in which they address both parties. Depending on the level of familiarity between them and the age of the parties, the speaker may instead address "him" by his given name/surname with an appropriate honorific suffix, or lack thereof. They may also be inclined to use pronouns such as *kanojo* towards the woman, as it creates emotional distance. The same can be applied in perspective B), though with increased familiarity towards the woman instead of the man. Perspective C), on the other hand, requires neutrality, meaning that in all likelihood the same form of reference will be used towards both parties, and more likely than not, the form used will not be overly familiar, as neutrality requires some form of distance. In this case, one can assume that for the neutral perspective, pronouns such as *kare* and *kanojo* or last names with the suffix *-san* will be used.

This process can actually be applied to a certain degree to second-person forms of reference, as shown in the explanation below. As the process of communication using second-person pronouns requires one speaker and one addressee, partial identification can be deemed impossible in normal circumstances. Because of that, the perspective function in the case of second-person pronouns would also be much more straightforward. The addressee can only identify with one other reference point – the speaker.

There is, however, a way of using perspective with second-person forms through the use of a reflexive form *jibun*.

The form *jibun* has a special function related to empathy that is not present in other forms when used for second-person address, which is that it is self-reflective (Ishiyama 2019: 95). Additionally, it does not have a predetermined role. Here are two example sentences showcasing different uses of the form *jibun*:

1. *Jibun-ga yare!*
   'Do it yourself!'
2. *Jibun-ga yarimasu.*
   'I will do it'

Even though the form of reference is the same in both examples, the semantic meaning of the form itself changes depending on the context.

The first sentence is introduced in the form of an order, meaning there is an emphasis on emotional message The literal meaning of the sentence would be as follows: "You are the person that should do it, not anyone else". On the other hand, the second sentence is a common way of speaking in military jargon, and it denotes the first person (Takubo 1997: 26). Thus, the second-person usage of *jibun* is more emotionally evocative through the self-reflection. The relation of this function with the empathetic function of the language works by means of identifying oneself with the addressee. The speaker figuratively crosses the area of their "self" and mentally assumes the communicative position in which the addressee resides (ibid., 25). In other words, the speaker adopts the means of full identification with the referent. The main metapragmatic difference between this reflexive form and the pronouns presented in the latter parts of this paper is the lack of some of the basic variables that would define it, such as age or gender.

The process described above is somewhat related to what Suzuki describes as "empathetic identification" (1984: 142), which is the idea that when, e.g., a child calls a stranger woman *mama*, they also take the emotional stance as if the child actually were that woman's.

3. *Mama, koko-ni suwatte*
   'Take this seat, <u>mom</u>'

This is a somewhat radical example, but the same idea, though in a diminished form, applies here from the point of view of the perspectives mentioned before. The speaker identifies with the interlocutor on an emotional level and feels more inclined to use the kind of speech which will bridge the gap between the two of them as much as is needed. This may be realized by making a given interlocutor into a subject of the sentence, using

suitable forms of reference, or by elements existing outside of the realm of speech, as empathy (affective state) is only one factor of the speaker-oriented evaluation (Menn et al. 1999: 319).

Another example presented by Suzuki sets a scene between a mother and her child (male), and the phrase looks as follows:

4. *Boku-chan kore hoshii-n deshō*

   [lit.] 'Me[-diminutive] wants this, right?'

Suzuki says that by addressing her son with the first-person pronoun *boku,* the mother imagines what the son would be called from the perspective of the youngest family member, which, in this case, is the/her son. As he would most likely refer to himself using the form *boku*, the mother links with him by empathetic identification and calls him *boku* (Suzuki 1984: 142).

2. The Selection of Forms

To begin the study, a set of reference forms had to be chosen, which in turn had to be portrayed as a realization of the metapragmatic variables that shape them. Compared to Indo-European languages, person reference forms in Japanese are numerous, and not all are always considered in academic research. In this study, while taking into account the contemporary usage of Japanese, the selected pronouns were identified in accordance with Ishiyama Osamu's studies (2019) and compared to the data shown by Fujii Akihiro (1977) in his research. The final selection for the second person is presented in Table 1. From the forms organized below, *kimi (2)* and *anata (1)* are classified as neutral, while *anata (2)* is classified as a formal form. The rest of the reference forms displayed in the table below are to be regarded as informal.

Speech	Intimate		Familiar	Distant	Other
Masculine	*omae* (1)	*anta* (1)	*kimi* (2)	*anata* (2)	*temē/ kisama*
Feminine	*kimi* (1)		*anata* (1)		*omae* (2)

Table 1 Second-person pronouns in contemporary Japanese language, general usage

The baseline for this classification was done by Ishiyama (2019: 5), although it did not specify the location of the pronoun *anta* and the possible neutral use of *anata*. To place it accordingly, the research done by Fujii (1977: 50) was crucial, as it allowed to define the case-specific usage of *anta* as an

informal/familiar pronoun. In the case of neutral *anata*, the positioning is assumed based on the information presented in the next chapter. The table above is significant in that it shows the basic, more general usage of contemporary pronouns. Generalization helps in this matter, as creating a graph showing every case-specific usage of a given pronoun would be close to impossible. Nevertheless, the general usage shows the most common ways of addressing with appropriate meaning. One can argue that by specifying the gender of the addressee, other metapragmatic variables such as age or social status should also be ascertained. Unlike the differences between masculine and feminine reference forms (such as *omae* considered informal in male speech and offensive in female speech), the age category as well as other metapragmatic variables require their own evaluation. Those were analyzed individually, in accordance with a given form of reference, and are described, if necessary, in chapters pertaining to a given form. The age distribution was additionally described in chapter 9.

As for the proper name categorization, it is needless to say that a given name/last name classification is required. Some of the other proper nouns (e.g., titles, kinship terms) were also explained in detail. Nevertheless, the problem concerning proper names is the selection of honorific suffixes, customarily attached at the end of a proper name reference form. Those suffixes were selected in accordance with a study conducted by Leo Loveday (1986: 7), in which he recognizes four main honorific suffixes used in the contemporary Japanese language: *-chan*, *-san*, *-kun*, and *-sama*.

The first part of the reference form analysis focuses on the honorific values attributed to the speaker's (or addressee's) gender, depending on a given pronoun, after which selected proper nouns and proper names of address were evaluated in a similar fashion, including selected honorific suffixes. Following this, an explanation of the level of importance that comes with the age variable in regard to the second-person pronouns has taken place.

3. Layers of *Anata*

In regard to the masculine form, *anata* is categorized as a formal pronoun. It is equally important to classify the perceived gender of the speaker and the perceived gender of the addressee in the case of this pronoun. Male speakers do not use *anata* very often, as seen in the data compiled by Fujii (1977: 50) and Sturtz Sreetharan (2009: 264–265). It is used mostly (if at all) to communicate with older peers, female friends, and not intimate people of a status higher than oneself. It can be discerned that this term emanates a form of respect towards the addressee when used by male speakers. As one's

status is closely related to age, it is not used towards people younger than the speaker himself. On the other hand, for female speakers, it can be either a form of respect, or a term of endearment, as they tend to use *anata* much more often than male speakers, and interestingly, it was used in higher occurrence towards younger peers than older peers (Fujii 1977: 51). It should be pointed out that it is not considered an intimate form of speech between female speakers but a familiar one (Takahara 1992: 122). Though it is used to communicate with friends and peers, its prevalence towards not intimate people of higher status is still comparable to that of male speakers. Therefore, there should be no doubt about the existence of a discrepancy between the generally acknowledged formal classification of *anata* (Mogi 2002: 15) and the real-world usage of the form. To understand the difference between the two, it is important to evaluate this form in two different ways. One can look at *anata* through the lens of the social deixis and from the perspective of the emotional spectrum. In terms of social deixis, one can see a number of ways in which this pronoun can be used, not only a formal one. The discrepancy then lies in the conflict between the standpoint of linguistic standards and the socio-linguistic way of evaluation. When looking at the linguistic descriptions of *anata*, it is often described as a formal pronoun, for example, in dictionaries such as Sanseidō (Kindaichi et al. 1974: 22), where it is defined as a "light form of respectful speech used to address someone", or the Shimmeikai dictionary: "word used to address a person of an equivalent status, but with a bit more respect" (Yamada et al. 2012: 34). The solution to this problem may become much clearer when one looks at *anata* from the perspective of the emotional spectrum. Thus, this pronoun can be regarded as some sort of a "linguistic tool", thanks to which the emotional distance between the speaker and the addressee is measurable. This function can be easily discerned, as the pronoun *anata* tends to be also described as a friendly form used between friends (Muramatsu and Xie 2015: 116). Suzuki (1984: 113) argues that "no one would use such pronouns as *anata* 'you' when talking to senior members of the family, e.g., parents or older siblings", even though it is categorized as a formal way of speaking. Judging by the data compiled by Fujii (1977: 50–51), it is hard to say that Suzuki is not correct in this assessment. In that case, one has to look at *anata* as a special case second-person pronoun, used mainly to ascertain the distance between interlocutors, and, to understand that, it needs to be divided into sub-functions.

In regard to data compiled by Muramatsu and Xie (2015: 118), there are four functions of *anata*. They can be described as:

- exalting function;
- distancing function;
- neutral/objective function;
- epistemic primacy function.

The exalting function serves the purpose of, as the name suggests, exalting, or in other words, honoring the addressee, but also solidifying the position of the speaker as a respectful person. Exalting the addressee does not necessarily mean that they are a person of higher standing. What it does first and foremost is showing respect toward the addressee. The distancing function works due to the exalting function, illustrating the distance between the statuses of the addressee and the speaker. By making it clear to the addressee that there is a gap between the two interlocutors, the neutral/objective function makes the addressee think that a given stance the speaker took in a discussion comes from a neutral standpoint, not bound by the relationship between them. This, according to Muramatsu and Xie (ibid. 118), makes the message conveyed to the addressee more objective.

All of these functions work so that the speaker has more persuasive power, but the last function – the epistemic primacy function – works as a result of the three above it, and strengthens the persuasive power of the speaker. By solidifying one's position, establishing a distance from the addressee, and speaking from a neutral and possibly objective standpoint, the substantive value of the speaker's message is increased, which in turn lowers the possibility of doubt from the second-person participant (ibid., 118). Takahara (1992: 122) argues that *anata*, no matter if among equals or directed at subordinates, has always the same meaning, which may indicate that it is non-reciprocal and, ultimately, cannot be used between two people on an equal standing. There are also uses of *anata* as a term of endearment towards people of equal status, such as the common way to address one's husband as *anata*; Takahara also notices that older husbands sometimes call their wives using *anata* (ibid., 121). That is also related to the need of making the recipient of a message feel at ease. What does not usually happen, however, is the reciprocal usage of *anata* between interlocutors of the same gender, especially in the case of male speakers (Kakutani 1978: 77–78).

4. The Derivative *Anta* and its Relation with *Omae*

Similar to *anata*, *anta* is its phonetically reduced version which also holds a diminished value of politeness. It is an informal form of reference, generally used by both genders (Muramatsu and Xie 2015: 135), but with a higher frequency of usage amongst women. Even though it is categorized as an

informal pronoun by the standards of both masculine and feminine speech, there are some intricate differences between the two usages. For male speakers, *anta* was mostly used in communication with the opposite gender, as *omae* stood for roughly 71% of all the uses of pronouns towards friends of the same perceived gender (Fujii 1977: 50).

Female speakers tend to use *anta* in a similar fashion as when male speakers use the pronoun *omae*, i.e. towards close friends and friends of the same gender. It can, however, also be used when speaking to lower-status men, e.g., salesmen, work assistants, or even one's son (Takahara 1992: 120). On the other hand, for male speakers, *anta* is used only when the solidarity relationships supersede gender-based power dynamics. In that situation the gender-based linguistic barrier is crossed, and the pronoun is used almost exclusively to address women of an equivalent or lower status as an expression of familiarity. Despite it, this may result in a patronizing effect, rather than one showcasing camaraderie (ibid., 121). Mogi states that, in comparison to the pronoun *anata*, *anta* may seem not only informal but also offensive towards the addressee due to the close relation between both pronouns (2002: 16). It is important to keep in mind that those are still different pronouns. One could compare, e.g., the first-person pronouns *watakushi* and *atai* by saying that when one is beside the other, the pronoun *atai* may seem to be an outlandish form. This kind of comparison, however, would not amount to much information.

What one could argue about is the distancing variable of *anta*. The distal function of *anta* is much more explicit, when compared to *omae,* even though both are generally categorized as similar in regard to their value of intimacy (Sturtz Sreetharan 2009: 274). As a derivative of *anata*, the pronoun was phonetically reduced, as a result of which a more informal meaning appeared. However, the above-mentioned distancing function may not have been reduced in the process.

5. Honorific Approach to *Kimi* and *Omae*

Just as was the case with *anata*, the meaning of the pronoun *kimi* differs depending on the gender of both interlocutors. In the case of male speakers, *kimi* is a form mainly used to address female friends (Fujii 1977: 50) in a non-formal setting; it is also closely related to a power structure between subordinates or people of lower hierarchy than the speaker. Such relation can be noticeable, especially in conversations between bosses/executives and lower-ranked staff, as well as between customers and shop clerks (Takahara 1992: 122), although it is hardly ever used between family

members. When used towards women, *kimi* may have a para-exalting role, meaning that the male speaker "hints" at the fact that the female addressee is his equal, or it can even mean that both share the same gender identity (ibid., 121). *Kimi* is rarely used by female speakers, except in situations related to power dynamics mentioned in the usage by male speakers (Yamada et al. 2012: 353–354) and sometimes, though very rarely, toward male friends (Fujii 1977: 51). Nevertheless, *kimi* is best described as a slightly polite-sounding pronoun with a hint of familiarity. Fujii (ibid., 48) describes it as a form exuding the feeling of an acquaintanceship, used mainly by male speakers, and indicating that the addressee is either an equal or of lower status.

Omae, on the other hand, as mentioned in the description of *anta,* is an informal pronoun, often described as a less polite option than *kimi* or *anta*. It is the male equivalent of the pronoun *anta* in female speech. Moreover, both *anta* and *omae* are classified as informal or even colloquial speech (Takahara 1992: 120). That is why, depending on the situation, *omae* can also be used in an offensive manner (especially when speaking to strangers or people of higher status than the speaker).

Even though the majority of users of this pronoun are male speakers (Fujii 1977: 50), dictionaries such as *Sūpā Daijirin* or *Iwanami Kogo Jiten* do not say that it is necessarily a male speech variant (Oishi 2017: 315). Looking at the definition written in the Sanseidō dictionary, one can see that it is described as a "pronoun used to address a person of lower status, or a person which the speaker mocks" (Kindaichi et al. 1974: 129). The Shimmeikai dictionary has a similar definition – it is a "loose way to address a person of an equal or lower status"; there is also a mention of it depicting "a deep familiarity when used by two men in a close relationship" (2012: 202).

Considering that the link between *omae* and male speakers is observed mostly in the dictionaries from the 21st century, it can be assumed that the notion of it being a type of "men's language" is a modern-day idea. Takahara suggests that the use of *omae* can be categorized in two different ways. The first way is to understand it as an everyday speech used habitually, typically occurring even outside an informal, familiar setting. This type of usage shows that the speaker tries to reinforce their position in the social hierarchy but also exhibits a type of disobedience towards the people of higher status, or even the hierarchy system as a whole. On the other hand, the second way considers *omae* as a pronoun used exclusively in an informal setting between people in a close acquaintanceship (Takahara 1992: 120).

6. *Kisama* and *Temē*

Nowadays, the most widely used derogatory second-person reference forms in the Japanese language are *kisama* and *temē*. Originally, both of these terms showed respect towards the addressee. However, as their use became more commonplace and did not vanish with time (as was the case for many other pronouns), a shift of syntactic meaning took place, which changed the innate honorific value of these pronouns (Suzuki 1984: 122). *Kisama* literally means "a noble person", and *temē* is a phonetically reduced version of *temae*, which holds the meaning of "(the one) in front". Ishiyama (2019: 6) states/writes that these forms "express the strong sense of contempt and are used only in an emotional fight". Barke and Uehara present both of those pronouns as the lowest point of the honorific spectrum (2005: 304). It is debatable whether the spectrum itself is as unambiguous, as Ishiyama (2019: 5) shows us in his classification. According to the data shown by him, *omae* has the same honorific value as *kisama* and *temē* if used by female speakers. This data is conflicting with the research done by Takahara (1992: 121), in which she presents that the pronoun *omae* is used by women in case of solidarity relationships superseding gender-based power dynamics. Because of the fact, that according to Takahara *omae* is used by women specifically for the sake of solidarity, in this interpretation it cannot convey a pejorative function.

Nevertheless, one can safely classify both *kisama* and *temē* as derogatory male speech forms which, when used in everyday situations, are almost exclusively offensive towards the addressee. In spite of that, there are times in which they can be understood as "rough expressions allowed only between close friends" (Suzuki 1984: 122), or in the case of military jargon in Japanese Self Defense Forces, *kisama* also happens to be a form of address used by commanding officers towards subordinates (Barke and Uehara 2005: 309). The definition presented by Suzuki suggests that in some very rare cases both of those pronouns could be categorized as "informal speech", although the use of *kisama* and *temē* is too infrequent (Kakutani 1978: 64) and is very case-specific.

7. Selected Proper Nouns

Another way to address someone is by using a title or a kinship term. However, in the case of titles, they mostly present a higher level of formality and distance between the interlocutors. Occupation titles, social titles, and sometimes even the name of the company one works at are used as respectful means of address. One such example may be in the reference form *sensei*,

used mostly towards teachers or people with a generally respected occupation, as well as masters of craft (Mogi 2002: 19). As such, the meaning of *sensei* encapsulates such occupations as, e.g., artists, doctors, or politicians. Other than that, the term *sensei* is used more often toward male referents than female ones, toward whom terms such as *onē-san* (meaning 'older sister', used with regard to younger women) or *oku-san* (meaning '[someone's] wife' used in relation to married women) (Mogi 2002: 19).

As for the aforementioned company names – it is typical to call someone representing a given company by the name with the honorific suffix *-san* (e.g., Toyota-san) as means of showing respect towards the addressee (Kitayama 2013: 452).
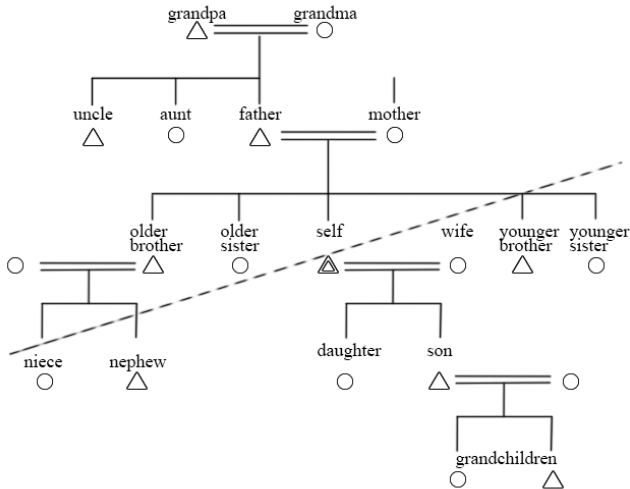
Figure 5 Kinship terms usage (Suzuki 1984: 128)

The above-mentioned kinship terms are not the only ones that tend to extend beyond family members. For example, the masculine counterpart for the word denoting an older sister – *onī-san* (meaning 'older brother') is also used outside familial boundaries as a means of addressing men older than the addresser themselves.

The use of kinship terms towards strangers depends on the speaker's impression of the referent. If a given speaker has an impression that the referent is a mother/father, they may call them by the kinship term denoting those family roles – *okā-san* (meaning '[someone's] mother') or *otō-san* (meaning '[someone's] father').

Kinship terms are, of course, also used between family members, though there are rules governing their usage. It is regulated primarily by the relation between the referent's and the speaker's ages. Figure 5 illustrates the limits in using given forms of reference toward family members. When communicating with people above the dotted line, the speaker cannot use a kinship term to refer to himself but can use them towards the referents. On the contrary, if the speaker is communicating with people below the dotted line, the usage terms reverse – the speaker may use kinship terms as a first-person reference form but cannot use them toward the referents (Suzuki 1984: 127–128).

8. Proper Names and Honorific Suffixes

Even though the system of referentiality by pronouns is very elaborate, it is not the main type of reference when speaking Japanese. In fact, Japanese people tend to avoid using pronouns, as it may be considered impolite. This trend dates back to the Heian period, as presented in the data of Morino Muneaki, included in the research of Shigemitsu Yuka (1998: 47).

A significant number of the pronouns described in this study are used only when talking to an equal or a person of lower status. This, in turn, causes the use of pronouns to be very limited when talking to people of higher status. The problems resulting from looking for a way of addressing one's higher-ups can be seen when one starts to learn about Japanese pronouns, specifically *anata*. Because it is generally described as a formal pronoun, it may leave the wrong impression of adequacy if used towards people of higher status. In practice, however, it is used only towards people of lower or equal status. Looking at the information compiled by Fujii (1977: 50–51), it can be observed that pronouns were mainly used in close relationships with a given addressee, while 90% of all male/female speakers used proper names when addressing people of higher status such as teachers, older colleagues, or one's family members (ibid., 56). This pro-drop nature of personal pronouns in Japanese has been described numerous times and is still noticeable nowadays. For example, Tranter and Kizu write: "In many cases where a personal pronoun must appear in English, it is normally elided in Japanese when identifiable from sentential or extra-sentential contexts. Kinship terms, workplace ranks or titles often function as *personal pronouns*" (Tranter and Kizu 2012: 287). Another mention of this feature of the Japanese language may be found in the research done by Jana Šoucová, in which she writes: "Since in Japanese the grammatical subject can be omitted whenever it is understood from the context, there is a tendency to avoid

using personal pronouns. Especially the second-person – pronoun *anata* is considered to be an insult when used in speaking to an addressee who is of higher social status or who is not an intimate equal" (Šoucová 2005: 140). In Japanese, the surname or the family name is used more often than the given name of the addressee. Given names are, more often than not, used in close relationships, such as between parents and children or between close friends (though it is important to note that between family members, kinship terms are more common).

Nonetheless, even though proper names are shown here as a more polite form of speech than pronouns, they also have their own system of politeness, ranging from very polite to very offensive forms of speech, depending on the situation. Below there are four example sentences in the descending order of politeness. The ** sign shows that the speech is not reflective of natural speech styles:

5. *Tanaka-sama, o-genki desu-ka?*
6. *Tanaka-san, o-genki desu-ka?*
7. *Tanaka-kun, o-genki desu-ka?*
8. *Tanaka, o-genki desu-ka?***

All of these sentences can be translated as "How are you, (mister) Tanaka?" with ranging values of politeness attached in the meaning of honorific suffixes, or lack thereof. The question in example number 5. shows the use of the honorific suffix *-sama* attached to the end of the addressee's surname. The use of *-sama* shows a large emotional distance between the speaker and the addressee and a very high value of formality. Because of that, the phrase *genki desu-ka* would generally be unnatural when combined with a suffix *-sama* in the address. Interlocutors denoted by *-sama* generally hold a higher status in a conversation. They can be people such as, e.g., CEOs, politicians, contracting parties, or customers (*o-kyaku-sama* meaning 'respected customer') (Mangga 2015: 70–71). Honorific *-sama* is also reserved for occasions in which high formality is demanded (e.g., wedding ceremonies, letter correspondences). In the case of wedding ceremonies, even the children are addressed with the suffix *-sama.* Loveday (1986: 45) explains that during such an occasion, the organizer of the ceremony can use the term *o-ko-sama,* meaning 'respected child'.

Honorific *-san* is a derivate of *-sama*, which by means of phonetic reduction also has a reduced meaning of politeness, though it is still a highly polite and formal expression. According to Loveday, the rules outlined by the Japanese

National Language Research Institute state that -*san* should only be used in conjunction with given names and surnames, as well as with kin terms, but not with status titles or occupation names (e.g., 'boss' or 'doctor') because those already have sufficient politeness value (Loveday 1986: 51)[2]. On the other hand, it is common to use this suffix with occupation titles. One may find themselves using terms such as *o-isha-san* when addressing a doctor or *o-bengoshi-san* when addressing an attorney (Mangga 2015: 70). The suffix -*san* itself is frequently added at the end of the status titles or job descriptors. A native speaker may often find themselves using terms such as *o-isha-san* ('respected doctor') or occasionally *o-bengoshi-san* ('respected lawyer') (ibid.). This honorific has become universal to the degree that when a person representing a given company is addressed, it is customary to call them by the name of the corporation with -*san* added at the end (e.g., *Sony-san* as in 'the representative of Sony corporation') (Kitayama 2013: 452).

The suffix -*kun* has a bit more complicated qualities. It is mostly used between people of an equal standing, such as classmates or staff holding the same position within a given company. Honorific -*kun* is used with the surname or a given name, though it is avoided when addressing women and people of higher status (in the latter case, it is regarded as an offensive speech) (Mangga 2015: 70). The problem concerning the formality of -*kun* is complicated, as the suffix does not belong to one type of speech. Although it is regarded as a familiar suffix, it can be used either in a formal setting (parliament members address one another with -*kun*), as well as an informal one (between classmates, or in a camaraderie of people).

When one omits the use of an honorific, it typically implies that the relationship between the interlocutors is a very close one, as they do not feel the need to add an extra layer of politeness in their speech. That is why *o-genki desu ka*? combined with omitting the suffix is not natural. Sometimes, omitting an honorific suffix can also imply the desire to close the distance between the speaker and the addressee. One example of such a case may be found in the story provided by Okamoto (2004: 50), in which a sixty-eight years old reader of *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper wrote an open letter to the editorial board. In the letter, he criticized the teachers that omit

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[2] This information, however, is not supported by any source from the alleged "Japanese National Language Research Institute", which, in fact, either does not exist or is a mistranslation of "The National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics" (NINJAL). If it is indeed a mistranslation, the best source of information owned by NINJAL would probably be the "Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese", though this source was created approximately 30 years after the research of Loveday.

the suffix *-san* when addressing their pupils. In his opinion, it showed a lack of respect. Later, an opposing opinion from a twenty-year-old female student was printed. She argued that ignoring the suffix is a good thing, as it results in bridging the gap between the pupils and the teacher, which, in turn, strengthens the relationship between them. What is important to note here is that while honorific suffixes range in different values of politeness, it is the interpretation of the meaning the speaker is trying to convey by the addressee that ultimately can change the meaning itself.

In the examples 5–8 listed above, one suffix contemporarily used in Japanese was purposely omitted. The reason for that is to present the expressions in a uniform manner by using the surname as a form of address, differing only in the use of an honorific, or lack thereof. As was mentioned before, addressing someone using a surname/family name is a very common way to communicate in Japanese, though that does not imply that one's given name cannot be used. In fact, the purposely ignored suffix *-chan* is primarily used in conjunction with a given name (Mangga 2015: 69). This honorific suffix often serves the purpose of addressing children, or people much younger than oneself, and is very hypocoristic in nature. It is only used in informal situations and developed as a version of *-san* phonetically modified by children, as they could not pronounce the latter correctly (Kamermans 2010: 304). When someone uses *-chan*, it makes them sound friendly, though it also gives the impression of "baby talk" (Sawada 2013: 172).

One can go even further with the hypocoristic function of this honorific suffix. To describe it, it will be easier to conceptualize someone named *Kenji*. If the requirements for the use of *-chan* are met, one could address them as *Kenji-chan,* though it would not be uncommon to abbreviate the name as well, which could result in a form of address such as *Ken-chan.*

Suzuki (1984: 129) demonstrates that in contrast to the English language, in Japanese, one would not call a family member older than oneself (e.g., an older sister) by name alone but use an honorific suffix along with it. While it is not entirely correct, the Japanese do tend not to use given names as a form of address with regards to consanguineal and affinal familial bonds, though only when it comes to family members placed in higher positions in the sociocultural hierarchy (e.g., parents, older siblings, grandparents) (Duc 2014: 33).

Since the pronouns in the previous chapters were arranged with the order of formality in mind, one could do the same with the forms used with honorific suffixes in this part of the study. If one is only looking at the suffixes
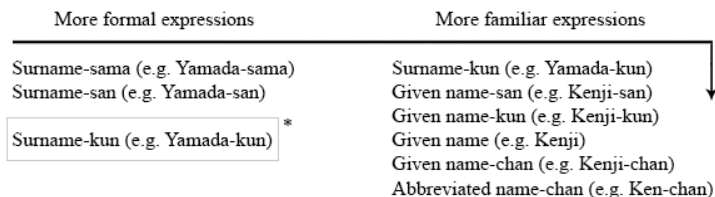
themselves, the current order of formality will look as shown below (Figure 6).

-sama	*-san*	*-kun**	*-chan*

⟵⟶

More formal   Less formal
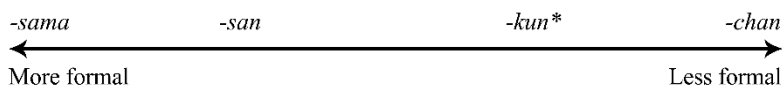
*roughly in the same position as *-san*, when used between parliament members.

Figure 6 Most-used honorific suffixes in the contemporary Japanese language (source: based on the author's research)

Even though correct, this chart is hardly helpful, as it shows just the surface-level idea of honorific speech. Because the suffixes are not used without a preceding factor, looking at this chart, one can only guess their meaning when used with a surname/given name; otherwise, it is incomprehensible. One could, however, try to classify all of these suffixes when used with an antecedent form. Even more than that, the forms of reference can then be classified with the condition of an expression of familiarity or formality in mind. Figure 7 shown below is an improved chart, which – according to the rules laid down in this chapter – shows the familiar (smaller distance) and formal (greater distance) ways of expression with a given honorific suffix, restricted to given names and family names.

More formal expressions	More familiar expressions
Surname-sama (e.g. Yamada-sama)	Surname-kun (e.g. Yamada-kun)
Surname-san (e.g. Yamada-san)	Given name-san (e.g. Kenji-san)
	Given name-kun (e.g. Kenji-kun)
Surname-kun (e.g. Yamada-kun) *	Given name (e.g. Kenji)
	Given name-chan (e.g. Kenji-chan)
	Abbreviated name-chan (e.g. Ken-chan)

*roughly in the same position as Surname-san when used between parliament members

Figure 7. Formality scale of honorific suffixes with a proper name reference form (source: based on the author's research)

In conclusion, it can be said that one is crossing the barrier of formality into the informal day-to-day communication by using a given name/surname form of address with any honorific other than *-san* and *-sama*, though this informality is not necessarily impolite. Honorifics are used specifically to respect the addressee. What can give the impression of disrespect is an incorrect attribution of an honorific in the wrong setting. One would not use

an expression such as *Yamada-sama* when talking to an older colleague, as it gives a feeling of exaggeration and could be understood as mockery. The same would apply to the usage of *Yamada-kun* in a conversation with a very close friend who calls the speaker by their given name.

9. The Age Distribution

While being involved in an act of communication, the speaker needs to pay attention to how a given form of reference is used while also taking into account their own age and/or the age of the addressee. One must remember that age is an important factor when studying Japanese pronouns, but the influence of age is much more limited in the second-person when compared to the first-person pronouns. From the perspective of, e.g., an English speaker, the pronoun system in the Japanese language can be described as complex, as it carries a number of metapragmatic variables which may not be present in the referentiality system of the English language. First-person pronouns in Japanese are one subsumed example of those metapragmatic variable differences. Bhat (2004: 139) argues that most of the languages on Earth do not distinguish gender in the first- and the second-person pronoun systems, as the distinction between "the speaker" role and "the addressee" role is more than enough. On the other hand, Japanese has this distinction in both the first person as well as second-person pronouns.

Age is just another variable that needs evaluation in regard to the referentiality. As said before, it is an important aspect of the first-person pronouns, but not so much of the second-person, though still perceived as having more or less influence as a factor. It just so happens that social status and age are very often interconnected (one would not find a child CEO or a 12-year-old parent in normal circumstances). That is why trying to accurately assign an archetype to the addressee, which then would be used as a determiner of the level of honorific speech required, often ends at "Person X is older than me, which means I need to show some respect" (Kacała 2021: 58). Additionally, with age comes the tendency to use more polite forms. The older the speaker is, the less informal the speech (Kakutani 1978: 77). There is also an inclination to omit pronouns in everyday speech, as long as one knows the name/surname of the addressee. This, in turn, makes the use of pronouns typically limited to the first moments when meeting a stranger (Ishiyama 2019: 155).

There are studies that looked at the question of age in second-person pronouns in more detail. One is the study conducted by Akiko Kakutani from McGill University. According to the research in question, second person-

pronouns are used symmetrically when the interlocutors are of the same age, but the usage changes when they are of different ages (Kakutani 1978: 77). Moreover, second-person pronouns are not used toward people of higher status, which in turn means that they are not generally used toward people of older age. According to Kakutani's research, "there were no second person pronouns which could be used to older addressees regardless of relationships" (ibid.).

The pronoun *anata*, even though sometimes regarded as formal, is hardly ever used towards older addressees. As the use of pronouns may sound disrespectful and unnatural in a normal conversation, most speakers tend to use the last name with the suffix *-san* when addressing older people. Other choices also include kinship terms or titles (ibid., 77–78).

Anata was by far the most popular pronoun used by young female speakers, and in the case of young males, *kimi* was the most common form of address, according to Kakutani's research (ibid., 78). Even so, what is interesting is that Fujii's data – compiled a year before Kakutani's – clearly shows that *omae* was the most used second-person pronoun among male speakers (Fujii 1977: 50), and this tendency appears to hold even today (Sturtz Sreetharan 2009: 264–265). The problem in this contradiction lies with the selection of subjects. Kakutani selected twenty-four male participants, ranging from the age of sixteen to seventy-four years old, with an average of forty-seven years old (1978: 22), while Fujii selected a sixteen- and a seventeen-year-old group of thirty-five male students (1977: 46). Judging by this discrepancy in the ages of research participants, it can be argued that *omae* is much more common in the case of younger males. On the other hand, *kimi* is used more often alongside the rise of consciousness regarding the importance of distinguishing the people by their status. This would mean, that it is more common among adult males. This rise of consciousness can be backed up by the fact that in the latter half of the 20th century (Kakutani 1978: 78) as well as nowadays, people across the gender spectrum tend to avoid using second-person pronouns (Sturtz Sreetharan 2009: 264–265). Nonetheless, regardless of gender or age, even though there are exceptions, such as the use of *anata* described before, the usage of second-person pronouns is symmetrical, albeit much more common among younger people who are not concerned about the boundaries of formality. Older people tend to address others by proper names with a given honorific, even when they themselves are addressed by a pronoun.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this paper was to take a critical look at the means of reference in the contemporary Japanese language and conduct a more contemporary description of it with regard to the second-person forms. What is especially noticeable is that the perception of formality in second-person reference forms is much more complex than it may seem initially. There are a lot of studies conducted on the metapragmatic aspects of Japanese second-person forms. On the other hand, there is a lack of monographic works written in or even translated into English which would encapsulate the influence of metapragmatic variables on the means of address. Such research could help create a more in-depth picture of the second-person referentiality in Japanese. Another interesting aspect in this field of study is the overall lack of studies regarding the second-person perspective described in the first chapter. Even though that perspective system may look diminished when compared to the one present in the third-person, it is still, in fact, present.

However, there are more significant problems that are already present. When it comes to describing the formal-informal paradigm of second-person pronouns, it is every so often evaluated rather poorly. It becomes a lot clearer when the formality variable in the second-person pronoun system is presented with the distancing function in mind (the formality spectrum of second-person forms, as much as it is important when pertaining to the power dynamics of social structures, ultimately creates the impression that it is contained by the deictic emotional distance between the speaker and the addressee). As such, it can be assumed that one could explain the usage of the second-person pronoun classification much more clearly with the familiar-distant paradigm, rather than by using the formal-informal paradigm. The familiar-distant function also creates a presumption that there is a formality spectrum encapsulating the social power dynamics (one would not use a familiar form as a means of expressing respect to someone of a higher social status).

The system of second-person referentiality in the Japanese language, although at first glance more straightforward than first-person referentiality, has its own peculiarities that may be confusing, especially with regard to the peculiarities of speech such as honorific language. It does not help that the materials one usually uses to learn Japanese may contain very old linguistic definitions in terms of formality, even though the real-life usage of a given form may differ, as is the case with *anata*.

This study shows the most common means of address. It is not supposed to show a full, but still, an accurate image of the referentiality system, backed

up by studies done by researchers with a longstanding experience in this field, and it should also shed some light on the qualities of second-person reference forms, which could generally be omitted in a simple Japanese textbook. In summary, it ought to be considered as a starting point in the author's research on the second-person referentiality of the Japanese language.

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MISCELLANEA

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Japanese Theatre: Creative Learning

Introduction

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How can we experience Japanese theatre when we live far away from Japan? Do we have to learn about Japanese performance and theatre only from images and videos? Theatre is a living format, with people sharing emotions. It is the time when we synchronise our heartbeats (UCL 2017). It is possible to capture theatre on video or a picture, but it would never be a *live* performance. It would be wonderful to experience Japanese theatre from the practitioners, but this is rarely possible in Poland. Hence, what can we do as teachers to actively engage our students in experiencing the rich formats of diverse Japanese theatre and art? Of course, we could ask students to make presentations and write essays, but to experience performance arts, we need extensive engagement. This article is about creative teaching and learning in the context of the Japanese Theatre class in higher education. The results of creative engagement are presented by selected students as project reports.

Japanese Theatre course was an elective class for 1st year BA Arts Management students in the Institute of English and American Studies at the University of Gdańsk in Poland. Those students are young artists with unique talents in the areas of performance, writing, painting, and music composition, to name a few. During their BA studies, they also learn how to plan, secure funding, organise and produce artistic work. The Japanese Theatre course was an introduction to noh, kabuki, *gagaku*, *Nihon buyō*, *Ryūkyū buyō*, bunraku, *kumiodori*, butoh, *matsuri* performances, *kagura*, etc. For the assignment, the students had to get inspiration from the multiple theatre forms presented in class and use it in their own creative practice.

They employed their own talents when they engaged with Japanese Theatre. Giving the students creative freedom resulted in beautiful video productions, artistic work, and interesting poetry.

The highest quality work was selected to be presented at the 12th International Between.Pomiędzy Festival of Theatre and Literature in May 2021. The festival is still available online (Between.Pomiędzy Festival 2021). Due to the restrictions imposed by the government during the pandemic of COVID-19, in 2020 and 2021, the festival happened online. In the previous editions, the festival hosted various theatre institutions and artists across Poland, such as Theatre BOTO, Theatre ZAR, Song of the Goat Theatre, CTP Gardzienice, Wierszalin Theatre, Barakah Theatre, The Grotowski Institute, Wybrzeże Theatre, Sopot Dance Theatre, DzikiStyl Company, and Miniatura Theatre. Every year, there were invited international guests and distinguished scholars, such as Professor Derek Attridge from the University of York, Professor Dan Rebellato from the Royal Holloway, University of London or Professor Paul Allain from the University of Kent. Many prominent poets, writers, and artists also attended the festival, such as David Constantine, Helen Constantine, Michael Edwards, Jacek Gutorow, Jerzy Jarniewicz, Antoni Libera, Dorothy McMillan, Jakobe Mansztajn, Stanisław Modrzewski, Michael Parker and Piotr Sommer. The festival was always a place where students could meet professionals in the field of theatre and literature. In every edition of the festival there was space for students. They organised conferences and happenings and created artwork. In 2021, the main inspiration for their work was Japanese Theatre. Their artwork was displayed on the festival website, and it was presented individually during an event organised by the Student Association "Projector".

The key characteristic of creative learning is to give students an opportunity to describe their experiences on their own terms. Hence, in this article, the students present their own projects from their perspectives. The reader can notice that the narration style differs from person to person. This quality gives a feeling of lively conversation rather than a monotonous report of the artwork. The reader can find diverse voices of the students-artists who found inspiration in Japanese culture.

The first part of the compilation describes a short film by Nikola Kociubska. In this film, she used a well-known folktale about love and jealousy and translated the narrative into her own surroundings. Hence, she used opera music instead of text to display the emotional state of the main character. We could also see a cemetery with crosses situated in the woods near a lake – a landscape that could suggest Poland. She used this story to present her idea of love across the liminality of life as well as gender.

Another artistic work presented in this collection is a poem inspired by theatre, composed by Mateusz Włostowski. The poem was composed with the inspiration of haiku and folktales – a ghost story adapted to the environment of Okinawa. The poem tells a story with the use of humour.

Next, the compilation features the description of Japanese dance by Justyna Betańska. The classical forms of dance take years to practice. The student, with appreciation of the craft, tried to follow the steps and compose a dance in this aesthetic. Her description of the creative process can encourage other students to try out the classical forms of movement.

Following Betańska is the make-up artwork by Klaudia Schmidt. She realised that the art of kabuki make-up is unique and requires a highly skilled professional to achieve the desirable effect. Nonetheless, as an artist, she decided to present her attempt to make *kumadori*. Usually, kabuki actors apply their make-up themselves. They learn the craft from their fathers, who were also kabuki actors. What is astonishing, during the transition from one character to another, they can change their make-up in a couple of seconds.

The last work discussed in this collection is a case study of dedication, patience and perseverance. Zuzanna Rajewicz made and embroidered a kimono, entirely by hand, as she did not have a sewing machine. This fact did not stop her from realising her dream of a beautiful kimono with lively colours that recalled Okinawan flowers. Hand-made and embroidered kimonos are also an element of *kagura* theatre. This type of theatre is performed in Japan by dedicated amateur performers and their costumes are often made at home.

Japanese theatre in Poland is mostly known in its classical forms, such as noh or kabuki. Both forms of theatre have been staged in Poland in recent years. In 2019, the Polish audience could take part in the translated noh plays

Hagoromo (*Szata z piór)*, *Nomori* (*Lustro Strażnika Pól*) and *Neongyoku* (*Śpiew na leżąco*) in the National Theatre in Warsaw (Niziołek 2019). Kabuki performance called *Yoshitsune senbonzakura – Torii mae* (*Yoshitsune, tysiąc wiśni – przed bramą świątyni*) was also performed in Poland in 2019. Since then, live performances have been difficult to organise due to the pandemic. Therefore, in the arts sector, online work was flourishing. Certain forms of contemporary Japanese theatre can also be noticed on Polish stages. One of them is butoh, a form of contemporary artistic dance theatre that has roots in Tokyo and originated in the second part of the twentieth century. Butoh is a result of blending international artistic inspiration with Japanese culture. Later, this art form developed internationally. Recently in Poland, we could even experience butoh productions that happened online. Those productions happened across the globe simultaneously. The performance *Dom-bieg-dom* (2020) by Amareya Theatre happened in three spaces at the same time – in Poland, Japan and online. They were transmitted live from two places across the globe through the digital system that provided visual effects and layers. The dance, layered with artistic work, was innovatory and tested the limits of shared space in the digital environment. There is a strong tradition of experimental theatre both in Poland and in Japan. Perhaps, to experience Japanese theatre, we need to experiment or play with our understanding of the forms. Rather than only watch, read or observe, we could think through, live and experience the wonderful diversity of theatre traditions. In this collection, the students were inspired by the beauty of Japanese theatre, and in turn, their accounts can encourage others to create artistic work.

Nikola Kociubska

Japanese Theatre as a Source of Inspiration

This was my first time making an amateur film. It was a very interesting experience as the subject was broad, so there were many possibilities. Japanese theatre is filled with different conventions and unusual stories. Once you delve deeper into the subject, you discover more and more interesting things that are very inspiring. The phrase "Japanese theatre" does not consist of just one theatre but a whole history spanning hundreds of years. While working on my film, my main inspiration was mythology and noh theatre. With each piece of information I gained, the vision for my work brightened in my mind. I wanted to combine the art of Japan with the Europeanness that surrounds me every day. Before going into the details, let me give you a general description of the plot of the film.

Kiyohime
This story is about two women, Anne and Mary, who were deeply in love. One day, Anne wanted to enjoy the beauty of nature and went to the lake. It turned out to be the woman's last day, as the lake decided her time was up and swept her to the bottom. A few hours later, locals found her body and held her funeral on the same day at the nearby cemetery. The story in my video begins one year after that incident. The truth is that Anne has never left the Earth; her spirit is still trapped in this world. Hence, she has a chance to meet the love of her life again. Thanks to the strength of love, she comes back to life. But there is one thing she does not know about – she still looks like a dead person. The only thing that she can think about is Mary, and she needs to find her as fast as possible. So she goes to their secret place, hoping that her love will be there. She finds Mary sitting in the glade where they had their first kiss. Anne runs towards her, but just before she hugs Mary, in the girl's eyes, she sees fear mixed with disgust. Anne falls into madness, accusing Mary of breaking their promise of eternal love. Mary is frightened by the sight of a dead-looking woman. She cannot even get a word out. The woman's behaviour drives Anne crazy, and she bursts with jealousy. The enormous amount of negative emotion transforms Anne into Kiyohime – a woman who was rejected in the past by the love of her life; she transformed into a snake because of rage and killed her lover. Anne does the same thing – she takes the form of a reptile and kills the woman she loves so she can be with her forever.

Inspiration

The first topic I delved into was mythology, more specifically the *List of Legendary Creatures from Japan* (Henry n.d). With each new character, it became more and more difficult for me to decide how I wanted my story to unfold. The possibilities were many, from the spirit of the banana tree, through a fire-breathing birdlike monster to dragons and gods. However, when I came across *Kiyohime*, I knew it was her story that appealed to me the most. "In this story, she fell in love with a Buddhist monk named Anchin, but after her interest in the monk was rejected, she chased after him and transformed into a serpent in a rage, before killing him in a bell where he had hidden in the *Dōjō-ji* temple" (Wikipedia 2021). I found Kiyohime's story touching, which is why I wanted to make my film about her. It was not a complete representation of the story of an unhappy woman. However, in the film, we could find references to her – for example, the motive of unfair love or transformation into a snake demon caused by rage and madness that filled the woman's body.

Looking for inspiration among Japanese theatres, I came across the types such as kabuki, *kumiodori*, and bunraku, but it was noh that was most memorable and seemed to inspire me the most. "Noh is fundamentally a symbolic theatre with primary importance attached to ritual and suggestion in a rarefied aesthetic atmosphere" (Web Japan n.d.). As I explored the subject of this theatre, its tradition and religiosity and the form in which it exists, I wondered if I could use this knowledge in my work. Noh is known for its masks, which are a significant part of the performance. They indicate the emotions that the characters feel, their roles (they show whether a given actor plays a role of a woman, a demon or an elderly man), "and even among masks used for the same role there are different levels of dignity (*kurai*) which affect how the role and play as a whole are to be performed" (ibid.). However, buying a mask is expensive, and making one yourself requires almost impossible skills and is time-consuming. That is why I decided to combine my idea of a mask with its modernised make-up version. The make-up of the actress did not look like the above-mentioned masks, but it still had a similar function – it indicated the transformation of the character into a snake demon. Before the transformation, the actress also had make-up, suggesting that her character should be interpreted as dead. It is worth mentioning that with the appearance of snake scales on the actress' body, her character also changed. She became impulsive and filled with anger towards her beloved. She went so far as to commit an act of murder. For my artwork, the masks appearing in noh theatre were an enormous inspiration.

In noh tradition, the mask is usually worn by the main actor called *shite*. In *Kiyohime*, also only the main character wore a mask/make-up.

Another thing that inspired me was the way in which the plays are set up. "Both the program and each individual play are based on the dramatic pattern *jo-ha-kyu* ('introduction-exposition-rapid finale')" (ibid.). The use of this kind of plot development keeps the viewer in suspense, not knowing what to expect from the play. The play is not boring because of the developing plot. In my film, the plot unfolds slowly – the dead woman rises from her grave, walks through the forest, and heads towards the glade where she last saw her beloved. This is the *jo* moment of the story. The *ha* is the moment when the women meet and one of them is horrified by the sight of the other. The *kyū* is the moment of the murder and the scene when the women are in the cemetery. Mary's opening of her eyes could also be considered a rapid ending. Such a turn of events leaves the viewer curious about further developments.

While reading about the noh repertoire, I found many types of plays. For example, we could watch plays about gods (*waki* noh), in which *shite* is a human and then he turns into a god. Another one is about warriors (*shura-mono*), and there are also plays which are called "miscellaneous noh" (*zatsu nō*), which include a variety of themes. But the repertoire includes two more types of plays. The first is wig plays (*kazura-mono*), which tell the story of a beautiful woman who is obsessed with love. The second type of performance is demon plays (*kichiku-mono*). "In these plays, which tend to be the fastest moving of all the groups, the shite often appears in human form in the first half and then reveals himself as a demon in the second half" (ibid.). In my work, I tried to combine these two types because they seemed most interesting to me. At the same time, they seemed to work together, and their combination allowed me to create a story. A beautiful woman who was obsessively in love with another woman is a reference to *kazura-mono* plays. And the reference to *kichiku-mono* is the transformation of the female lead actress into Kiyohime, a demon who killed her beloved because of unhappy love.

Figures 1 – 2 *Kiyohime* by Nikola Kociubska

Passion for Classical Music

There are many rich and well-prepared music festivals in Japan, and classical music seems to be the favourite. "In 1977, the PTNA organised a piano competition, which grew into the largest event of its kind in the world. More than 20,000 pianists of all ages take part in it every year" (Weiner 2009: 237). During the competition, music by Chopin, Beethoven or Bach was played. Mozart's works are also popular there, and his music was my choice for the video. It is emotional and gripping. The piece I chose is *Lacrimosa*. For a long time, I was looking for a song that would suit the project. But when I heard the first tones of Mozart's work, I knew it was the perfect choice. It is suitable for the whole story. The sounds correspond with emotions that Kiyohime is experiencing. Choosing a piece like this only solidified my opinion that combining elements of Japanese culture with European ideas can create something interesting and unique.

Final Thoughts

Japanese theatre is a rich source of ideas and interesting stories. We could take inspiration from it as its history stretches back hundreds of years. Combining the tradition of noh theatre with modernity creates a possibility for something new. The number of mythological characters alone helps create hundreds of stories on the subject. The theatre itself is divided into several types, and each is different. There is something for everyone. Personally, I was most influenced by the noh theatre and the *Kiyohime* story. Those references gave me an idea, which eventually, after I connected these two aspects, helped me create a consistent entity. The Japanese theatre classes helped broaden my horizons and further developed my creativity.

Mateusz Włostowski

Employment of Traditions from Japanese Theatre to Contemporary Artistic Work

In this paper, I focus on the Japanese arts and how they function as a source of inspiration. First, I will cite my haiku-inspired poem *Noppera-bō and Kannushi* 「のっぺらぼうと神主」 – presented at the 2021 edition of Between.Pomiędzy Festival in Poland. Then, I will describe the artforms that served as inspiration for this poem and explain the rules that govern them. At the end of the paper, I will show where those inspirations can be found in the text, aiming to illustrate how Japanese arts could function as an inspiration for creative work.

The poem reads as follows:

Noppera-bō and Kannushi (のっぺらぼうと神主)

一

Trapped in a white wall.
Nobody can hear my breath.
My soul is alive

my body is dead,
rotten, decomposed and bland;
my spirit like thou.

I don't feel no more,
anything but pain and rage;
hermit of the earth

seeking for a thing
closed behind wardrobes white doors,
where I cannot reach.

The letter from Him –
my old lover, my darling
my only, my gone.

The last words from Him
I heard when I was still young,
but I heard them all –

with all of my heart.
"Bye Darling, please, wait for me!"
So now I'm still here,

waiting for my dear,
waiting in white house's walls,
for him to come back.

Oh my! Can you hear?
A beautiful forest song
by a yellow bird –

Ryukyu Flycatcher –
the first one to find me here!
Hey! Friendly bird! Help!

Look here! I'm a shade!
I'm in this old house's walls!
I'm the undead soul!

Please little birdy!
End my journey, on this earth,
destroy the letter

or find somebody
who will! Go to the temple,
where the old monk lives

he knows what to do
he will cleanse this house from me
and me from this house.

Thanks for your help bird!
I shan't forget what you did,

now go, go bring help!

二

What a story man!
Other birds won't believe me,
I'm a hero now!

Gotta clap my wings
through green forest, like a wind
of a buried song.

I'm like a great crane
bringer of luck and fortune
to old lady's soul

More or less the same
as a Benzaiten (弁才天) to her!
What a story man!

三

Melting of colours
by the almighty goddess
Amaterasu (天照大御神)

vivid colours gone
separated changed to one
no autonomy

pond of colours left
no one can tell which is which
chaotic concord

Fūjin (風神) having fun
trying to stop little bird
from reaching temple

wind yelling at trees

but Ryukyu will not forfeit
walloping his wings

he shall reach the fane
despite gods playing with him
he shall free the soul

AND THE SOUL SHALL BE FREE

四

the soul shall be free
as the bird reaches temple
and the monk awaits

the colour of grey
lemony and inky robes
in a dark jinja (神社)

his old face wrinkled
there is nobody but him
his weak eyes look dead

kannushi (神主) waiting
calmness surrounds the old sage
Fūjin won't go there

Elder looks around
he hears waves of Ryukyu wings
they clap tiredly

bird storms through window
rapidly sings lady's song
to undisturbed monk

priest just nods his head
stands up, wears his jōe (浄衣) and leaves
with bird on his arm

off to the old house

五

where the spirit awaits them
as they return quick

the monk knows his job
but he seems to know the place
as well, as the ghost

wardrobe doors open
his hand reaches to the back
tears fall to the ground

old man smiles gloomy
recognising the letter
that he had once send

he takes off the hat
to say goodbye one last time
as the letter burns

In my opinion, it is only fair to begin by showcasing the most notable artistic form in the poem – haiku, a poem with a 5-7-5 syllable stanza. When it comes to modern poetry, it is not too much of an exaggeration to say that among the Japanese art forms, haiku is the best-known in the West. The word haiku itself has already entered very firmly into the roots of general knowledge. It is, in most cases, familiar and correctly associated with poetry, even if not everyone knows the exact rules of haiku.

The first translations of Japanese haiku into European languages were created between 1898 and 1906. Because of that, in Europe, but also the Americas, the time of the greatest development of this form of writing dates to the first three decades of the 20th century. Then came the First World War, which made the genre even more popular. This could not be said about the Second World War, which suppressed it. Then, in the 1950s, the avant-garde made it recognisable again, and it remains so to this day (Johnson cited by Śniecikowska 2016).

Meanwhile, in Poland, we can see the persistence of this genre, for instance, in the context of the Polish Haiku Association, which was founded in 2015. The form has been widely popularised by the poets who were using this style of writing (such as a Nobel Prize winner, Czesław Miłosz, most notably in his book called *Haiku*, published in 1991) but also by magazines such as *Literatura na Świecie* or *Poezja*, although "A thorough understanding of the eastern sources of haiku (...) came just as late – in the 1970s and 1980s" (Michałowski 1995: 41).

In contrast, it seems that not many people know the story behind the origin and evolution of haiku. Perhaps this is an oversimplification of a long and complicated story, but haiku originated from something called a humorous tied song. Its first short forms gained popularity from the 9th to 12th century, and it was basically a form of rhyming game and entertainment. The first participant created a stanza with a 5-7-5 syllable pattern, and the second participant created another stanza with a 7-7 syllable pattern. Usually, the top stanza was humorous, and the bottom stanza contained a retort. With time, the number of participants increased – sometimes even a dozen poets took part in the game, which contributed to the later development of the chain-linked song (Śniecikowska 2016).

Another form of artistic expression that originated in Japan and has served as an inspiration for various artists is the Japanese variety of theatrical forms. The forms that have influenced the creation of my poem are discussed below. One of these forms is noh theatre. The word noh is derived from the character 能, directly translated as 'skill', and is associated with a traditional form of Japanese theatre that uses drama, music, dance, and masks. Acting in this theatre is very different from the European understanding of acting. In the noh performance style, the actors are divided into groups of different roles that they play for the rest of their lives, such as *shite*, *tsure*, or *waki*. The first, *shite*, is the lead actor who usually plays the roles of characters outside of the real world, such as ghosts and other supernatural beings. The next, *tsure*, literally translated as 'to accompany' (The Noh 2008), is the supporting actor, and the last, *waki*, is the opposite of *shite*. *Waki* plays predominantly living characters, such as a traveller or a priest (Japan Arts Council).

"Noh performers are simply storytellers who use their visual appearances and their movements to suggest the essence of their tale rather than to enact it" (Britannica, the Editors of Encyclopaedia 2017). It is also worth noting that in noh theatre, there are very few rehearsals in comparison to Western theatre, and no directorial position exists. This is because there are pre-

assigned roles, and every actor has been playing a similar range of characters for many years. The stories in the performances are well-known, and each actor knows in advance what to expect from each performance.

Another important theatre style in the context of my poem would be *kumiodori* (Okinawan *kumiwudui*, 組踊), a theatre style added to the list of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2010 (UNESCO 2010). It is a unique style from the Okinawa Prefecture. It combines music, dance and poetry. It is a lyrical kind of theatre, with a vivid pallet of colours seen both in costumes and set designs. The language used in this theatre style also differs, instead of Japanese, the classical Ryukyuan language is used in performances. The folklore of the Ryukyu Islands is important in the context of *kumiodori* since this classical style of theatre exhibits notions of Okinawan history and folklore (Harvey 2010). The most recognised musical instrument used in Kumiodori performances is called sanshin – a three-string chordophone often likened to a banjo, which later transformed into the Japanese shamisen and was used in different theatre forms in Japan, such as kabuki or bunraku.

When it comes to the plot, "*Kumiodori* dramas are divided into two main categories: the first is historical dramas of *jidai mono*, most of which (...) focus on the theme of revenge, which is why they are also called revenge dramas of *katakiuchi mono*; the second is moral dramas of *sewa mono*, which (...) deal with emotions such as love or filial devotion" (Gredżuk and Dobkowska 2021). The stylistics of those performances borrow heavily from noh and kabuki, which were the two dominant theatres in mainland Japan back in the 18th century, when *kumiodori* was established by Tamagusuku Chōkun (Thornbury 1999).

The next performing art is deeply rooted in the Shinto religion and overall ritualistic traditions of Japan. *Kagura* (神楽, which translates to 'god entertainment') is a theatre art with amazing masks and costumes performed by common people for common people. To be more precise, this definition applies to *Sato-kagura* – a type of village *kagura* for the lack of better terminology. The other type is *mikagura*, which is performed twice a year in the Imperial Palace in order to calm the spirits of the gods (The Imperial Household Agency); however, in this paper, this type will not be discussed. *Sato-kagura* is not a precise term, but a broad one that refers to many different types of *kagura* – all of which are held outside the Imperial Palace. An abundant amount of distinctive folk dances exists, and they vary depending on the place. For instance, *Izumo-ryū kagura* takes place in Izumo shrines (Gilhooly 2017) and "a major distinguishing feature of *Iwami-*

kagura is its fast tempo, called *hacchoshi*, the elaborate dress, which can weigh in excess of 30 kg" (ibid.). When it comes to the stories in *kagura*, they refer to an array of myths, folklore stories and ancient deities. One of the vital deities affiliated with *kagura* is the goddess Amaterasu. The first dances were performed to lure her out of a mythical cave in which she was hidden (Brandon 2014). One of the most popular types of *kagura* is called *Iwami-kagura* and the following quotation outlines the performance style.

> Dance in *Iwami kagura* can be divided into two sections. The first are ritual unmasked dances, where men hold *torimono* – hand held objects which include branches of the *sakaki* tree, fans and *gohei* wands (...) these *torimono* serve as artifacts used to draw *kami* to the shrine. (...). The second major category of dances is expressed in the masked dances of the ensuing theatrical pieces. Here *kami* or heroes and demons brandish swords, bows and arrows and confront each other in fight scenes which eventually lead to the demise of the demon (Lancashire 2004: 49).

Having showcased the crucial styles, let us advance to the next section of the paper. I will demonstrate how the presented art forms influenced the creation of my poem, starting with the noh theatre.

In the context of the presented variation on haiku, it is essential to notice the *jo-ha-kyū* principle of the noh theatre. "The nō dramas forming the programme of a full performance have always been arranged in order according to the rhythmic principle of jo-ha-kyū ('introduction-exposition-rapid finale')" (Żeromska 2014: 187, translated by the author). Although the poem does not follow this principle exactly[1] – the rhythm of the poem resembles the *jo-ha-kyū* principle. The beginning is slow, then the action intensifies in the middle and in the last section, the action is the most fast-pacing. Also, the story is inspired by the noh dramas, even though it was not taken verbatim. The woman in the poem is a supernatural being. In a performance, the role of this character would be played by a *shite* actor. The monk, on the other hand, is a typical *waki* personification. Some of the stanzas can be read as if spoken by a narrator. This type of narration recalls *jiutaikata* – the chorus in noh performances, which assists the *shite* in the narration of the story (Japan-guide). As shown above, the influence of noh

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[1] In the actual noh dramas the first part is about gods and warriors, the middle one is about women and the insane, and the last one is about demons and other supernatural beings (Żeromska 2014: 187).

theatre is quite important to my work, both structurally and in terms of the plot.

On the other hand, when we look at *kumiodori* theatre – there is also a minor and subtle degree of inspiration. Most notably – colours. In the middle part, the Ryukyu Flycatcher – a bird native to the Ryukyu Islands (BirdLife International 2021), brings our attention to Okinawa and, therefore, *kumiodori*. The bird is flying through the forest in which the hues melt. The colours, which are distinctive to *kumiodori* aesthetic and Okinawa, seem to play an important role as a spatial component, not only as an artistic description but also as a mood-setter. It is safe to assume that since the hero of this part is Ryukyuan, those colours also pertain to this specific region of Japan.

In my poem, the inspiration of *kagura* and its reference to mythology is important. The Shinto correlation is also significant and notably seen in the unusual affinity of Amaterasu with Fujin, the former being the sun goddess while the latter being a terrifying demon. In the poem, however, they both work for the same cause, namely to toy with the Ryukyu Flycatcher and to make it more difficult for him to reach the Shinto shrine, in which the priest awaits. It is left unsaid why it was that way; we may only hypothesise. Nevertheless, this importance of gods and their omnipresence was linked with *kagura* and its link to Shintoism, along with the Kannushi character, who is a Shinto priest.

To sum up, Japan has many distinctive art styles. Some of them were discussed in the paper in order to explain the overall aesthetics of the poem. The art styles, which originated in Japan, at times even hundreds of years ago, are still a rich source of inspiration to contemporary art and artists across the globe.

Justyna Betańska

To Dance as a Cherry Blossom – My Experience with *Nihon Buyō*

Disclaimer: This article is written from a purely subjective point of view. It presents the perspective of an amateur enjoyer of Japanese trends. Hence, it is kept in a slightly informal language and filled with anecdotal pieces of evidence.

Introduction
My first encounter with the Japanese culture was watching Hayao Miyazaki's *Spirited Away* at the age of six. As a young girl, I did not understand many of the ideas behind the film, but it left me in awe of its mythology and beautiful visuals and music. It was also one of the first pieces that introduced me to a culture different from the one I had known. And as it soon turned out – in early the 2000s, the Japanese culture was on the rise in mainstream popularity. Twenty years later, it presents itself as the most visible folklore in pop culture.

Figure 3 *Dance as a Cherry Blossom* by Justyna Betańska

How I Ended up with a Fan

It was interesting to observe Japanese influences flowing into Polish pop culture. It was basically an imported version of foreign influence but even with this exchange of influences, many Japanese works succeed in grabbing the young generation's attention. What needs to be addressed, my generation (born in the 2000s, stuck between the Millennials and Gen Z) is not the first wave of Japanese culture enthusiasts in Poland. But it is the one with the most access to information – while in the 90s people in Poland would consider Japan as the "country of cherry blossom" and mention something about the samurai with not much more left to say, in 2020 we can easily go out with friends for some ramen and chat about our favourite anime. This suddenly growing interest in Japanese culture could be explained by the technological boom and the development of Japanese pop-culture and international export. My generation, to some extent, was growing up with "Japanese fairy tales". What also helped Japanese culture gain a mainstream status so quickly was the snowballing growth/development of fandoms and fan cultures observed in the early 2010s.

I have lived in such an environment and have experienced a Japanophile phase with periods of both bigger and smaller intensity. Hence, it was only natural for me to enlist in the Japanese Theatre course. There, I had to prepare a mid-term artistic project. It could be anything related to the topics and styles presented in lectures. Some students decided to do impressive short movies, some sew kimonos. I decided to create and perform my variation of traditional Japanese dance – *Nihon buyō*.

About *Nihon Buyō*

In short, *Nihon buyō* ('Japanese dance') is a traditional folklore dance. It was born as a form of popular entertainment before the Edo period. It was developed and refined with new skills and movements added over the centuries. There are two main types of *Nihon buyō*: *kabuki buyō* and *mai*.

Kabuki buyō was developed in the Edo area and was performed on stage. *Mai* was developed in the Kyoto-Osaka region and was performed in rooms with tatami mats. Today, however, both *kabuki buyō* and *mai* are performed on stage. *Nihon buyō* is performed both by men and women, with identifying characteristics of more feminine and more masculine gestures used by dancers. It is performed with a full costume, including make-up and elegant kimonos. The movements depict the notions of nature and daily life tasks and struggles.

First Steps

My plan consisted of four steps – learn the choreography, get a kimono and a fan, shoot the video of me dancing and edit the raw cut. I was quite relieved that I memorised the 3-minute sequence and learned it in about 3 days. I do not have much experience in dancing, my rhythmic skills are a bit rusty too (not to mention that the rhythm of music is unique), but when I learned the basic moves and discovered what kind of story is told through them, I could stop clinging on to the rules of the dance and have a little more fun with the interpretation. The point was to make it a creative exercise and not a mimetic adaptation. And even though some moves looked impossible to mimic at first, on the day of the shooting, I felt more confident and prepared than I thought I would.

Figure 4 *Dance as a Cherry Blossom* by Justyna Betańska

Preparing an Appropriate Outfit

One of the biggest obstacles before filming the dance was getting a kimono and a fan. I did not want to seem ignorant and disrespectful, but I also could not buy an original kimono (because of the time and because of the costs as well). As a result, I went with the playful approach – since Japanese Theatre is not my main subject of studies, I may as well take the project a bit easier than I originally intended. I wanted to adequately portray the look – it had

to be convincible and not a caricature or a stereotype. It can be challenging to strike a balance between appropriate and playful. And there was no way of performing in black T-shirt and trousers used in modern dancing – even remotely, it could not create the same dynamics as the flow of the fabric in kimono.

Frankly, the pattern of the kimono (or at least clothes resembling it) can be easily found in Poland. I made a DIY kimono using a grey dressing gown, a long black skirt, matching leggings, a V-shaped blouse, a long red shawl, a pair of black socks, and a cotton belt. I bought a fan from a nearby orient shop. I had to work with what was available. Even though the layers of the costume did not resemble an original kimono in any way – from the outside and for the sake of the video, it made a decent enough impression. I tied my hair in a classic bun and put a bit of lipstick on my lips. I did not even try to recreate the traditional geisha make-up. Firstly, it would feel like a costume or a parody. Secondly, recreating such a piece of work would be an independent project all by itself. But, as I heard from my colleagues, the final look was both recognisable and in good taste.

Behind the Scenes

Shooting the video was, surprisingly, the easiest thing to do. Fortunately, I had both the resources and the space to record the dance. The whole operation took about 2–3 hours to make. I was quite happy that (having my boyfriend as a camera operator) we got to record both static and detailed shots.

After that, yet another challenge arose – editing the recorded choreography into a clean 3-minute video. It was my very first time with the art of montage. Even though the final cut looked quite effortlessly done, it took me at least 5 hours to edit (including the fact that I was learning the editing programme on the go). I specifically planned to edit the video myself because I wanted to treat this experience as an introduction (or a crash course even) for acquiring a new skill. After the fact, I can say that taking this challenge on has paid off – so much so that I could comfortably and confidently edit the upcoming video for the Students Project Panel for the Between.Pomiędzy Festival.

Figure 5 *Dance as a Cherry Blossom* by Justyna Betańska

Dance as Daydreaming

In terms of "plot", the poses depict images – like seeing the falling cherry blossoms, getting ready by the brook, or showing the sundown. Each pose stops in a mini-second freezeframe. The lyrics for the *Gion Kouta* to which I performed do not present any dramatic overtones – it is a piece praising the beauty of nature and the town – Gion. A meditation upon the pleasures of reality. And this is what I understood better while preparing the project – the art of meditative structures. To simplify, Western cultures seem to be driven by conflicts, drama and contrasting opposites. The interest in crisis is one of the most significant factors in history, ranging from clashes between armies, through the lovers' quarrel, to the internal moral conflict of one's self. Another big factor is also humanity in relation to technology, etc. What was refreshing when discovering the philosophy behind *Nihon buyō* was the peace and harmony behind the old tradition. The moves mimic the processes taking place in nature. They show how humanity can learn from nature.

Nowadays, the culture has become more multifunctional, more profit-based and pre-designed – just like a machine and less free-falling and instinctive like the petals of cherry blossom. Because the spaces around people are superficial, the people start to become superficial – they learn from their environment just as they did when surrounded by nature. The connection with nature is a need to be filled and one that cannot be ignored. And, as we

see with the current agenda of climate change and following trends in lifestyle (zero-waste, veganism), the contemporary discourse has ignored this necessity long enough for it to burst. One of the outcomes could be the growing interest in diverse philosophies which create an alternative for a consumer mentality and help as a guide to retain the focus of the main discourse towards nature. What can be observed right now is the swerve that could cause a breaking point in the future. Or, at least, a trend that lets the viewer admire the peace and nowness of the moment.

Closing Thoughts
The experience of the *Nihon buyō* dance was something I did not think I was going to need at first. As it turned out, it was not only a great creative exercise but it also influenced my personal aesthetics and own spirituality. I am a huge fan of incorporating projects in student work instead of regular tests – preparing this work helped me improve my managing skills, mainly in time organisation, finding resources and learning new skills. I do not doubt that, in the future, even more themes of Japanese Theatre will creatively affect my later projects. I have to add that I enjoyed the course outline as a whole a lot and look forward to learning more about Japanese arts and culture.

Klaudia Schmidt

Kumadori Makeup in Kabuki Theatre

Kabuki theatre is one of the most recognisable Japanese theatre forms across the world. It is a traditional Japanese drama that includes singing and dancing, but also miming and spectacular costumes. Its name comes from the unconventional nature of the performances; in the Japanese language, it literally means 'song, dance and skill'. Kabuki has been named by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. It is joined by *nōgaku* theatre, its more austere cousin, as well as bunraku, a form of puppet theatre.

Kabuki supposedly began when a woman, Okuni, who was a dancer, assembled a group of female performers that were good at singing and dancing. She performed the first *kabuki odori*. Her troupe was the first real entertainment that was sophisticated and dramatic but essentially made for the common people. Unfortunately, those performances were deemed too provocative at some point, and the actresses were associated with prostitution, so around the year 1629, women were banned from performing, making way for men to take over the stage. At that moment, instead of women, there were young male actors often performing as the opposite sex, which also led to controversies. Finally, kabuki became an all-male theatre form, but instead of young boys, older men were playing both male and female roles, and that was the way that stuck to this day. Because of those changes, the performances became more subtle and sophisticated. They also started to get a bit more political than before:

> Eventually, by the early 18th century, Kabuki had become an established art form that was capable of the serious, dramatic presentation of genuinely moving situations. As merchants and other commoners in Japan began to rise on the social and economic scale, Kabuki, as the people's theatre, provided a vivid commentary on contemporary society. Actual historical events were transferred to the stage; Chūshingura (1748), for example, was an essentially faithful dramatization of the famous incident of 1701–03 in which a band of 47 rōnin (masterless samurai), after having waited patiently for almost two years, wreaked their revenge upon the man who had forced the suicide of their lord (Britannica, the Editors of Encyclopaedia n.d.).

The programme of kabuki performances is split into two parts: *kabuki kyōgen* (歌舞伎狂言) and *kabuki buyō* (歌舞伎舞踊). *Kabuki kyōgen* consists of stories that happened in the past (for example, a death of a general) or a fictional story set in a certain era. *Kabuki buyō* is mainly dance. In kabuki theatre, the most important aspect of performance is to display the actor's immeasurable talent and skill, whether it comes to vocal or visual abilities. It is a tradition carried from generation to generation; older, more experienced actors tutor younger ones to keep the traditional ways in important plays.

Important to mention while referring to kabuki is the relationship that forms between the performers and the audience. A lot of stress and importance is put on interacting with the audience. Actors pose (*mie*) during plays, which is a sign to the audience to respond by clapping their hands or by praising them. As well as clapping or praising, the audience can also shout out the names of their favourite actors in the performance, which is something unthinkable for people outside Japanese culture when we compare the custom to the modern theatre in Poland. While in Polish theatre it would be rude and inappropriate, in kabuki theatre it is absolutely allowed and even recommended and taken as a compliment by the performers.

Kabuki can be categorised as *presentational theatre* because of its relationship with the audience and ways of expression. It means that when the actor is on stage, the audience does not see him as an individual person with his own personality, but rather simply as an actor doing his job: acting. Among other fun facts about kabuki actors, there is one interesting thing: there is an unspoken rule that a person dressed in black is invisible on the stage. These people are called *kuroko* (黒子), and they move or hand props to the actors; the actors and the audience are not supposed to see them. This technique is also often used in modern forms of theatre, and it even might have been inspired by kabuki actors.

Kabuki is such an important part of Japanese culture and something so close to the hearts of the performers that the actors take on their stage names as their own:

> The stage names are called *Myōseki* (名跡). The act of inheriting a name is called *Shūmei* (襲名). As the actors gain experience, they inherit more famous names. Most of the time, the blood child of the actor would inherit the name, but sometimes names are inherited by other people, regarding their skill and technique. When actors inherit

famous names, they announce this on stage. Besides *Myōseki*, actors also have a *Yagō* (屋号), which is the name of the family (Tsunagu Japan 2015).

Kumadori Makeup

Kumadori makeup is characteristic of kabuki theatre and is an inherent part of kabuki performances. *Kumadori*, similarly to kabuki, is an art form passed from generation to generation and shaped along the way. It supposedly started when the first generation of performers put on makeup that consisted of lipstick and charcoal for the role of a hero called Kempira Sakata. It was thought that they took inspiration from the dolls of *ningyō jōruri* to stress the visibility of blood vessels and muscles on the face.

An important part of *kumadori* makeup is the colours of *kuma*, which are the coloured lines drawn on the face. Each colour and shade represents something completely different, and they allow the audience to distinguish the characters and their personalities (that is how they know who is the "bad guy" or the hero). For example, red and crimson red give entirely different feature to the character that wears them:

> The "ippon-guma" (one-line red shadow of kabuki makeup) was strong but calmer than thick crimson "sujikuma" (striking style of red facial make-up), and they were both used for a hero who was young and filled with strong morals and used separately depending on the scene in one play. Umeomaru of "Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami" (Sugawara's secrets of calligraphy) and the main character of Shibaraku were both famous examples (Japanese Wiki Corpus n.d.).

Other important colours and their meanings include:
– brown for ancient and cruel roles,
– black and navy for the villains,
– green and yellow for stressing the abnormality of the characters.

Since every actor applies the makeup himself, no two makeups are alike. They are very similar, but with every person painting their own face, there is a slightly different technique of application, making *kumadori* universal but unique at the same time. For me, that is what makes this art so unique and distinctive from other forms of stage makeup.

Example of *Kumadori*: My Work for the Between.Pomiędzy Festival

I had the pleasure to present an aspect of the Japanese Theatre to a larger audience during a panel exhibiting student work at the Between.Pomiędzy

Festival that took place between the 10th and 16th of May 2021. I chose to focus on what fascinates me the most in the kabuki theatre, which is *kumadori* makeup. During my research for the project, I was simply astonished by the craftsmanship and experience that professional kabuki actors present when painting their faces before a scene. While it takes them a couple of seconds to put on a specific type of makeup in most cases, for me, it took a lot of reading, learning and practising, and I was still a long way from painting everything as perfectly as they do.

While I could have provided a lot more fantastic examples of *kumadori* makeup from the amazing kabuki theatre, I had to choose just a few of them from my video for the festival (Schmidt 2021). I would love to present more of them and get deeper into the roots of each and every makeup, but unfortunately, I still lack the skills necessary to make those face paintings live up to their traditional glory. That is why, I focused only on six of them: *Suji Guma, Akattsura, Nihon Guma, Ipponguma*, *Mukimi Guma*, and *Saruguma*. Here, I am going to explain four of them, which I find the most interesting and meaningful among the examples I have provided in my video for the festival.

1. *Suji Guma*

Figure 6 *Suji Guma* by Klaudia Schmidt

Suji Guma makeup has red *beniguma* (lines) and is used for roles of heroes with superhuman strength. Its name comes from the fact that several red

kuma are drawn, sweeping upwards over the lines of the face. A triangle in red is added on the chin, and black ink is drawn on the corners of the mouth.

2. *Akattsura*

Figure 7 *Akattsura* by Klaudia Schmidt

These *kuma* are used for roles of thoughtless thugs who are retainers or subordinates of great villains. *Akattsura* is also known as "red face" because the base colour of this makeup is red rather than white. *Mukimi Guma* are drawn on in red, as well as are *kuma* beneath the chin. Although this look seems very simple, I spent a lot of time on it, trying to match the symmetry of the lines and keep everything where it is supposed to be.
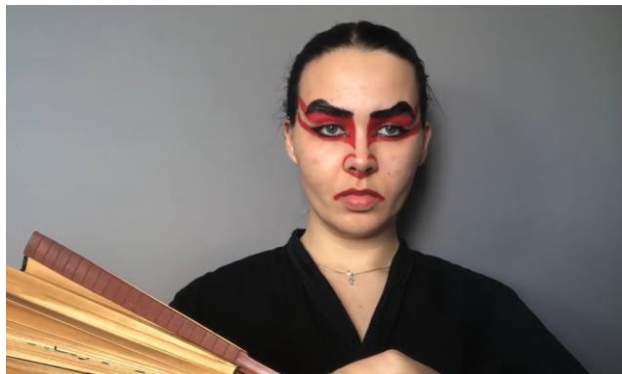
3. *Nihon Guma*

Figure 8 *Nihon Guma* by Klaudia Schmidt

This type of *kumadori* makeup has red *beniguma* and is used for calm, adult roles. Its name means 'two *kuma*' because two *kuma* sweep upwards from the eyes. Actors will also often add blue on their chin to represent a beard and black ink on the outer corners of their eyes and inside of their lips.

4. *Ippon Guma*

Figure 9 *Ippon Guma* by Klaudia Schmidt

Ippon Guma has red lines and is used for roles that are strong and reliable but also rough and rascal at the same time. Its name comes from the fact that only one vertical *kuma* is drawn. A *kuma* representing a double chin is also drawn beneath the chin.

The inspiration for my project came from the videos we watched during our Japanese Theatre classes. I was astounded by the number of unbelievable skills and the experience the actors had with creating these makeup looks. I found it fascinating, and that is why I decided to show my take on it so my friends could get a feel of what it is and how much skill goes into producing these characteristic kabuki looks.

Kumadori is such a fantastic art form that often members of the audience ask for the actors to imprint their makeup onto a cloth to serve as a print of their makeup and a souvenir from the performance. I think that shows us how important *kumadori* is in the world of Japanese theatre and how paramount the preservation of this art should be not only for the Japanese people but for everyone remotely interested in Japanese performative arts to help the perseverance of this tradition for the generations to come. I recommend checking the website) of the Between.Pomiędzy Festival (Between.Pomiędzy Festival 2021 to see my representation of the *kumadori* makeup.

Zuzanna Rajewicz

Handmade Kimono

When I heard that my group had a choice of picking a Japanese Theatre class as one of the subjects, I immediately knew I had to attend this course. I was truly excited about the opportunity of learning about Japanese history, culture, customs, art and much more. To be sincere, I have to say that these classes exceeded my expectations as they were creative, informative, educational and led in a way where you constantly felt positively reinforced by the Professor.

From the very first class, we were informed that we, as students, should make notes on the elements of the Japanese Theatre that were significantly interesting to us as we had to make a creative project at the end of the course based on the elements we picked. Every class was truly absorbing and entertaining, but one stood out to me the most. When the Professor talked about the tranquil beaches of Okinawa, the colourful flowers and unique traditions, I knew my project had to be somehow connected to the *kumiodori* theatre.

Figure 10 *Kimono Project* by Zuzanna Rajewicz

When the time came to present my idea for the project, I had too many of them. At first, I wondered if I could make a short animation with a woman dancing to the rhythm of the ocean waves. Slowly, the woman would descend into the water, becoming one with nature. Unfortunately, I knew that my skills in animation were not as good as I wished them to be, as I was only a beginner, and I knew the results would not satisfy me. Then, I thought of a more classical medium – a painting, but I had a hard time coming up with an idea and I did not know how to capture it on a video. When I was looking through some materials, which I gathered regarding the *kumiodori* theatre, it finally struck me. The kimonos worn by performers were simply

mesmerising. I picked the floristic patterns and composed the design with great care. The multitude of colours did not look as if was "too much" – it was the opposite. The colours seemed to almost dance with each over, creating a mosaic that resembles the flora of Okinawa.

Being satisfied with the idea that I came up with, I started to plan out my project. Firstly, I quickly drew a simple idea of what my kimono should look like. In the end, it did not matter that the result was not a perfect copy of my original plan. After the initial planning, I had to read about various materials and select the one that would be the best for this kind of project. A silky kind seemed to be the best choice. So, I ordered a lot of red and blue materials and patiently waited for the delivery. But I knew that I did not have the comfort of just waiting and wasting time, so I planned out what the embroidery should look like. From the start, I wanted to have as many pink flowers as possible. Again, I had to search the internet for various tropical flowers that grow in Japan. I tried to copy them as closely as possible, and I have to say that I am pleased with the results.

Figure 11 *Kimono Project* by Zuzanna Rajewicz

Figure 12 *Mask Project* by Zuzanna Rajewicz

I decided to embroider the flowers on a different material, cut them out and later sew them onto the kimono. It seemed to be the best way, as I had more freedom to decide on the placement of the flowers, and I did not waste time waiting for the materials to arrive. It was also a lot more comfortable to manoeuvre, as the material on which I was embroidering was much smaller than the kimono. To be honest, I have to say that after a week of constant flower making, my fingers hurt very badly. It was difficult to do simple tasks, but I knew that I had to power through as the deadline was getting closer and closer.

While working on the flowers, I made a small break to focus on a different part of the project – a mask. In the initial phase of the project, when I was planning everything out, I did not consider having a mask, but as the work progressed, I thought it would be a nice addition to tie everything together. I bought a plain mask from IKEA to customise it at home. I was certain it would take much longer than it did. To my joy, it only took one day to finish the customisation. I settled for a *hannya* mask. This type of mask is supposed

to represent a woman who cried so hard and long that in the feelings of despair and vengeance she lost her humanity.
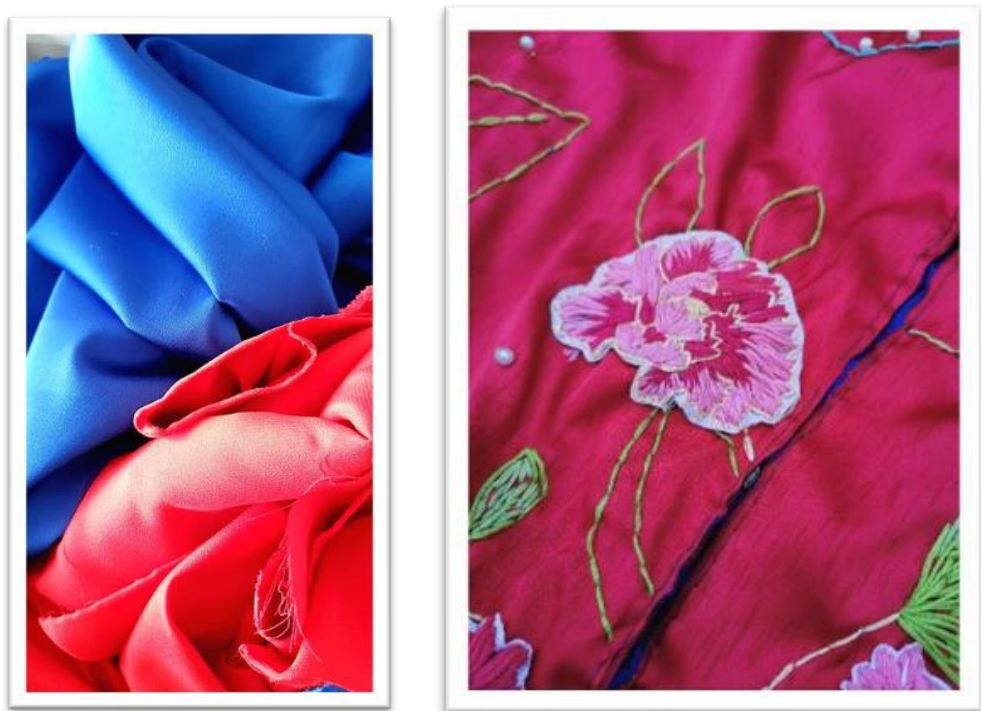

Figure 13 *Kimono Project* by Zuzanna Rajewicz

Finally, the day came when the materials arrived. Everything was going as planned as the materials were just perfect. They were silky and smooth, and the colours were wonderfully vibrant. I knew that the hardest part was just about to start. When I was taking care of the project, I did not own a sewing machine, so I had to sew everything together by hand. There were a lot of free sewing patterns for kimonos on the internet, but none seemed right to what I had planned. So, the next step for me was to come up with a template and the measurements. While measuring everything out I concluded that the amount of material I ordered was not enough, and the kimono had to be reduced in size. Unfortunately, I was not able to do the sleeves as long and drooping as I wished, but I still managed to do something wearable from the

sources that I had. There was no time to order any additional material, so I was forced to start working immediately.

The work was long and hard. With my own hands, I had to meticulously sew stitch after stitch. The worst part was when I made a mistake and had to unstitch everything. Unfortunately, it happened more than once. In this part of the project, I was frustrated and exhausted. I stitched during the online classes, while watching TV and while learning. I even took the kimono with me to my work to stitch something during my breaks. What did not help me at all was the deadline which was constantly haunting me in the back of my head. On the other hand, the fact that I had a relatively close ending date made me work harder and faster.

Just when I thought that the worst part was over, a new one came, and it turned out to be a lot more laborious than I anticipated. That was the time when I had to embroider the kimono. The flowers were already done, but there was a lot more to do. All the leaves, stems and swirls were to be done directly on the kimono as I would not be able to cut them out and sew them on again. I truly thought that this part of the project would be the easiest and quickest. With one day left to finish the project, I was photographing, filming and putting everything together. I could feel the pressure and fear building up inside me. I had to make some sacrifices by simplifying the embroidery. By saying that I worked with the speed of light would be a great understatement. It was truly difficult to combine being quick with being precise as I did not want to do something that would seem ugly or rushed. Hence, I took a deep breath and said to myself that I can handle the situation and everything would be well in the end.

I could not express the joy I felt when I stitched the last little pink flower onto the kimono. My boyfriend and I quickly grabbed the kimono, mask and scarf and ran out to take some pictures before the sun would set and it would be too dark to take any photos. When I tried the kimono on for the first time, I felt a wave of joy and pride. Suddenly, I forgot about the frustration, the pain and all the downhills I encountered during the making of the project. The only thing that mattered to me at that exact moment, was the fact that I was wearing a hand-sewn kimono, with gorgeous embroidery, made entirely by me and no one else.

We found a perfect place to take the photographs and record some footage. Just outside my window, an apple tree started to blossom with wonderful white flowers. It was a terribly cold evening and I remembered how I shivered and hoped not to get sick. Some people were looking at me, and some pointed fingers but not in a spiteful way, yet more in a way that showed

interest in what I was doing. We tried to do everything as quickly as we could as it was extremely frosty outside, and slowly it started to rain.

Figure 14 *Kimono Project* by Zuzanna Rajewicz

Finally, inside, with the photographs and films I needed, we sat down to put everything together into a cohesive project. It was quite funny how after each step of the project I felt like the worst part is over. But then, every new step was more difficult than the last one. It turned out that I was completely and utterly untalented when it comes to film editing. Firstly, I could not find a programme that would not put a watermark all over my footage. When I finally found a suitable programme, I just could not figure out how to use it. It was not user-friendly, and I got lost in all the functions, arrows and stripes. Luckily, my boyfriend was kind enough to learn how the programme functions and helped me put all my footage together into a short video.

Lastly, I had to present the project to my group and the Professor. Fortunately, it all went as planned, and my project got an overall positive reaction. Also, I have to mention that all the projects that my colleagues

presented were inventive, interesting and very well thought out. Everyone did an amazing job and put a lot of work and heart into the projects.

Figure 15 *Kimono Project* by Zuzanna Rajewicz

Figure 16 *Kimono Project* by Zuzanna Rajewicz

I have to say that this project taught me a lot of valuable things. Time management was definitely one of them, as I had to meticulously plan every step of the project and estimate how long every element would take to finish. Patience was also one of those things that I truly needed. Now, I look back at the moments when I wanted to just give up and do something completely different, and I see how irrational I sounded. If I had the same attitude at work and just gave up because a difficult client came, I would not be working there very long. There were some things that I could do differently in this project. The mask was the element I could put more time and heart into, as I did what I could with the materials and time I had on my hands at that moment. I would love to add more embroidery in the future when I have some spare time. And lastly, I would never again do a demanding project without the needed equipment, which, in this case, was a sewing machine. While being proud of the fact that I was able to sew the kimono with my own hands, I also felt a lot of unnecessary frustration, which could have been easily avoided if I had a sewing machine at that time. All in all, this project was a very emotional process, which taught me a lot of valuable qualities. It left me with a feeling of accomplishment, pride and happiness. The knowledge that I gained while researching the topic is priceless. It was a true pleasure to take part in creating something that I admired so much. I will definitely keep the kimono as an important and gorgeous souvenir.

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REVIEWS

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Review of *The Eastern Old Japanese Corpus and Dictionary*, by Alexander Vovin and Sambi Ishisaki-Vovin, Leiden: Brill, 2021 —— In memory of Alexander Vovin (1961–2022)

In memory of Alexander Vovin

Alexander Vovin, Director of studies at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (École des hautes études en sciences sociales/EHESS), passed away on April 8, 2022, 61 years old. While being aware of his health problem – liver cancer – which he had courageously fought until the last moments of his life, Vovin's death came as a great shock to me. Alexander Vladimirovich Vovin was born and raised in Saint Petersburg, formerly known as Leningrad (1924–1991). After serving as an assistant professor of Japanese at the University of Michigan (1990–1994) and an assistant professor at Miami University (1994–1995), he worked as an assistant and then associate professor at the University of Hawai'i (1995–2003), where he was also appointed full professor. He worked there until 2014, which is when he returned to Europe, where he was elected to the Academia Europea in 2015. Alexander Vovin also received the highest possible prize for a foreign scholar in Japan from the National Institutes for the Humanities (Ningen Bunka Kenkyū Kikō) in recognition of his outstanding contribution. Among his greatest achievements, I would include the identification of the language of Brāhmī inscriptions on Khüis Tolgoi and Bugut stelae as an early form of Mongolic — something I am not afraid to compare to the discovery of Tocharian by Emil Sieg and Wilhelm Siegling in 1908. Some of his most important works are *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese*, his translation of the *Man'yōshū*, and now also *The Eastern Old Japanese Corpus and Dictionary*. On a personal note, I would also include *The End of the Altaic Controversy* among his most important contributions, considering the impact it has had on shaping my understanding of genealogical relationships; it also radically changed my

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perspective on the Altaic connection. To me, and, I trust, to many others as well, Vovin's premature death marks the end to an era. I started writing this book review shortly before Alexander Vovin passed away, and therefore, I would like to dedicate it to his memory.

The Review

Although Eastern Old Japanese, the language of 8th century north-east Japan, is undoubtedly an essential component of the Japonic linguistic family, sadly, it has been underestimated until recently by both Western and Japanese scholars due to the long-lasting—and erroneous—belief according to which WOJ is the variety that most resembles proto-Japonic. Despite its being well-explored (e.g., Mizushima 1963, 1984a, 1984b, 2003; Fukuda 1965, Hōjō 1966, Thorpe 1983, Haggers 2000, Hino 2003, Ikier 2006, Russell 2006, Vovin 2007, Kupchik 2011), a discussion of the whole EOJ corpus and dictionary has not yet been presented. Therefore, a scholarly work such as *The Eastern Old Japanese Corpus and Dictionary* (EOJCD henceforth), one of the few works in over twenty years designed to afford some control over EOJ, is particularly welcome. Due to his philological background, Vovin tries to offer a complete overview of EOJ, especially its vocabulary and corpus.

The book is structured in two parts, which follow an introduction of 38 pages. This introductory part touches upon several important issues preparatory to the following two parts. In addition to introducing the written sources that constitute the corpus of EOJ, the authors also offer a brief sketch of EOJ phonology and morphology (pp. 26–31). While the authors rightly recognize some difficulties that render the identification of one-to-one correspondences between EOJ and WOJ vocalism a hard task, there are several phonological and morphophonemic phenomena that are shared by all or almost all of the EOJ dialects: (i) the mysterious correspondence of EOJ *-n-* to WOJ *-r-* in a few forms; (ii) palatalization of *ti > si*, something which is unknown in WOJ; (iii) EOJ vowel contraction *vs* WOJ monophthongization (e.g., pJ *i+a > EOJ *-a-*, WOJ *-e-*); (iv) loss of final *-y* in EOJ *vs* monophthongization in WOJ; (v) partial raising of primary vowels *e and *o in the final syllables of nominal roots. From the morphological side, the authors mention some aspects that are either only attested or mostly dominant in EOJ. They include: (i) locative *-na*; (ii) comparative *-nəsu*; (iii) diminutive suffixes *-na* and *-rə*; (iv) adjectival attributive suffixes *-ke* and *-ka-*; (iv) verbal negative suffix *-(a)na-*; (v) different combination of iterative

and negative suffixes *-(a)n-ap-*; (vi) special verbal attributive form *-o*, occasionally spelled as *-ə*.

The authors then proceed to analyze EOJ vocabulary. However, I would have made a separate table with those items that are apparently unattested in WOJ or that are not known to share a cognate form with WOJ, such as, e.g., those presented in Table 1.

EOJ word	English gloss	Attested in
iya^{n}zeru	'excellent, well noticeable'	*Fudoki kayō* 7
ka^{n}dus-	'to abduct'	*Man'yōshū* 14.3432
kupe	'fence'	*Man'yōshū* 14.3537
mama	'cliff'	*Man'yōshū* 14.3349, 14.3369, 14.3384, 14.3385, 14.3387
nət-	'to fill'	*Man'yōshū* 14.3444
pususa	'many'	*Man'yōshū* 14.3484
səwape	unknown meaning	*Man'yōshū* 14.3395, 20.4372, 20.4383, 20.4423

Table 1. EOJ words with no WOJ cognates (data taken from EOJCD: 31–35)

The book also includes a list of Ainu loans in EOJ contained in the poems found in books 14 (*azuma uta*) and 20 (*sakimori uta*) of the *Man'yōshū*. However, more detailed explanations of these loanwords are found in the commentary section.

The book then introduces the EOJ corpus (pp. 41–427). A great merit of this book is that it does not limit itself to discussing *Man'yōshū* Books Fourteen, Sixteen, and Twenty, but also analyses *fudoki* poems (ancient reports on provincial geography, culture, and oral tradition), as well as the *azuma asobi uta*, a type of song and dance performance from the Heian period (794–1192), and the *Kokin Wakashū*, an early anthology of the *waka* form of Japanese poetry―all sources which have apparently been consigned almost exclusively to the bookshelf of literature.

The second part (pp. 431–482) is an EOJ Dictionary, compiled by Sambi Ishisaki-Vovin, with entries arranged in alphabetical order. Note that, as the authors say, this is not an etymological dictionary but a dictionary of the EOJ texts. A useful Index (pp. 493–501) is attached at the end of the book, albeit I would have preferred an index of the examples from the EOJ texts with references to WOJ, Old and Classical Ryukyuan, and Old and Middle Korean, as in Vovin (2020).

Overall, the book is well-structured. By personal temperament, the present reviewer appreciates all the works that, somehow, are not afraid to challenge authority, and EOJCD definitely did not shun defiance when necessary (e.g., pp. 27, 53, 90, 105, 304, and so on). Just to cite a couple of examples, on page 53, the authors say that while the majority of commentators prefer to read 支倍 as *Kipɛ*, they opted to side with the minority of commentators in reading it as *Kiᵐbɛ* on the basis of Ainu evidence. On another occasion (p. 90), the authors disagree with the majority of scholars who believe that the moon mentioned in 14.3395 refers to the "new moon" indicating the beginning of a new month. In their opinion, the moon mentioned in 14.3395 may refer to the beginning of the menstruation cycle of the female author of the poem because a similar WOJ expression *tukï tat-* 'moon rises' is attested at least twice in the *Kojiki Kayō* with the same meaning.

On the other side, as a first attempt to produce a book dedicated to the Corpus and Dictionary of a specific period of the EOJ language, particularly a period with all of the problems with interpretation of the written sources attendant upon it as the Nara period, it would be a bit excessive to expect EOJCD to be without parts that would have required a better explanation or more solid evidence (e.g., pp. 31, 38, 48, 53, 165, 423). For instance, on several occasions, the authors convincingly demonstrate how insights from Ainu linguistics may bear upon a better understanding of the EOJ poems. However, every once in a while, there should have been caveats telling the reader not to run the risk of overestimating the power of comparative linguistics when it comes to tracing an EOJ etymology back to an Ainu source (e.g., pp. 105–106). There is also a passage where I disagree with the authors. On p. 165, when discussing the alleged reversal of the sinograms 由 and 賀, the authors write that "it is highly unlikely that all manuscript lines would contain exactly the same error." As someone who has worked extensively on first-hand sources, I can attest that in the East Asian tradition it is not so unlikely that two or more sources or versions of the same source may contain the same mistake, for altering a source might have been perceived as a disrespectful act. Therefore, although the authors contend that

the two sinograms should not have been reversed, I would be inclined to wear the clothes of the conservative scholar who agrees with Motoori's claim, according to which the two sinograms in question were indeed reversed. For the final note, I believe Ryukyuan data should have been a bit more firmly integrated within the main text. Nevertheless, despite these almost insignificant complaints, the book is solidly written and certainly worth its price. It is very likely that EOJCD will become the *conditio sine qua non* for every scholar interested in the diachronic and lexical aspects of the Japanese language in general and of EOJ in particular.

Abbreviations

EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
EOJCD	Eastern Old Japanese Corpus and Dictionary
WOJ	Western Old Japanese

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