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Drodzy Czytelnicy.

Niniejszy specjalny zeszyt *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 zawiera artykuły powstałe po spotkaniu w trakcie Międzynarodowych Studenckich Warsztatów Japonistycznych, które odbyły się w Wojtkowiźnie w dniach 15-20 kwietnia 2013 roku. Organizacją tego wydarzenia zajęli się studenci oraz kadra japonistyki Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

Poczynając od niniejszego zeszytu, wprowadzono zmiany w składzie rady naukowej oraz kolegium recenzentów naszego kwartalnika, dążąc do ich umiędzynarodowienia. Odpowiednie zmiany osobowe w składach tych ciał tudzież ostatnie zmiany wymogów publikacji artykułów w *Silva Iaponicarum* zostały również uaktualnione w naszym serwisie internetowym.

Kolejne zeszyty naszego kwartalnika planujemy wydać jako specjalny zeszyt filmowy oraz specjalny zeszyt poświęcony publikacjom doktorantów w dziedzinie japonistyki.

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Kraków – Poznań –Toruń – Warszawa – Kuki
grudzień 2014

Dear Readers,

This special issue of *Silva Iaponicarum* 日林 contains the contributions delivered after the Students' International Japanese Studies Workshop held in Wojtkowizna on April 15-20, 2013. The workshop was organized by the students' circle and the staff from the Japanese Language and Culture Center of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

Starting from this fascicle, some changes in the Research Council and the Board of Reviewers have been introduced, with the aim of internationalization and standardization. Respective changes in the structure of these bodies as well as the recent changes concerning the requirements for new contributions to our quarterly have been updated also at our Web site.

The next fascicles of our quarterly are going to be issued as a special fascicle on film studies, and second, as a special fascicle devoted to contributions of PhD. candidates of Japanese studies.

The Editorial Board   E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl
and the event participants

Cracow – Poznań –Toruń – Warsaw – Kuki
December 2014

読者のみなさまへ

この季刊誌「*Silva Iaponicarum 日林*」の特別号に集めたのは、2013年4月15-20日にポーランドのヴォイトコヴィズナで実施された国際日本学科合同合宿後に執筆された論文です。合宿は、ニコラウス・コペルニクス大学日本言語文化研究室の研究サークルの学生と学科スタッフによって、企画運営されました。

本号より、研究顧問会・査読委員会にはその多国籍化を目指した編成が行われました。なお、会員変更の詳細と本季刊誌「*Silva Iaponicarum 日林*」への論文投稿の条件に対して最も新しい変更が加えられたのに伴い、私たちのインターネット・ページもアプデートしました。

次号と次々号は、日本映画特別号、並びに日本学博士論文執筆者による論文特別号として刊行することを予定しています。

編集委員会　　　　　　　　　　　E-mail: silvajp@amu.edu.pl
とワークショップの参加者

　　2014年12月　クラクフ・ポズナニ・トルン・ワルシャワ・久喜

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS / 目次

Patrycja Duc

The Language Awareness and Communication Competencies of Young People in Modern Japan – The Results of a Questionnaire

ABSTRACT

According to the early work of Noam Chomsky *competence* is described as a speaker-hearer's knowledge of the language and an idealized capacity to acquire language which is superior to *performance* (language in actual use). In this paper, *competence* is differentiated from *awareness* and is regarded not as an idealized capacity, but as a set of skills and general theoretical knowledge which can be acquired gradually by learner through his/her education and experience.

The results of the fieldwork conducted in 2013 in Kansai and Kanto regions entitled *Nihon no wakamono no gengo ishiki to komyunikēshon ni tai suru ishiki* (*Japanese Youth's Language Awareness and Awareness Toward Communication*) was supported by the analysis of Internet resources and analysis of online and paper dictionaries of *wakamono kotoba* ('youth language'), *kyampasu kotoba* ('campus language') and *gyarugo* ('gals words').

The survey was divided into two parts: *First Language Awareness* and *Second Language Awareness*.

KEYWORDS: communication, language awareness, linguistic competence, youth language, second language, ambiguity

Recently, easy access to Internet-based resources has enabled people interested and engaged in researching the Japanese language to discover a growing number of articles, forums and blogs dedicated to the language of modern youth (in contemporary Japan this is known as *wakamono kotoba*). Not only does it seem to be worth considering from a language development perspective, but also as crucial evidence of the creativity of youngsters and their need to modify language.

The main purpose of this paper is to briefly present the language and communication competencies of young Japanese people with reference to Internet-based resources as well as an analysis of a questionnaire conducted in 2013 in Japan. The respondents of the survey were asked to express their opinions on two issues – their knowledge and attitude to their mother tongue (Japanese) as well as to the second language learned at school (mainly English). Although, the choice of two seemingly unrelated topics may meet some negative reception, it corresponds to the aim of this

paper which is to sketch and briefly illustrate the state of language in contemporary Japan using the example of youth language and their communication skills in their first and second languages.

Language and Linguistic Awareness

The first thing to mention is the distinction between two terms that might easily be mistaken. While the term *linguistic awareness* (*Note that linguistic awareness is not the subject of current research*) refers to the greater syntactical, morphological and phonological knowledge of language researchers and professional linguists which enable them to conduct advanced investigation on different layers of linguistics, *language awareness* should be regarded as the common ability of the average language user (Bugajski 2007: 47-48). Consequently, we assume that regardless of nationality, age or gender, each of us is language aware on a larger or smaller scale. The fact that people are not engaged in discussing linguistic matters in their every-day life does not mean that they are devoid of mental knowledge (*language awareness*) of their first language. Noticing and correcting people's language errors, slips of tongues or incorrect pronunciation as well as adjusting the level of difficulty of the dispatch to the level of fluency of a particular foreigner speaking in our first language, are undisputed forms of evidence of being language aware.

The current research on language knowledge and competencies of young people, in which selected aspects are briefly discussed in subsequent paragraphs, will enable us to portray the extent of language consciousness in contemporary Japan.

Awareness and Competence

Before describing the results of the survey, it is essential to mention the distinction between *awareness* and *competence* as these two terms comprise crucial components of the current reflection on young people's knowledge and attitude toward their first and second language.

According to the early work of Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, *competence* is described as a speaker-hearer's knowledge of the language and an idealized capacity to acquire language which is superior to *performance* (language in actual use) since natural speech is mistake-prone and may be full of false starts (Chomsky 1965: 4). However, in this article we will regard *competence* not as an idealized capacity but as a set of skills and general theoretical knowledge which can be acquired gradually by the learner through his/her education and experience. In this sense, *competence* will be differentiated from *awareness* which is intended to be regarded as

the consciousness of language usability and an effective device to use language not only for communicative purposes, but also as a tool to intentionally encode a message.

Survey Description

The field work conducted in 2013 in Japan (Kansai and Kantō regions[1]) comprises the predominant source of information for the current research, which was also supported by the huge number of Internet resources and analysis of online and paper dictionaries of *wakamono kotoba* 'youth language', *kyampasu kotoba* 'campus language' [2] and *gyarugo* 'gals words'[3].

Age   *Educational Background*
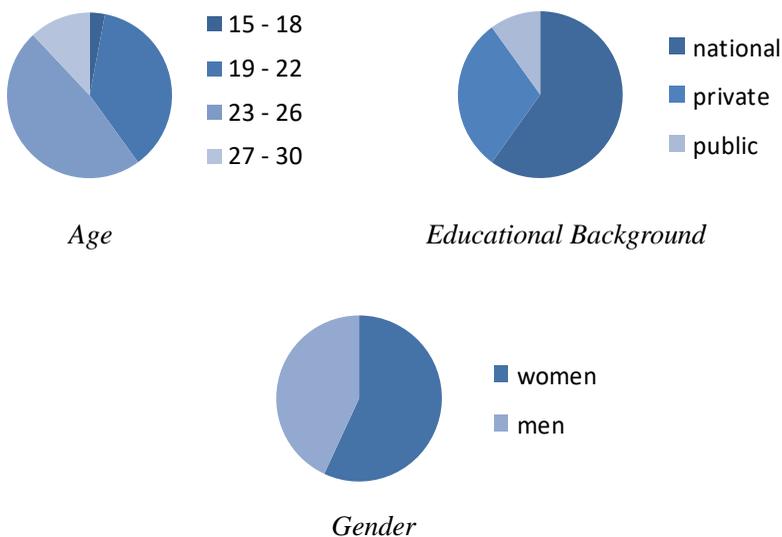
Gender

Figure 1. Age, Gender and Educational Background of Survey Respondents

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[1] Although the research was intended to be conducted in the selected cities of Kantō and Kansai regions, a large number of respondents admitted to being citizens of other parts of Japan. Most of them were exchange students or travelers currently visiting the above-mentioned regions.

[2] *Kyampasu kotoba* 'campus language' – list of words and phrases used by students of a particular Japanese university. Some of them are available online.

[3] *Gyarugo* 'gals words' – vocabulary formed and used by Japanese gals (girls in their teens or early twenties that represent particular street fashion). *Gyarugo* is mostly based on neologism, abbreviations and loan words and is considered a part of net-slang as it is especially proclaimed by the users of social network services such as Twitter or Facebook.

One hundred and sixteen people aged between fifteen and thirty years old were asked to answer a short survey entitled *Nihon no wakamono no gengo ishiki to komyunikēshon ni tai suru ishiki* ('Japanese youth's language awareness and awareness toward communication').

According to their responses, more than 48 % were aged between twenty three and twenty six years old and about 37 % between nineteen and twenty two years old. More than 60 % of respondents declared themselves to be graduates from national schools (*kokuritsu*), 30 % of them had graduated from private schools (*shiritsu*) and only 10 % had graduated from public schools (*kōritsu*). Almost 57 % of the survey respondents were women (Figure 1).

The survey was divided into two significant parts (plus introductory section containing general questions referring to the place of origin, place of actual residence, age, gender and educational background). The first part was entitled *First Language Awareness* and the next part was dedicated to *Second Language Awareness*.

First Language Awareness

Young Japanese people were asked for a self-evaluation of their first language competencies in the shape of a list of linguistic errors they happen to commit in every-day conversations. 70 % of survey respondents confessed to finding the use of honorific terms (*keigo*) the most problematic issue, especially when confronting elderly people. 62 % of them declared that they tend to commit morphological errors (e.g. the use of the incorrect adverbial form *mitaku* instead of the correct *mitai ni*) and 37 % admitted to having problems with spelling correctly. The wrong use of grammatical particles (22%) and the incorrect use of loan words (19%) turned out to be the least problematic linguistic issues.

Additionally, survey respondents kindly suggested other linguistic errors that are often committed by them or they peers. They indicated for instance, the wrong use of idioms and collocations; the incorrect spelling of loan words; the overuse of jargon and incorrect formation of potential forms (e.g. the incorrect use of *tabereru* in place of the correct *taberareru* 'be able to eat').

Young Japanese people were also asked to evaluate the frequency of the use of *wakamono kotoba* 'youth language' by suggesting adequate scores from 0 (not at all) to 5 (often used). The results are presented in Table 1.

Wakamono kotoba	*Score (0-5)*	*Frequency of Indicated Score*[4]
Contracted forms (e.g. adj *muzui* 'difficult'	5	30 %
Words indicating a low degree of certainty or confidence (e.g. p *kamo* 'perhaps')	5	42 %
Ambiguous expressions (e.g. adj *yabai* 'terrific', quasi-adj *bimyō* 'subtle')	5	39 %
Loan words and *waseieigo* [5] (e.g. n *sutopā* 'straight permanent wave')	5	35 %
Hybrids (e.g. n *takopā* 'party with takoyaki')	3	29 %
Gyarugo 'gals language' (e.g. v *yaguru* 'to have an affair', *kopiru* 'to copy')	1	30 %
Adverbs of emphasis (e.g. adv *meccha* 'very', *chō* 'very')	5	29 %
Zenzen 'not at all' as the adverb of emphasis	3	25 %
Honorific terms used at part-time jobs	1	31 %
Other (e.g. morhological errors: *Kyō, jugyō aru<u>ku nai</u>*?[6] 'No classes today?')		

Table 1. The Frequency of Wakamono Kotoba Use

As suggested above, young people are linguistically creative and moreover, tend to use the language knowingly for particular purposes. Based on the initial results of this study, we can suggest four assumptions justifying the statement that Japanese youth appear to be, to some extent, language aware:

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[4] The term *indicated score* refers to the score which has been most frequently selected by the respondents.

[5] *Waseieigo* 'English words made in Japan' – Japanese constructions formed from English words or morphemes which are generally not used in English-speaking countries (e.g. *sararī man* 'salary man').

[6] The negative short form *ku nai* is characteristic for *i*-adjectives (*takai* 'high' *takakunai* 'not high'), not for verbs (a*ru* 'to have' <u>*nai*</u> 'not to have'). However, in this case the negative form was created as follows - in *i*-adjectives formation pattern and hence, the sentence above is morphologically incorrect.

1. Use of jargon (e.g. *gyarugo* 'gals language', *kyampasu kotoba* 'campus words') as a way to manifest 'youthfulness' and affiliation (belongingness) to a particular group

2. Use of *waseieigo*, neologisms and abbreviations [e.g. *kokuru* (contraction of *kokuhaku suru* 'to confess'), *disuru* 'to disrespect', *NHK* (acronym for *nanka henna kanji* 'it seems kind of strange')] in order to consciously encode a message

3. Overuse of *aimaina kotoba* 'ambiguous words' (e.g. *yabai* 'terrific', *zenzen* 'absolutely; at all', *ichi ō* 'in outline', *bimyō* 'delicate; doubtful') and words indicating a low degree of certainty or confidence (e.g. *mitaina* 'sort of', *kamo* 'perhaps') in order to avoid direct confrontation or objection[7]

4. Tendency to adjust the level of difficulty of Japanese to the level of proficiency of the particular Japanese-speaking foreigner. 55 % of respondents stated that they use standard Japanese and prefer to choose *wago* (words of Japanese origin) and *gairaigo* (loan words) instead of *kango* (words of Chinese origin) while speaking with foreigners in Japanese. Vocabulary classified as *wago* or *gairaigo* is said to be easier to adopt and comprehend by foreigners learning Japanese and hence young people aware of the difficulty of the Japanese language are very understanding in this matter and attempt to simplify the language by avoiding *kango* which is regarded as more complex.

Second Language Awareness

Foreign language education in Japanese primary schools originated in the early 1990s. Although the government has recently advocated progress in the effective learning of foreign languages and the language education system is supported by the assistance of a huge number of ALTs (*Assistant Language Teachers*)[8], the communicative situation among young people in Japan is still regarded as poor and requires swift improvement.

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[7] According to the guests of the TV programme *Wakamono kotoba no shinsō*, 'The Truth about Young People's Jargon', the language used by young people in contemporary Japan can be described by the juxtaposition *ōmori usuaji* 'large serving mild tasting'. Their way of speaking is full of ambiguous expressions and hard to decode neologisms and abbreviations, which makes their statements obscure and chaotic (Youtube 2013). Moreover, although young Japanese people are said to be disposed to direct conversation, the contents of their conversations are thought to be less meaningful and valuable.

[8] ALT *Assistant Language Teacher* – native speaker of a particular foreign language who cooperates with teachers as an assistant in the Japanese classroom. There are currently over 6,100 participants in the JET Program (*The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme*) and 90% of them work as ALTs.

On the basis of the response of young people interviewed on the main factors influencing problems with communication in foreign languages, the following causes may be listed:

1. The *Educational* aspect of problems with communication.
a. Lack of speaking and listening practice at school.
b. The language education system focused on learning and memorizing.
c. The decorative (not functional) purpose of using English.
d. The restricted efficiency of Grammar-Translation Method.
e. "Natives" teaching English who, in some cases, are not real native speakers (ALTs).
f. Lack of pronunciation practice.

2. The *Socio-psychological* aspect of problems with communication.
a. Lack of confidence and fear of committing mistakes.
b. Fear of incorrect pronunciation.
c. No conviction that language is a tool for communication (decorative purpose of English words).
d. No need to communicate in English after graduation.
e. No passion for Western culture.
f. Difficulty with dealing with notions that cannot be written with *kanji* signs.

The respondents of the above-mentioned survey were asked to evaluate the frequency of practicing the following methods of teaching foreign language proclaimed at their former or current schools and score it from 0 (not at all) to 5 (often practiced) (Table 2).

Strategies	*Score (0-5)*	*Frequency of Indicated Score*
Grammar-translation method	5	54 %
Grammar exercises	5	70 %
Listening exercises	3 and 4	24% and 32 %
Reading exercises	5	56 %
Writing exercises	3 and 4	30 % (both)
Conversation	2	40 %
Word games	2	43 %
Conversation with native speakers	2	41 %
Watching programmes, news, interviews during classes	1 and 2	30 % (both)
	1	27 %
Other (e.g. vocabulary tests)		

Table 2. The Frequency of Strategies of Teaching Foreign Languages at Schools

According to their responses, grammar exercises (70 % of respondents suggested 5 points), reading exercises (56 % – 5 points) and the grammar-translation method [9] (54 % – 5 points) are regarded as the most popularized strategies of teaching foreign languages at schools. On the other hand, conversation lessons (40 % – 2 points) or classes conducted by native speakers (41% – 2 points) were estimated as rarely or slightly practiced. Apparently, problems with communicating in a foreign language originates at schools and may result from the restricted development of communication competencies.

Although the lack of conversation-oriented practices limits the process of acquiring and improving communication competencies, young people in modern Japan tend to be more and more aware and eager to improve their communication skills.

The answers, when asked to evaluate the usefulness of following methods of extending foreign language skills and score them from 0 (not at all) to 5 (absolutely useful), were as in Table 3.

Methods	Score (0-5)	Frequency of Indicated Score
Direct communication with foreigners	5	64 %
Conversation through Facebook, Skype, etc.	5	38 %
Watching movies without subtitles	4	35 %
Listening to foreign music	3	28 %
Studying abroad	5	64 %
Going abroad for a trip	3	31 %
Hiring a home tutor	2	31 %
Going to *Eikaiwa* schools[10]	4	35 %

Table 3. The Usefulness of Methods Used to Improve Language Skills

Fukuda in her short paper entitled "Language Awareness in Language Education in Japan: Creating the Linguistic Competence Needed for Global Communication" claims:

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[9] Grammar-translation method – is a method of teaching foreign languages which is based on reading and translating sentences. Students are asked to learn grammar rules of the target language and then apply them by translating sentences between the first language and the target language. Although criticized, the grammar-translation method is still popular in many countries.

[10] *Eikaiwa* – private school of English conversation where classes are conducted mainly by native speakers.

"Today, Japanese people have more opportunity to interact with non-native speakers of Japanese. In an international society in which diverse values co-exist and the existence of common assumptions is doubtful, people need skills for verbal communication to form ideas or information using language." (Fukuda 1996).

Widespread access to means of global communication as well as the opportunity to learn languages and participate in exchange programs have modified, in a certain sense, the attitude towards explicit communication and hence young people in contemporary Japan seem to be more receptive to open conversation.

According to the survey, young people tend to evince more interest in the development of their communication skills. Access to social network services such as Facebook, Skype or Twitter gives them the opportunity to associate with foreigners and communicate in English and other foreign languages (38 % – 5). Moreover, young Japanese people claim that going abroad to participate in student exchange programs (64 % – 5) to put their language competencies into practice is more useful and effective than for instance, hiring home tutors (31% – 2) or listening to foreign music (28% – 3).

Finally, young respondents of the survey on language awareness and communication competencies were asked to evaluate their own foreign language communication skills and to estimate the language fluency of their foreign language tutors. They were obliged to score the level of fluency from 0 (no skills) to 5 (fluent). The results for both cases were surprisingly similar. 31 % of young people admitted to finding themselves moderately fluent (3 points) and they similarly evaluated the language proficiency of their teachers (39 % – 3 points). However, only 3 % of the Japanese consider themselves to be fluent in a foreign language and admit that it may be motivated by the fact that they are studying abroad or tend to often encounter peers from foreign countries. Analogically, only 7 % of respondents find their current or former teachers as competent and fluent in the language they are lecturing. These numbers appear to be disappointing given that foreign languages have been taught in primary schools in Japan since the 1990s.

Conclusions

To conclude, the results of the research presented in this paper indicate that there are few identifiable trends and patterns in the contemporary language

and communication situation in Japan. First of all, young Japanese people appear to consciously use their language (*wakamono kotoba*) as a tool for fulfilling their individual needs and obtaining their intended goals. They tend to be aware of how to modify the language (the formation of numerous neologisms*, waseieigo,* acronyms, etc.) and encode messages (ambiguous words, abbreviations, loan words, etc.) in order to manifest their affiliation to a particular group, youthfulness and independence (for instance, high school girls who are regarded as the most creative group in the matter of word-formation). Additionally, young Japanese people seem to be gradually more conscious of the significance of direct communication in a foreign language. Although the language education system in Japan is being modified and is becoming more conversation-oriented, young Japanese people are eager to develop their language competencies on their own by using social network services, studying abroad and making friends with foreigners.

The present paper constitutes an introduction to the subject of language awareness and communication competencies of young Japanese people and requires further research due to be conducted later.

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AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Patrycja Duc

Patrycja Duc is a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Philology, Jagiellonian University who graduated from the Department of Japanese and Chinese Studies with master's degree in 2011. She also received a bachelor's degree in Russian Studies in 2009. Before graduation miss Duc completed the scholarship program entitled "The Japanese-Language Program for Specialists in Cultural and Academic Fields" conducted by the Japanese Language Institute in Kansai, Japan Foundation.

Currently she is a student of the fourth year of PhD course engaged in the sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic research into the actual language situation in Japan and the role of context in Japanese language and culture. She is working as a teacher of Japanese language specializing in preparing students to JLPT exams.

In 2013 miss Duc received a grant which enabled her to conduct short fieldwork in Kanto and Kansai regions on the subject of language awareness and communication competences of Japanese youth. In the beginning of 2014 she conducted short research among students and teachers of private secondary school in Japan on the language and education issues in modern Japan.

Arkadiusz Jabłoński

On Some Cases of Japanese-Polish-English (Un)translatability

ABSTRACT

The phenomena of translatability and untranslatability have traditionally been described in terms of linguistic structures and lexical differences between the source and target codes. While it is possible to point out at numerous examples when the influence of purely linguistic properties (not to mention: the influence of the translator's competences) on the quality of target text is demonstrated in a more or less desirable manner, perhaps it should also be taken into account that in considerably many cases decisions on the contents of source text made at the basic level of complexity do not necessarily influence the reception of the text as a whole.

The example text taken into account in the paper is then beginning paragraphs of the original Japanese version Kawabata Yasunari's *Yukiguni* 雪国 (*The Snow Country*), compared against its famous English translation by Edward Seidensticker and probably much less known Polish translation by Wiesław Kotański. As it is going to be demonstrated, even though the two target text differ significantly, to the extent that they have been recognized below as the examples of, respectively, shallow and deep approach to the source text, it does not influence their coherency.

KEYWORDS: translation, (un)translatability, Polish, Japanese, *The Snow Country*

This is not the first and most probably not the last paper on the concept of (un)translatability, which may be referred to in Japanese as (*hon'*)*yaku* (*fu*)*kanōsei* （翻）訳（不）可能性. As it is going to be demonstrated below, the untranslatability (related below also to the uninterpretability) constitutes a factor present in any translation/interpretation-related activity. Still, minor instances of untranslatability may not influence the reception of a target text/message in an automatic and unavoidable manner. It should be noted that the latter statement is valid only if the text/message is recognized as unintelligible on the target part of the translation/interpretation process. As such, a proper judgment on the level of a given text's (un)translatability is a major one, if not the most important task of a translator/interpreter.

The basic opposition related to (un)translatability is based on the inequality between the source message and target message. A piece of information

has to be added or omitted in the latter (which inevitably influences the translation process in an undesirable manner). Source and target contexts differ. It may not be possible to render one or more source elements in the target text. Different criteria may prove relevant in various communication contexts, which may further be obscured by cross-cultural noise. The above may be applied to numerous levels of the target part of the communication process. A more detailed review of issues related to translation/interpretation in terms of the homeostasis of a text may be found in a recent monograph by the author (Jabłoński 2013).

The translation/interpretation issues raised in this text are going to be analyzed mainly in the context of the first excerpt of *Yukiguni* 『雪国』 *The Snow Country* by Kawabata Yasunari (Kawabata 1991), translated into English by Edward G. Seidensticker (Kawabata 1957). The text is also available in its Polish translation by Wiesław Kotański (Kawabata 1969). The initial excerpts of the original Japanese (JP) text and its two translated versions (EN and PL) are going to be compared below.

The first Japanese edition of the novel was published in 1947. Its first English-language edition by E. G. Seidensticker is dated 1957. In 1968, Kawabata Yasunari was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature and *Yukiguni* was one of the novels mentioned by the Prize Committee. It is hence considered that Seidensticker's translation had significantly contributed to this fact. The first Polish edition of the novel's translation by Wiesław Kotański was published in 1964. Today, *Yukiguni* is still regarded as a fine piece of Japanese literature, classic and representative at the same time.

An Example

It is not a pure coincidence that the first sentence of the excerpt mentioned above has served as an iconic example of a 'very Japanese' case of untranslatability. English and Polish translations given below serve well to illustrate the dilemmas that emerge during the act of translation.

国境の長いトンネルを抜けると雪国であった。
Kokkyō no nagai tonneru o nukeru to yukiguni de atta. (Kawabata 1991: 5)
EN 'The train came out of the long tunnel into the snow country.' (Kawabata 1957: 3)
PL 'Z długiego tunelu przecinającego granicę dwu okręgów wjechało się w krainę śniegu.' (Kawabata 1969: 5)

A rather secondary issue related to the first sentence of *Yukiguni* is the possible opposition between the readings of its first nominal element 国境, which may be *kokkyō* or *kunizakai*. It emerges from the prevalence of graphomorphemic/graphosemantic properties of the so-called Japanese ideograms over their phonetic values. The problem has been promptly noticed by Japanese scholars and (successful) attempts have been made to ask the author himself for the proper reading of the except.

Apart from the relatively trivial issue of the reading, two following major problems may emerge in the interpretation of the meaning of the sentence:

PROBLEM 1: What/Where is the subject of the *nukeru* verbal element?
(Who/What passed through/came out of the tunnel? It is THE TRAIN in English, ANYONE in Polish.)
PROBLEM 2: What/Where is the subject of the *yukiguni de atta* nominal predicate?
(Who/What is the snow country? It is SOME PLACE, both in English and in Polish.)

A Nineteenth Century Point of View
Quite apart from countless (and for this reason: not quoted in this paper) remarks on the untranslatability of the first sentence of *Yukiguni* dating from the twentieth century, one remark from the nineteenth century unexpectedly proves very helpful in dealing with the so-called missing subjects and other elements being subject to ellipsis in Japanese sentences. In his intuitive though extremely useful approach to the subject, which was practically unknown to the Western reader of that time, Basil Hall Chamberlain stated the following:

„Again, take such an instance as: «I think I'll send these boots to be mended.»
We do not in English explicitly state who is to do the mending. In Japanese, the sentence will run (...):
Kono kutsu wo naoshi ni yarimashō.
[...] The verb *yarimashō* is subjectless [...]; but no ambiguity can arise with regard to it. For who, under ordinary circumstances, will trouble himself about any boots but his own? (Chamberlain 1898: 267)

Chamberlain's approach may be effectively verified in solving the above-mentioned problems in the translation of the first sentence of *Yukiguni*.

PROBLEM 1: The *nukeru* subject is ANYONE and no ambiguity can arise with regard to it. For anyone (or even: anything) under ordinary circumstances would enter the snow country after having emerged from the tunnel.

PROBLEM 2: The *yukiguni de atta* nominal predicate is YOU (the READER) KNOW WHAT I (the AUTHOR) MEAN, that is, THE SIDE OF THE TUNNEL THE *nukeru* SUBJECT EMERGED AT and no ambiguity can arise with regard to it. For any utterance, under ordinary circumstances, must be embedded in a certain context.

From Untranslatability to Translatability

Is there a better starting point for a novel than suspense? Needless to say, it is possible to use a detailed explanation and introduce the reader thoroughly into the subject as in the following hypothetical passage:

昔々、国境に長いトンネルがあった。そのトンネルの片方に雪国というところがあった。トンネルを抜ける電車の乗客はその事実をよく知っていた。島村も例外ではなかったのは当然であろう。

'Over the hills and far away there was a long tunnel connecting two provinces. The snow country was on one side of it. Passengers of the trains passing through the tunnel knew it very well. And Shimamura was of course no exception.'

An attentive reader of this paper would have probably noticed straight away that the above excerpt is a typical beginning of an old tale, not of a modern novel. Since this strategy may not be good for rendering the source sentence, it is probably necessary to look for other translation techniques useful in this context. In fact, there are numerous possibilities to translate it into English with the emphasis of the suspense content, of which only several have been quoted below:

'And there it was. The other side of the long tunnel. The snow country.'
'And there they were [again], having emerged from the long tunnel connecting two provinces. The snow country.'
'The other side of the long tunnel. The snow country.'
'The long tunnel between the two provinces. And then – the snow country. He knew it already, but the impression was always striking in the same way.'

As can be seen, the suspense content is more important above than rendering the full sentence structure. And there is nothing shocking, incomprehensible or Japanese in it!

On the Technical (Un)translatability
The first sentence of *Yukiguni* is not an isolated case of (un)translatability. There are numerous factors that translators/interpreters must take into account in their work. They are mostly related to the clash between the source and target code grammar and pragmatics. Some examples of such phenomena have been quoted below.

Since there is (almost) no regular grammatical marking of numbers in Japanese, it is necessary to choose a proper strategy to render this value in the source text. The following are possible strategies:

no number vs. number, as in: 人がいる。*Hito ga iru.* 'There is someone [there].' 'There are people [there].'
no number vs. obvious number, as in: 象は鼻が長い。 *Zō wa hana ga nagai.* 'Elephants have long trunks.' or
mathematical number vs. group consciousness marking, as in: 田中さん達が来た。 *Tanakasantachi ga kita.* 'Tanaka and others [his/her group] came.'

Another challenge may be the vertical structure of Japanese kinship terms. Numerous oppositions may not be possible to render in the source text:

兄 *ani* '[my elder] brother' vs. お兄さん *oniisan* '[someone's elder] brother' [honorific opposition];
兄 *ani* '[my elder] brother' vs. お兄ちゃん *oniichan* '[my elder] brother' [an intimate/childish term];
兄 *ani* '[my elder] brother' vs. 男の兄弟 *otoko no kyōdai* 'male siblings' [a technical term without specification of relative rank];
お兄さん *oniisan* '[someone's elder] brother' vs. お兄さん *oniisan* 'someone [usually younger than the speaker or hearer and occupying a lower social rank]' [a familiar term].

Moreover, some oppositions may be strictly related to the sex of the referent, as the one below:

姉 *ane* お姉さん *onēsan* '[someone's elder] sister' vs. 姉ちゃん *nēchan* 'a chick' [an extremely familiar term].

Kinship terms are only a narrow area of honorifics, which, rather than to politeness, should be related to the concept of 'socially deictic information' (Levinson, 1983: 89). It is no wonder that Japanese honorifics are considered an intricate and difficult subject, as in the following three citations:

"Japanese has an elaborate set of POLITE FORMULAS, stock phrases designed to smooth every conceivable social situation. A foreigner who memorizes about twenty or thirty of the common situational exchanges can circulate in Japanese society with surprising success, even if he knows no other expressions; he soon gets the feeling that Japanese conversation is all formula, with no content." Martin (1964)

„...in Japanese culture the need for original expressions is not strong."(Coulmas 1981)

"In everyday affairs a man who has no awareness of relative rank is not able to speak or even sit and eat." (Nakane 1970: 30).

In the act of translation/interpretation different (unexpected) contexts may be recognized and marked by the source and target party of the exchange. They may be related to context, situation and rank consciousness. Compare the following three 'stock phrases' of Japanese, not easily renderable into any situation typical for an English or Polish communication environment. Still, they need to be present in an actual Japanese exchange, rather independently of individual convictions or preferences.

Numerous tiny Japanese "stock phrases", with very high frequency of actual conversational usage may reveal a more-or-less clear meaning, at the same time being used in situations not easily recognizable in the target environment of translation/interpretation. Compare the following oppositions quoted from everyday conversations:

弟はいつもお世話になっております。 *Otōto wa itsumo osewa ni natte orimasu.* [in a rather official context] lit. 'My [younger] brother always receives help [from you].' MEANING: '[I am so glad that] my [younger]

brother [and hence our whole family] may enjoy [a long term] relation with you [the hearer/s and their organization].'

いらっしゃいませ。 *Irasshaimase.* [in a commercial context; no hearer's reaction required!] lit. 'Please, come in.' MEANING: 'I am here [and ready to start the exchange as a service provider representative].'

何もございませんが、どうぞお召し上がり下さい。 *Nani mo gozaimasen ga, dōzo omeshiagari kudasai.* [in an official situation between a guest and a host] lit. 'There is nothing here, but please help yourself.' MEANING: 'You are a guest. I am a host.'

行って来ます。 *Itte kimasu.* [at one's own home] lit. 'I will go and be back.' [in a company context] 'I will go and be back within the same working day.' [with a partner's obligatory reaction, either at home or in the company:] 行って（い）らっしゃい。 *Itte (i)rasshai.* lit. 'Go and come back.'

vs. お先に失礼します。 *Osaki ni shitsurei shimasu.* [only in a company] 'See you the following day.' [with an obligatory partner's reaction, only in a company context:] お疲れ様です。*Otsukaresama desu.* lit. '[Thank you for] your efforts.'

Another issue crucial for proper translation/interpretation are different techniques of self-expression in Japanese and in English or Polish. The below examples may be related to situations extremely common in Japanese conversation (especially in unofficial contexts), with a clear literary meaning. Still, their perceptive (restricted to one's own feelings and impressions) properties combined with the fact that similar meanings are much less frequently present overtly in English or Polish conversation affect the possibility of their translation/interpretation. The secondary though important feature of such expressions is that they are mostly of (solely) adjectival character in Japanese, which is almost impossible to render in a lexicographical source (to explain the meaning of *samui* as 'cold' without any additional comment should thus be regarded at best as being far from satisfactory).

寒い！ *Samui.* 'How cold!' 暑い！ *Atsui!* 'How hot!' おいしい！ *Oishii!* 'How tasty!' 疲れた！ *Tsukareta!* 'I'm so tired!' 気持ちいい！ *Kimochi ii!* 'I feel so good!' 気持ち悪い！ *Kimochi warui!* 'It's so disgusting!' 腹が減った！ *Hara ga hetta!* 'I'm [so] hungry!] うれしい！ *Ureshii!*

'I'm [so] happy!] 悔しい！ *Kuyashii!* 'It's such a shame [that we lost the game]!'

The above issues (as many as possible) related to the purely technical untranslatability of selected Japanese source units were not listed in order to prove that translation is impossible. On the contrary, it is definitely possible, although it may emerge in numerous variations. The below comparison of two actual (very different) EN and PL translations of *Yukiguni* should thus be regarded as a juxtaposition of only two (of many) translators' points of view.

After the First Paragraph...
Triple text versions were divided into six excerpts, for the sake of transparency. They were marked as: JP, EN, PL and quoted in this order below. Important elements were bolded in all three versions of the text. Translation issues have been listed under each set of text excerpts.

Excerpt 1
JP(1) 国境の長いトンネルを**抜ける**と雪国であった。(2) **夜の底が白くなった。**(3) 信号所に汽車が止まった。
(4) 向側の座席から娘が立って来て、**島村**の前のガラス窓を落とした。(5) 雪の冷気が流れこんだ。

EN (1) **The train** came out of the long tunnel into the snow country. (2) The earth **lay white under the night sky**. (3) The train pulled up at a signal stop.
(4) A girl who had been sitting on the other side of the car came over and opened the window in front of **Shimamura**. (5) The snowy cold poured in.

PL (1) Z długiego tunelu przecinającego granicę dwu okręgów **wjechało się** w krainę śniegu. (2) Dno nocy **zamajaczyło bielą**. (3) Pociąg zatrzymał się pod sygnałem.
(4) Dziewczyna siedząca po drugiej stronie wagonu wstała ze swego miejsca i otworzyła okno na wprost **Shimamury**. (5) Powiało śnieżnym chłodem.

ISSUES:
How does one know that it is a train? Why *tunnel*, not *tunnels* (1)?
Is Shimamura not a village name? Why (4)?
How does Shimamura know where he is? Why is the earth white (2)?

All of the above questions may be answered with the use of the nineteenth century methodology presented earlier.

Excerpt 2

JP (6) 娘は窓いっぱいに乗り出して、**遠くへ呼ぶように、**(7)「駅長さあん、駅長さあん。」

(8) 明かりをさげてゆっかり雪を踏んで来た男は、襟巻（えりまき）で鼻の上まで包み、耳に帽子の毛皮を垂れていた。

(9) もうそんな寒さかと島村は (10) **外を眺（なが）めると、**(11) 鉄道の官舎らしいバラックが山裾（やますそ）に寒々と散らばっているだけで、雪の色はそこまで行かぬうちに闇（やみ）に呑（の）まれていた。

EN (6) Leaning far out the window, the girl **called to the station master as though he were a great distance away**.

(7) The station master walked slowly over the snow, a lantern in his hand.
(8) His face was burried to the nose in a muffler, and the flaps of his cap were turned down over his ears.
(9) It's that cold, is it, thought Shimamura. (10) **[...]** (11) Low, barracklike buildings that might have been railway dormitories were scattered here and there up the frozen slope of the mountain. The white of the snow fell away into the darkness some distance before it reached them.

PL (6) Dziewczyna, daleko wychylając się z okna, **zawołała, jakby ten, do kogo się zwracała, był gdzieś w oddali**: (7) - Panie **zawiadowco**! Panie **zawiadoowco**!

(8) Mężczyzna, który z latarnią zwisającą mu z ręki powolny krokiem zbliżył się rozdeptując śnieg, okutany był aż po czubek nosa w szal, a klapy futrzanej czapy opuszczone miał na uszy.
(9) Czyżby aż tak było zimno? – przebiegło Shimamurze przez myśl. (10) **Spojrzenie jego skierowało się na zewnątrz**. (11) Były tu tylko baraki, przeznaczone zapewne na kwatery dla kolejarzy, które rozpierzchły się po stoku wzgórza i zakrzepły jakby od zimna; biel śniegu nie dochodziła do nich, pochłaniana przez ciemność.

ISSUES:

Who is calling who (and in what manner) (6)? Honorific titles are abandoned in the EN version, while being intentionally preserved in the PL version.

Who is looking out (10)? Interestingly enougn, in EN, the sentence has been omitted.

Excerpt 3

JP (12)「駅長さん、私です。**御機嫌（ごきげん）よろしゅうござい ます。**」

(13)「ああ、**葉子（ようこ）さんじゃないか。お帰りかい。**また寒 くなったよ。」

(14)「**弟が今度こちらに勤めさせていただいておりますのですって ね。お世話さまですわ。**」

(15)「こんなところ、今に寂しくて参るだろうよ。若いのに可哀想 （かわいそう）だな。」

(16)「**ほんの子供ですから、駅長さんからよく教えてやっていただ いて、よろしくお願いいたしますわ。**」

EN (12) „**How are you?**" the girl called out. "**It's Yoko**."

(13) "**Yoko, is it. On your way back?** It's gotten cold again."

(14) „**I understand my brother has come to work here. Thank you for all you have done**."

(15) "It will be lonely, though. This is no place for a young boy."

(16) „**He's really no more than a child. You'll teach him what he needs to know, won't you**."

PL (12) - **Panie zawiadowco! To ja... Jak pana zdrowie?**

(13) - Aa! **To ty, Yōko? Już wracasz?** A u nas znowu zimno!

(14) - **Podobno mój brat dostał niedawno u pana pracę... Przepraszam pana za wszystkie z nim kłopoty...**

(15) - Et... W tej dziurze zaraz mu się pewno sprzykrzy siedzieć... Tu szkoda młodego!

(16) - Tak, **to jeszcze prawdziwe dziecko. Proszę pana, panie zawiadowco, niech pan nie szczędzi mu swych wskazówek!**

ISSUES:

How are the ranks and identities demonstrated (12, 13, 16)? EN: neutral. PL: the original vertical pattern of the ranks is preserved.

Do they exchange information or greetings (13, 14, 16)? EN: information. PL: greetings.

Why is the brother „no more than a child"' and why is he going to be taught (16)? EN: pure information, related to the sister's attitude to her

[younger] brother. PL: related to the vertical pattern of ranks mentioned above.

Excerpt 4

JP (17) 「よろしい。元気で動いてるよ。これからいそがしくなる。去年は大雪たったよ。よく雪崩（なだ）れてね、汽車が立往生するんで、村も焚出（たきだ）しがいそがしかったよ。」
(18) 「駅長さんずいぶん厚着に見えますわ。弟の手紙には、まだチョッキも着ていないようなことを書いてありましたけれど。」
(19) 「私は着物を四枚重ねだ。若い者は寒いと酒ばかり飲んでいるよ。それでごろごろあすこにぶっ倒れてるのさ、風邪をひいてね。」(20) 駅は官舎の方へ手の明かりを振り向けた。

EN (17) "**Oh, but he's doing very well**. We'll be busier from now on, with the snow and all. Last year we had so much that the trains were always being stopped by avalanches, and the whole town was kept busy cooking for them."
(18) "But look at the warm clothes, would **you**. My brother said in his letter that he wasn't even wearing a sweater yet."
(19) "I'm not warm unless I have on four layers, myself. The young ones start drinking when it gets cold, and the first thing you know they're over there in bed with colds." (20) He waved his lantern toward the dormitories.

PL (17) - **Dobrze, dobrze... On tu dzielnie pracuje**. A odtąd coraz więcej będzie roboty. W zeszłym roku – pamiętam – nawaliło dużo śniegu. Spadło sporo lawin, pociągi wszystkie stanęły i całe osiedle miało masę roboty, żeby gotować dla pasażerów jedzenie...
(18) - **Pan zawiadowca**, widzę, jest dość ciepło ubrany. A brat pisał mi w liście, że podobno nawet jeszcze kamizelki nie nosi...
(19) - O, ja to mam na sobie cztery kimona. Ale młodzi, jak zimno, to tylko popijają *sake*. A potem się to całe bractwo wyleguje, zaziębione!
(20) Zawiadowca stacji machnął latarnią w kierunku baraków.

ISSUES:
How is one's own higher rank demonstrated (17)? Station master's higher rank. EN: abandoned. PL: preserved.
How is a companion's higher rank shown/demonstrated (18)? EN: abandoned. PL: preserved.

Excerpt 5

JP (21) 「弟もお酒をいただきますでしょうか。」(22) 「いや。」
(23) 「駅長さんもうお帰りですの？」(24) 「私は怪我（けが）をして、医者に通ってるんだ。」
(25) 「まあ。いけませんわ。」
(26) 和服に外套（がいとう）の駅長は寒い立話を切り上げたいらしく、もう後姿を見せながら、
(27) 「それじゃまああ大事にいらっしゃい。」

EN (21) "**Does my brother drink**?" (22) "Not that I know of."
(23) „You're on your way home now, **are you**?" (24) "I had a little accident. **I've been going** to the doctor." (25) "**You must be more careful**."
(26) The station master, who had an overcoat on over his kimono, **turned as if to cut the freezing conversation short**. (27) "**Take care of yourself," he called over his shoulder**.

PL (21) - I **mój brat** też **pije** *sake*? (22) - Nie, nie!
(23) - **Pan** pewno już **spieszy** do domu? (24) - Skaleczyłem się przed chwilą i **właśnie idę** do lekarza. (25) - O! **Proszę na siebie uważać!**
(26) Zawiadowca, w płaszczu narzuconym na kimona, **jak gdyby chcąc już przerwać tę zimną rozmowę, odwrócił się do niej plecami**. (27) - No to **bywaj zdrowa!**

ISSUES:
How is one's own higher rank (24, 26, 27) or one's partner's companion higher rank (23, 25) demonstrated? EN: abandoned. PL: preserved.
How is one's sibling's lower rank demonstrated (21) EN: abandoned. PL: preserved.
There is probably no need to mention overtly *sake* in (21) PL.

Excerpt 6

JP (28) 「駅長さん、弟は今出ておりませんの？」と、葉子は雪の上を目捜しして、
「駅長さん、弟をよく見てやって、お願いです。」(29) 悲しいほど美しい声であった。高い響きのまま夜の雪から木魂（こだま）して来そうだった。(30) 汽車が動きだしても、彼女は窓から胸を入れなかった。そうして線路の下を歩いている駅長に追いつくと、

(31) 「駅長さあん、今度の休みの日に家へ**お帰りって、弟に言って
やって下さあい。**」(32) 「はあい。」と駅長が声を張りあげた。
(33) 葉子は窓をしめて、**赤らんだ頬（ほお）に両手をあてた。**

EN (28) "**Is my brother here now?**" Yoko looked out over the snow-
covered platform. "**See that he behaves himself**." (29) It was such a
beautiful voice that it struck one as sad. In all its high resonance it seemed
to come echoing back across the snowy night. (30) The girl was still
leaning out the window when the train pulled away from the station. (31)
"**Tell my brother to come home** when he has a holiday, " she called out to
the station master, who was walking along the tracks.
(32) "I'll tell him," the man called back. (33) Yoko closed the window and
pressed her hands to her red cheeks.

PL (28) - **Panie zawiadowco, czy mój brat jest teraz tu, na peronie?** –
Yōko wodziła wzrokiem po śniegu. – **Niech pan zwróci czasami na brata
uwagę, bardzo proszę!** (29) Głos jej był piękny, a przy tym dziwnie
smutny. W wyższych tonacjach zdawał się dźwięczeć niby echo odbite od
śniegu otulonego nocą. (30) Pociąg ruszył z miejsca, ale dziewczyna nadal
pozostawała na wpół wychylona w oknie. Gdy zaś wagon dogonił
zawiadowcę idącego wzdłuż szyn, krzyknęła:
(31) - **Panie zawiadowco! Niech pan powie bratu, żeby przyjechał do
domu** w najbliższe święto!
(32) - Doobrzee! – natężył głos zawiadowca. (33) Yōko zamknęła okno **i
przyłożyła sobie ręce do zaczerwienionych policzków**...'

ISSUES:
How is one's own higher rank demonstrated (28)? EN: abandoned. PL:
preserved.
How is one's companion's higher rank and one's sibling's lower rank
demonstrated (28, 31)? EN: abandoned. PL: preserved.
Due to the above-mentioned nineteenth century approach, there is no doubt
that the cheeks are Yoko's (33)!

(Instead of) Conclusions
Since only excerpts of source and target texts were analyzed, it is far
beyond the reach of this text to make judgements on the nature of the
(un)translatability phenomenon in general. Still, it is interesting how a
shallow versus deep approach to the translation may be viewed throughout
the EN and PL target texts.

Based on the shallow vs. deep dichotomy, one may characterize the contrary approaches as follows.

EN version of the source text - a 'shallow' translation:
- honorific titles and relations are abandoned;
- secondary text effects are not preserved;
- instant 'readability' over compatibility with the source text seems to be preferred.

PL version of the text – a so-called deep translation:
- honorific titles and relations tend to be preserved;
- secondary text effects are recreated in the target text;
- compatibility with the source text is preferred over instant readability.

Needless to mention, there is no use asking which translation (EN or PL) is better. It is rather a fact that both approaches, the 'shallow' and the 'deep', proved useful and effective in the translators' attempts to deliver the source text to its final recipients, not necessarily saving all source content.

While only a limited number of JP/EN/PL incompatibility examples have been quoted, the above seems to constitute further proof that untranslatability does exist. It is even more inevitable and frequent in interpreting, where the interpreter's influence on the actual flow of communication is even less than in translation.

Although untranslatability affects not only the translations of works of a Nobel Prize candidate, it has to be pointed out here that it is not equal to the insolvability of translation problems. Important factors that the interpreter/translator should take into account include, among others:

- the actual source and target context of reception;
- the inevitability of the cross-cultural noise factor;
- the projection of the actual text receiver/reader.

Probably, the less the final recipient of a target text has to deal with translational/interpretational dilemmas and side effects the better. Not every piece of source information needs to be provided in an explicit manner in the target text.

According to at least some researchers, the (first) translation of a text is just the beginning of its reception process circle in a new (target) environment. The first reception, if followed by justified criticism, may evoke other attempts at subsequent translations. As could be seen, the

starting points of the English and Polish reception processes for *Yukiguni* were significantly different. Which, interestingly enough, does not seem to prove that either of the two reception processes has been better or worse than the other. As in other areas of human activity, translation problems may also reveal numerous possible solutions.

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AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Arkadiusz Jabłoński

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

Aleksandra Jarosz

Japonic Languages: An Overview

ABSTRACT

The present paper is an attempt to provide a synthetic description of Japanese and related minority languages, traditionally labeled as " Japanese dialects", within the recently (mid-2000s) developed framework of *Japonic languages.* Proposals for classifying Japonic ethnolects into language units are introduced alongside an outline of the family history, backed up by the author's hypothesis about the Japonic timeline. A brief information set on each of the identified languages is presented, including the language's vitality, area, number of speakers and regional diversity. Typological profile of the family is also described, with special attention paid to the distinctive and representative systemic features of the family as a whole. These features are usually exemplified by Miyakoan, which is the language studied by this author.

KEYWORDS: Japonic, mainland Japanese, Ryukyuan, Miyakoan, Yamato, Hachijōji, typological linguistics

0. Foreword

The goal of this paper is to provide a descriptive and typological introduction to the Japonic language family. An arbitrary set of languages based on the so-far conducted study of the topic will be defined, with each language described separately by a basic dataset, including its most characteristic features. At the same time, the historical background of the family will be provided. An attempt will also be made to summarize the most representative typological characteristics of the family, so that an outline of Japonic languages against the linguistic map of the world and their contribution to worldwide linguistic diversity is made, at least to some extent, clear.

The twenty-first century has witnessed a marked tendency in defining the linguistic situation of Japan as consisting of a group of genetically-related languages and language clusters, rather than a bundle of diverse dialects united under the banner of *kokugo*, the 'national language'. Nevertheless, since the Japonic family framework is still a relatively fresh idea[1], it has

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[1] As far as this author can assess, the notion of Japanese as a language family rather than an isolate has become more widespread since the 1990s, with papers such as Matsumori 1995. The term *Japonic* itself is attributed to Serafim 2003.

been so far underrepresented in research outcomes devoted to general linguistics, language classification or typological linguistics. Other than online editions of sources updated on a frequent basis, such as the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) or *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2014), this author has not come across any handbooks on the languages of the world, be it typological, genetic or devoted to language endangerment, which would mention the Japonic language family, either as a concept or as a list of a few distinct languages. The closest one can get in such literature to the notion of Japonic languages is to have "Ryukyuan" listed as a separate language (Majewicz 1989, Sanada and Uemura 2007, Asher and Moseley 2007). Since ethnolects traditionally spoken in various areas of the former Ryukyu Kingdom, however, are often as different and unintelligible with one another as they are with Japanese, the concept of a "Ryukyuan language" based on geographical proximity and former state alignment (Ryukyu Kingdom) rather than on any solid linguistic grounds should be discarded. Nevertheless, it is still as common not to find any account of Japanese having any living relatives, which maintains the illusion of Japanese being a language isolate and Japan – a linguistically homogenous, unified nation-state (e.g. no mentioning of Japonic ethnolects in Moseley 2007, or Campbell 1995 stating firmly that "the Ryu-Kyu language [sic!] is a dialect of Japanese", which actually sounds like a word-by-word translation from Japanese *kokugo* research literature).

On a more optimistic note, however, a few harbingers of expanding and promoting the Japonic field in the form of monographs have been published or planned to be published in prestigious languages-of-the world series, such as several chapters in *The Languages of Japan and Korea* (Tranter 2012) from Routledge's *Language Family Series*, or the *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages* (Heinrich et al. forthcoming) from Mouton de Gruyter. A number of synthetic works in Japanese dedicated specifically to Ryukyuan languages have also been released, including a handbook-like achievement of a very telling title *Ryūkyū shogo-no fukkō* [Restoration of Ryukyuan languages] (Okinawa Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūjo 2013). While all this clearly marks a turning point in the worldwide academic awareness of the linguistic diversity of Japan, it will probably take many more years of multidimensional research until a comprehensive volume on the Japonic language family as a whole can be published. Such a volume should ideally include listing the member languages and their regional varieties, including also the Hachijō island language instead of just a binary differentiation between mainland and Ryukyuan ethnolects,

accounting for their history, explaining their genetic interrelations and emphasizing both typological similarities and differences. This paper is an attempt to provide a rough tentative sketch of the Japonic family with this kind of a synthetic approach.

The data provided in this paper is a synthesis of information concerning the language family in question gathered from the literature available to this author (for details cf. References). Information on the Miyako language has been based on the author's analysis and research of Nikolay Nevskiy's handwritten fieldnotes from the 1920s, while information on other Ryukyuan ethnolects and on the Hachijō language is synthetically referenced from contemporary works of linguists working in the field. For a comprehensive study of Miyakoan against the Japonic family membership background, refer to this author's Ph.D. thesis (Jarosz forthcoming).

Lexemes and expressions in Japanese have been provided in the Hepburn transliteration [2] system, while for all the other Japonic ethnolects a simplified IPA notation has been applied. Frequently used place names which have a conventional English orthographic notation, such as <Tokyo>, <Kyushu> or <Ryukyu> have been written according to that English convention and not transliterated. The pin-yin has been used for transliterating Chinese (without indicating tones), and McCune-Reischauer for Korean.

1. The Japonic Basics

Japonic languages are spoken predominantly (i.e. excluding the Japanese and Ryukyuan immigrant circles in North America, Brazil, Bolivia and elsewhere) in the area of the Japanese Archipelago. Geographically, they can be divided into three major groups: mainland, Ryukyuan and Hachijō. Except for Japanese, which holds firmly its position as a national language and at the same time the only language of the family that has any officially recognized status, all Japonic languages are deeply endangered, with many on the verge of extinction. Due to these circumstances, there is little reason to believe that there are any minority Japonic speakers who are not native Japanese speakers at the same time[3]. In other words, the number of Japonic

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[2] The term *transliteration* as understood by this author refers to representing a written text in a specific language with a different script according to a fixed set of rules. According to this view, *transcription* is a process limited to representing a spoken text in a specific language with any script. Consequently, the Hepburn system for Japanese as understood here is a transliteration, and the IPA notation adopted for Ryukyuan is a transcription.

[3] To be precise, such a situation actually is conceivable, as Ryukyuan settlers used to live in some Japanese immigrant sites, such as Hawaii or Bolivia, moving there still before the Second World

native speakers may be estimated as equal to the number of speakers of Japanese, which is 128,056,940 according to the 2014 edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2014).

Currently there exists no internal classification of the Japonic family that would uniformly be agreed upon. Most controversies involve Japan's most linguistically dense and diverse area, namely the Ryukyus, and especially their northern part. While there is virtually no discussion concerning the basic subdivision of Ryukyuan languages into the northern and southern group – the natural borderline of the three hundred kilometers long open stretch of sea separating Okinawa from Miyako enabled and accelerated the distinct evolutionary pathways for the languages of both groups – smaller units, such as languages and their varieties along with their affiliations, are still being disputed and re-evaluated[4].

In Japanese literature, Ryukyuan languages (or "dialects") have often been classified according to the geographical key, i.e. one language per major island cluster. There would thus be five separate languages in the Ryukyus: Amami, Okinawan, Miyakoan, Yaeyaman and Yonaguni. Lewis et al. 2014 suggest a slightly different approach, maximalist as regards the Northern Ryukyuan group. There, apart from differentiating between the Central Okinawan and Kunigami (North Okinawan) language, every major island of the Amami cluster has its own distinct language identified, with the addition of Amami island being divided into the North Amami and South Amami language. No sources on Northern Ryukyuan varieties known to this author, however, imply that the Amami ethnolects should be inherently any more diverse or unintelligible to one another than any varieties from other island clusters, and while almost each Amami island does in fact have its distinct regiolect (which is no exception in the Ryukyus), and their genetic relationship does seem rather complex, defining a "North Ōshima", "South Ōshima" or "Okinoerabu" language does not occur as any more legitimate as defining a, say, "Tarama" or "Hateruma" language (which so far have consistently been classified as belonging to the Miyakoan and Yaeyaman respectively, even though both are rather distinct from the

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War. In those times, in spite of the compulsory school education conducted in Japanese and an aggressive "standard language promotion" (*hyōjungo reikō undō* 標準語励行運動) policy implemented by the Japanese government, the competence in standard Japanese was not yet as widespread as it is today. Therefore, it is not to say that absolutely all minority Japonic speakers must be at the same time at least equally competent in Japanese; no figures addressing the ethnolinguistic situation of immigrant descendants of Japonic minorities, however, are known to this author, and it would probably be safe to assume that these numbers are not too high. In fact, it would be quite surprising to find that languages with no written standard that are oppressed in their home country should last a few generations as a "double minority" in a foreign state.

[4] For an overview of the most up-to-date classifications see Pellard 2009: 255-259.

"core" varieties of the said languages)[5]. Therefore, in this paper the author adopts a more traditional view on the inventory of Ryukyuan languages, combining the phylogenetic classification by Pellard (2009: 264) with the inventory of Japan's endangered languages as acknowledged by UNESCO in the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2009), their rank as a unit in Pellard's taxonomic tree notwithstanding.

It needs to be emphasized, however, that Ryukyuan regiolects have emerged as a result of natural divergence among the inhabitants of the islands and settlements in question, and probably no language policy nor ethnic or national identity has ever interfered with the speakers' awareness of what ethnolect they are speaking and whether or not it is a part of a larger ethnolect/an "independent language". Thus, whatever language boundaries will be attributed to the Ryukyus by the researchers, they will necessarily be arbitrary and, to some extent, artificial.

The classification applied in the present paper is shown in Figure 1. According to this approach, the Japonic family counts eight languages in two main groups: Ryukyuan and Yamato, with the former divided further into Northern and Southern. Such classification is expected to accurately reflect the genetic proximity/distance of the languages in question.
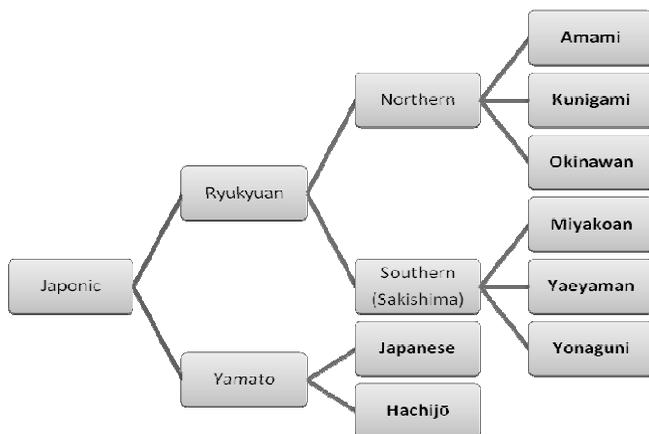

Figure 1. Classification of Japonic languages

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[5] A majority of Ryukyuan entries in *Ethnologue* seem not to have been propped by traceable sources, and therefore it is not an easy task to decide why a particular classification rather than another has been adopted.

A disclaimer needs to be made here that the following classification deals only with linguistic diversification on the language level, and therefore, for instance, the huge regional diversification of Japanese has not been taken into consideration.

2. History of Japonic Languages

No genetic relationship with any living language outside Japan has ever been proved for this language family. In spite of decades-long heated discussions on the genetic affiliation of Japonic with Korean or with Altaic, especially the Tungusic languages, which is plausible given their geographical and typological proximity, no definite conclusions have been drawn, and no uniformly accepted regular correspondences among the languages in question have been discovered. Also, as is admitted even by the proponents of the Korean and/or Altaic theory, even if one assumes that these languages are related with the Japonic language family, the relationship would necessarily have to be very distant, with thousands of years to have elapsed since the hypothesized proto-language split (cf. Hattori 1959: 208-209).

There are also various theories concerning the potential relationship between Japonic and one or more of the as-of-yet not-identified languages spoken on the Korean Peninsula before the kingdom's unification in the seventh century AD. The victorious kingdom of Silla, which allied with the Tang dynasty, is said to have been a state of Old Korean[6] speakers, while the conquered peoples were supposedly speakers of different languages possibly related to Japanese (Beckwith 2004: 28, 236 ff., Beckwith 2005: 57-59). According to one theory, with Beckwith as its main proponent, these languages constituted a group called the Puyo-Koguryoic. As evidence, there is some amount of philological data (toponyms analyzable into content and function morphemes) written in Chinese on one of these languages, Koguryŏ, found in a number of Chinese, Korean and Japanese chronicles, all written in Chinese, including the Chinese *San guo zhi* (三國志) from the late third century AD, the eighth-century Japanese *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀), twelfth-century Korean *Samguk Sagi* (三國史記) and fifteenth-century Korean *Koryŏsa* (高麗史). There are reportedly 126 "firmly identified Koguryo words and function morphemes" (Beckwith 2005: 42). Based on such a corpus, regular correspondences with Old Japanese[7] have been established (Beckwith 2004: 109-116). The language

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[6] Periodization labels for Korean follow Beckwith 2004.
[7] Periodization of Japanese follows Frellesvig 2010:1 (Old Japanese 700-800, Early Middle Japanese 800-1200, Late Middle Japanese 1200-1600, Modern Japanese 1600-), with the

then became extinct as a result of the assumed shift of its population to Old Korean.

If proven correct, the Puyo-Koguryoic theory would provide a believable account of the continental origins of Proto-Japonic speakers, who had left their relatives on the opposite shore of the East China Sea. Unfortunately, however attractive, this theory still stirs up considerable controversy concerning a wide range of questions – from the scarcity of the available linguistic material; through the applicable reading and glosses of the Chinese characters in the chronicles mentioned above, i.e. if should they be interpreted as Classical Chinese, Old or Middle Chinese, Sino-Korean, Korean, or a yet different language and period; the interpretation of the metalinguistic data provided in the chronicles, such as who spoke the language of the toponyms listed, where the language was spoken, and the degree of its intelligibility against other ethnolects of the peninsula; to the very identity of the language of the toponyms, i.e. if the language under consideration really was Koguryŏ-the-Japonic-relative and not for example a variety of Old Korean, or some other, unspecified language; or if the material assumed to reflect the "Koguryŏ" language really illustrates the same single language in all the sources in question. An amount of less questionable linguistic data, preferably backed up by archeological and historical clues, will be necessary for this theory to be ultimately grounded (or discarded).

It is equally difficult to estimate how old the Japonic family really is. Due to the lack of any linguistic data on the subject, the question of whether the bearers of the hunter-gatherer Jōmon culture, which extended from the Honshu island in the north to the Okinawa island cluster (i.e. excluding the Sakishima islands) in the south for 30,000~10,000 years BC, were speakers of Proto-Japonic or any other language(s) related to the Japonic family, remains unresolved. Archaeological and DNA research (Lee and Hasegawa 2011: section 3) indicates that there was a major population shift in the islands around the fourth century BC, meaning that the Jōmon people were ethnically and culturally distinct from the later inhabitants of the archipelago (with whom they could have assimilated to create a new, hybrid ethnicity), who brought along the Yayoi culture with its revolutionary inventions such as rice cultivation or metallurgy. Since a culture virtually identical to the Yayoi one appeared at roughly the same time on the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula (Beckwith 2004: 9), it is safe to assume that the people who commenced the agricultural and hence societal changes in today's Japan came from continental East Asia and

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exception that Old Japanese is comprehended as a wider time span (around 600-800).

settled on both sides of the East China Sea (starting with Kyushu in the case of Japan).

While the possibility of Yayoi newcomers speaking a language related to the indigenous Jōmon people, or shifting their own language to the indigenous ethnolect of the islands with the remnants of the former as a substrate cannot be excluded, these scenarios should be deemed unlikely. Under the aforementioned circumstances, the most plausible hypothesis is probably that the new Yayoi period settlers spoke Proto-Japonic, which spread across the islands and overlaid the indigenous Jōmon varieties (of, as stated previously, unknown genetic affiliation) as the migration waves centered in Northern Kyushu would gradually embrace more and more of today's Japan territory. The said indigenous Jōmon varieties which became the substrata of Japanese dialects must have played a key part in creating the marked regional diversity of Japanese.

As the structure of Yayoi society (societies) evolved and the ruling class was established over the centuries, eventually centering on the newly founded Yamato court in the area of the Kinai Peninsula in mid-western Honshu in the late fourth century AD, the language of the Yamato population throughout mainland Japan presumably also took the shape of the (almost[8]) linear ancestor of Japanese, which will be referred to here as Common Yamato. Common Yamato may be identified with Proto-Japanese as opposed to Proto-Japonic (the common mainland Japanese and Ryukyuan ancestor), and at the turn of the seventh century it entered the phase of Old Japanese.

Since the Hachijō language is said to be a descendant of the language (here called tentatively the Azuma language) used in the *azuma-uta* (東歌) 'eastern songs' in the eighth century poetry compilation *Man'yōshū*, it can be hypothesized that the Azuma split from the Common Yamato language before *azuma-uta* had been recorded – which would be at the latest around the seventh century AD[9].

There exist numerous theories concerning the period when the Proto-Ryukyuan split from mainland Japonic occurred. The lexicostatistic method applied by Hattori concluded it to have taken place between the third and sixth century AD (Hattori 1959: 82, 114); Bayesian phylogenetic analysis suggests the third century BC (Lee and Hasegawa 2011: section 4),

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[8] While Early Middle Japanese as we know it from the Heian period literature was based on the Kinki region dialect, modern standard Japanese has been based on the Tokyo variety.

[9] Obviously, such a close-to-guess hypothesis is of little avail until it has been backed by some extralinguistic proof. For a more detailed account of the two-language Yamato group history, where the term *proto-mainland Japanese* is used for Common Yamato, see Onishi 2008.

and observation of various systemic and lexical features of Ryukyuan languages sends mixed messages about the split as they share some features with both Old and Middle Japanese[10]. Nevertheless, as Pellard (2012) correctly remarks, if a feature which developed in the later phases of Japanese language history can be also observed in Ryukyuan, it might as well mean that one has to do with shared innovations, and post-Old Japanese vocabulary in Ryukyuan languages could very well be loanwords, so neither condition must necessarily mean that the split took place after that; on the other hand, however, if an innovation present in Japanese is absent from Ryukyuan and vice versa, this leads to the conclusion that the split had occurred before the innovation appeared. Pellard's view is that the Yamato vs. Ryukyuan split happened in the *kofun* period, i.e. from fourth to seventh century AD, although it was not until a few centuries later that Proto-Ryukyuan speakers moved to the Ryukyus along with their language – which means that Proto-Ryukyuan and Common Yamato/Old Japanese speakers were neighbours for generations. This could easily and convincingly account for the different layers of Japanese borrowings in Ryukyuan languages as well as the influence that Japanese exerted over Ryukyuan even after the split. According to Serafim (2003: 471-473), linguistically the most plausible candidate for the Proto-Ryukyuan homeland is north-eastern Kyushu, due to a number of features and correspondences shared between north-eastern Kyushu dialects and Ryukyuan which are absent from other Japonic ethnolects.

Japonic people reached the northern part of the Ryukyus – down to Okinawa – around the tenth century. Called the bearers of the *gusuku* 城 (Okinawan for 'fortified castle') culture from one of the most significant emblems of their society, they brought agricultural and social revolution to the islands and subsequently eliminated or assimilated the then-indigenous *kaizuka* 貝塚 'shell mound' people related to the mainland Jōmon culture. It must have also been then that Proto-Ryukyuan left mainland Japan and embarked on its journey through today's Japan's southernmost archipelago. It is worth emphasizing that the southernmost border of the Jōmon period culture lay along the Okinawan south coast. The Proto-Ryukyuan speakers who brought *gusuku* culture to the northern part of the Ryukyus did not reach Sakishima immediately in the same migration wave, either. This means that until about the eleventh century at the earliest, and possibly as late as the thirteenth century (Shimoji 2008: 23, Arashiro 1994: 23-25), the Sakishima islands were not inhabited by Japonic-speaking peoples.

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[10] For a full account of these problems and a discussion of these theories, see Pellard 2012.

Furthermore, when the first tributary ships were sent to Shuri by the Miyako and Yaeyama ruling classes in the late fourteenth century, their local Sakishima ethnolects had already become mutually unintelligible with Okinawan (Nevskiy 1996: 283). It might therefore be the case that rather than migrating to the Sakishima islands directly from Okinawa, the first Japonic Sakishima settlers came from a different site – perhaps from the Amami islands, or, unless there is any historical counterproof against it, from mainland Kyushu. Another explanation could be the presence of a thick substratum of an indigenous Sakishima language(s) in the Japonic Sakishima regiolects. At any rate, in order to estimate the time-depth of the Proto-Ryukyuan split into Northern and Southern, further comparative investigation is necessary. By so doing, one could date for example the non-shared innovations of both groups and decide how old the presumed Northern Ryukyuan/Central Okinawan borrowings are in South Ryukyuan varieties (cp. Miyakoan *situmuti* 'morning' from Shuri *ɕitimiti*, or *atsa* 'tomorrow' from Shuri *atɕa*).

A proposal for a highly hypothetical timeline of the Japonic family history has been presented in Table 1.

time	event/process
~ 3 BC	Proto-Japonic reaches mainland Japan
late 4 AD	establishing the Yamato court
4 – 7 AD	divergence of Proto-Ryukyuan from Common Yamato (Proto-Japanese)
by 8 AD	split of Common Yamato: the divergence of Azuma, the direct ancestor of Hachiō
10 AD	the *gusuku* people reach the Ryukyus; North Ryukyuan divergence from Proto-Ryukyuan
11-13 AD	Japonic people reach the Sakishima islands; establishment of the South Ryukyuan language group

Table 1. A Hypothetical Japonic Timeline

3. Typological Characteristics of Japonic Languages
This section lists a few of the most representative characteristics of Japonic languages, assumed to be shared by the vast majority of Japonic ethnolects. The author's intention is to provide a set of distinctly Japonic features that would help to typologically place the family among the languages of the world.

All descriptive statements made below are intended to be "general" rather than "universal", that is, exceptions are certain to be found to each rule.

The most obvious exceptions which this author is aware of have been taken account of.

3.1. Syllable Structure

Japanese [11] is regarded as an overwhelmingly open-syllable-structured language. While the same is true about several other Japonic languages, the key rule should be formulated along the lines of: *the only consonants* that can take on the *coda slot* within a syllable are necessarily *moraic* (in coda position) [12]. In accordance with this rule, while in Japanese the only syllable-final consonant can be the uvular nasal /N/[13], in Miyakoan it can be any of the nasals /m/ and /n/, fricatives /f/, /v/, /s/ and /z/, and in Irabu and Tarama regiolects also the retroflex lateral approximant /l̩/.

3.2. Moraicity

A mora is a valid prosodic unit in Japonic languages. It is the mora rather than segments and syllabicity[14] that decides about the pitch accent patterns; for instance, accent may fall or rise within a long vowel because it counts as two morae, i.e. the pitch changes on the mora transition. In addition, mora plays a crucial role in Ryukyuan languages as a unit of the so-called *minimality constraint*, which determines that a syntactically independent lexical item cannot be less than two-morae long. Hence the lengthening of vowels in Ryukyuan cognates of monosyllabic Japanese words, such as Miyakoan *ti:* vs. Japanese *te* 'a hand' or Miyakoan *pa:* vs. Japanese *ha* 'a leaf'.

Morae counting rules in Japonic languages are as follows: 0 for a short consonantal onset, 1 for a short syllable nucleus, a long (geminate) consonantal onset and for a coda, 2 for a long syllable nucleus (regardless if it is a vowel or a consonant).

3.3. Agglutination

Japonic languages are predominantly agglutinative. Rarely is it the case that more than one meaning is packed into a single morpheme, and there

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[11] Unless specified otherwise, "Japanese" in the present typological description refers to standard Japanese.

[12] This rule, however, naturally does not apply to those ethnolects the basic prosodic unit of which is the syllable rather than the mora, with the Kagoshima dialect of southern Kyushu being an example (Kubozono 1999:153).

[13] This approach does not take into account the "homo-organic length phoneme" /Q/ which is frequently encountered in descriptions of Japanese geminates/long consonants, an example from this paper's references list being Frellesvig 2010.

[14] Again, this does not pertain to those ethnolects that are syllabic rather than moraic.

are usually clear-cut boundaries between morphemes which constitute a word form: cp. Japanese *tabe-sase-rare-nak-atta* 'eat-CAUS-PSV-NEG-PST', Tsuken-Kunigami *tsuː-nu* 'a man-NOM/GEN', Miyakoan *fiː-ru* 'give-IMP'.

Examples of forms with less obvious morpheme boundaries include Miyakoan nouns with topic marker *-ja* or accusative marker *-ju*, cp. *tigabz* 'a letter' (no case marking), *tigabzz-a* 'a letter-TOP', *tigabzz-u* 'a letter-ACC', Yuwan-Amami forms with topic marker *-ja*, cp. *ari* 'that (distal demonstrative pronoun)' > *arəː* 'that.TOP', or Japanese contracted spoken forms, as in the terminative aspect, e.g. *shichau* > *shite shimau* 'to do sth completely, irreversibly', or topicalized demonstratives, e.g. *sorya* > *sore-wa* 'this-TOP'. In all these instances, a correspondence of one morpheme per one grammatical meaning is usually maintained. Some exceptions could, however, also be discussed here, depending on the adopted perspective; for instance the Japanese topic marker *-wa* or inclusive *-mo* in the core argument position may be analyzed as combining the nominative or accusative meanings along with their primary function of marking topic or inclusion, cp. *watashi-mo* 'I-[NOM/ACC]INCL' vs. *watashi-ni-mo* 'I-DIR-INCL'). The overlap of tense and polarity within a single marker in verbs can also be considered an instance of a fused form, cp. Miyakoan *kaks* 'write.NPST', *kak-an* 'write-NEG.NPST', *kaks-taz* 'write.PST', *kak-addam* 'write.NEG.PST'.

3.4. Word Order

The basic word order of Japonic languages is SOV (APV) with the modifier-head constituent order. This is also reflected in relative subordination, which is expressed by inserting the subordinate clause before the modified nominal. Compare the following Miyako[15] relative clauses with two heading nominals, *biki* (a function noun) and *kutu*:

az-bikiː=jaːr-an   kutuː   ftsi-poːpoː az
say-OBG=COP-NEG.NPST thing.ACC mouth-freely say.NPST
'To say to one's heart's content things one must not say'

3.5. Verbal Inflection

Verbs inflect for tense, polarity, aspect, mood, and honorific value.
The category of tense has two meanings: past and non-past. Grammatically, the future can be expressed by means of modality markers or with

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[15] Unless indicated otherwise, all Miyako examples are from Nevskiy 2005-2005a; see also Jarosz (forthcoming) for a transcribed version of the source material and its detailed analysis.

aspectual forms in correlation with the semantics of the predicate (as in Japanese, where for the so-called "momentary verbs" – *shunkan dōshi* 瞬間動詞 – a non-past form unmarked aspectually may be interpreted either as the future tense or as tenseless, while specific aspect marking is needed to impose a present tense interpretation, such as resultative, cp. [X-*wa*] *shinde iru* '[X] is dead/has died', or progressive, cp. [X-*wa*] *shinitsutsu aru* '[X] is dying').

Aspectual meanings frequently encountered across the family include progressive (which usually also includes habitual meanings), resultative[16], perfect (reported for several Ryukyuan regiolects), inchoative (change of state), inceptive (the beginning of a state or activity), terminative (final stage of a state or activity), completive (irreversible state or activity), preparative (an action done as preparation for some future event or activity) or conative (an action done tentatively)[17].

The common mood meanings with synthetic inflection that occurs directly on the verb include *irrealis*, *realis*, imperative, prohibitive, intentional/hortative and desiderative, with a multitude of other meanings expressed with auxiliary verbs or function nouns.

Certain groups of predicates may also undergo valency-changing operations, adopting a passive, causative or potential form. In the case of passive and causative, the respective markers are attached to an *irrealis* mood form of the host verb.

Honorific inflection systems may vary in elaboration in different languages, although the formal devices used for such inflection appear to be shared cross-Japonically; they include analytic constructions with an auxiliary verb (Japanese *o-dekake-ni naru*, Miyako *pazdi-samaz* 'to go out-HON'), suffixation (Japanese *or-areru*, Miyako *ur-amaz* 'to be-HON.NPST'), and suppletion (Japanese *meshiagaru*, Miyako *nkigi:z* 'to eat.HON'). It is not as common, however, for a Japonic language to have an addressative dimension of verb inflection, such as Japanese *-masu* or Okinawan *-abi:n/-ibi:n* markers; for instance, Miyako does not have a corresponding addressative form. This fact could be related to the degree of stratification of societies where the respective languages have been spoken, both Japanese and Okinawan being the languages of state authorities which

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[16] The progressive aspect of action verbs and the resultative aspect of momentary verbs is often indicated by the same exponent, an auxiliary verb homophonous with the existential verb 'to be' (Japanese *iru*, Miyako *uz*, Okinawan *wuN*).

[17] Labels after papers collected in Pellard and Shimoji 2010.

apparently required placing a greater value at expressing distance and "politeness" among their speakers by employing grammatical means[18].

3.6. Copula

Nominals can be assigned with a predicative function within a clause when equipped with an auxiliary verb called the copula. The Japonic copula has been observed to indicate equation, proper inclusion, attributives and, on less frequent occasions, possession[19]. It usually occurs as a contracted form of a case marker plus an existential verb. In Japanese it is *de aru* (in which -*de* is the instrumental case marker and *aru* is 'to be'), with its many stylistic variations such as a contracted *da*; in Miyako it is *jaz* or *jaːz* (from the topic case marker -*ja* and the verb *a(ː)z* 'to be'), and in Shuri-Okinawan *jaN* (with the underlying form the same as in Miyako).

In a number of Ryukyuan regiolects (e.g. in Miyakoan, Yaeyaman, or in several Amami ethnolects) the copula does not appear in "plain", i.e. indicative non-past sentences of positive polarity, which is not a feature that is cross-linguistically rare (cf. Payne 1997: 118). Cp. an example from Miyako:

kuma-nkai kss-oː mna mjaːku-pstu
here-DIR   come.NMN-TOP all   Miyako-man
'All the people who come here are Miyakoan'.

3.7. Case Marking

The nominal inflection paradigm in Japonic is essentially limited to case marking; other kinds of specifically nominal information, such as number or class, tend not to be grammaticalized[20]. The number of cases and case markers as well as the mapping between the two may differ among languages, the richest in case marking options for distinct cases being reportedly Tsuken-Kunigami with its thirteen case morphemes, excluding information structure-related cases (Matayoshi 2010: 98-99).

In terms of subject and object marking, Japonic languages represent the nominative-accusative language type, grouping the subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs together against the objects of transitive verbs. There is,

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[18] The addressative inflection of verbs has also been reported for Yaeyaman (Nakahara 2013: 112-113) and Amami (Niinaga 2013: 36).

[19] This author considers the famous Japanese *unagi-bun*, or 'eel sentences', as an example of the possessive function of the copula, indicating 'temporal/tentative possession'. Therefore, *watashi-wa unagi-desu* may be interpreted as 'I am having/I am going to have an eel'.

[20] This does not, however, apply to the subclass of pronouns, such as Ryukyuan personal pronouns, which do inflect for number.

however, a certain formal and functional variation in the family regarding the subject and object marking; cp. 3.8. for an example of such a variation. Case marking related to the information structure of the sentence is a shared feature of all Japonic varieties known to this author. While Japanese grammaticalizes topic and inclusion, Ryukyuan languages as a rule also employ focus marking, often with different, sentence-type sensitive allomorphs. In Hirara-Miyakoan, focus marking in declarative sentences and for core arguments of yes-no questions is *-du*, for oblique arguments in yes-no it is *-nu* (not to be mistaken with the nominative-genitive *-nu*, cp. 3.8.), and for open questions it is *-ga*, cp:

nakasuni-sann-a ja:-n-du   ur-a:z-bja:ja
Nakasone-Mr.-TOP   home-DAT-FOC be-HON.NPST-DUB
'I wonder if Mr. Nakasone is home';

vva-ga-du   iks-taz=na:
2SG-NOM-FOC go-PST=INT
'Was that you who went (there)?';

kuma-kara-nu tsika-ka:z
here-ABL-FOC   close-VRB.NPST
'Is it close from here?';

vva: no:-ju-ga   mi:-taz
2SG.TOP what-ACC-FOC see-PST
'What did you see?'.

Information structure-related cases usually combine with other, "traditional" (in the sense of indicating the syntactic relationship between the predicate and its argument) case markers linearly, the former following the latter. They also, however, tend to delete a preceding core argument marker; this is especially true of the coupling of the nominative marker and the topic marker, which are mutually exclusive in all ethnolects available for consideration[21]. Cp. the following examples in Miyako and Japanese, in both of which the topic case marker at the same time indicates the nominative case (or, if one applies a different approach, nominative is indicated by the zero marker):

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[21] See also Jarosz forthcoming: 292-293 ff. for a synthetic proposal under the name of *slot theory* that attempts to account for the linear order of nominal marking in Japonic.

baː-ja   pstu-toː   aː-n
1SG-TOP man-COM.TOP argue-NEG.NPST
'I don't argue with people';

tsuki-wa chikyū-no eisei=da
moon-TOP   Earth-GEN   satellite=COP.NPST
'The moon is a satellite of the Earth'.

3.8. Nominative-Genitive Neutralization

Under certain, language-specific circumstances, nominative and genitive case markers tend to be neutralized. In the case of standard Japanese, these circumstances are essentially syntactic: nominative *-ga* and genitive *-no* are interchangeable as subject markers in relative clauses (on Japonic relative clauses see 3.4). Also, *-ga* and its topicalized equivalent *-wa* frequently and often obligatorily take on the genitive-marking role in structures with one-argument stative predicates, cf. below:

watashi-wa kyōdai-ga   sannin i-ru [not **watashi-no*]
I-TOP   siblings-NOM three   to be-NPST
'I have three siblings.'

ano hito-wa   me-ga   kirei=da [*ano hito-no* is also available, but less frequent]
that person-TOP eyes-NOM beautiful=COP
'She has beautiful eyes.'

An amount of variation in mainland Japanese varieties is reported concerning nominative marking:

[…] some dialects spoken on Kyūshū island employ =*no* or =*i* for nominative; the northern dialects exhibit differential object marking with zero-marking for the nominative and unmarked accusative and =*koto* or =*toko* for the marked accusative (NINJAL: 8).

Unlike standard Japanese, the interchangeability of nominative and genitive markers in Ryukyuan languages, which happen to be cognates of Japanese *-ga* and *-no* usually taking the form of *-ga* and *-nu*, depends on the so-called *animacy hierarchy*. This means that there is no opposition between *-ga* and *-nu* on the syntactic level: either *-ga* or *-nu* is permanently assigned to a given class of nouns to convey *both* functions of subject-agent (towards the predicate) *and* possessor-attribute (towards another

noun). An example of animacy hierarchy in Miyako, from the top ranks to the lowest, has been shown in Table 2. As one can observe, there is an exceptional split within the category of demonstratives, in which group *-ga* is used nominatively and *-nu* genitively.

4. Language Profiles

This section is devoted to short profiles of each language as identified for the Japonic inventory in Section 1. The dataset includes the language's status (i.e. basically its level of endangerment), its area, population, regional varieties and miscellaneous concise comments. The level of endangerment is labeled after UNESCO/Moseley 2010, although for most languages it has been reassessed according to the available literature rather than being rewritten from Moseley 2010.

category	marker	examples
personal pronouns	*-ga*	*vva-ga-ru tultal* 'did you take it?' *banta-ga ja:* 'our house'
addressatives	*-ga*	*anna-ga ku:* 'mother (mummy) will come' *ujamma-ga mi:* 'your wife's/ the lady's eyes'
demonstratives	*-ga* *-nu*	*ui-ga-du pinnakaz* 'this is strange' *u-nu hun* 'this book'
people/humanoid	*-nu*	*jamatupstu-nu kstaz* 'a Japanese came here' *bakagam-nu ukagi* 'thanks to the young god's graciousness'
animals	*-nu*	*taka-nu mo:tsika:* 'if an eagle soars' *zzu-nu miz* 'fish meat'
inanimate and abstract nouns	*-nu*	*madu-nu nja:n* 'there is no spare time' *kutuba-nu imi* 'meaning of a word'

Table 2. The Animacy Hierarchy in Miyako-Ryukyuan

No general demographic data is available for most languages. The number of speakers, therefore, in each case other than Japanese reflects a rough calculation on the part of this author and/or field students of respective languages, the calculation of which in turn has been abstracted from data on the number of speakers and level of endangerment of specific varieties representing that particular language (using this approach, for instance, the data on Ikema, Irabu, Karimata and Ōgami regiolects of Miyakoan have been employed as an approximation of the total number of speakers of Miyakoan in 4.2.2.1. below and in Jarosz forthcoming: 161-162).

4.1. The Yamato Group
4.1.1. Japanese
With the population of native speakers ranking ninth among the languages of the world and an attested literary tradition reaching as far back as the eighth century AD, Japanese is ranked as the world's ninth largest language concerning the number of native speakers (Lewis et al. 2014).

Status: national language.

Area: Japan, Japanese immigrant countries (especially the U.S. and Brazil).

Number of speakers: 128 million (out of which about 127 million live in Japan; cp. Lewis et al. 2014).

Dialectal diversity: extremely rich (cp. the complex linguistic history of Japan as described in Section 2), but on the decline due to the aggressive spread of standard Japanese. A number of examples of dialect divisions cited by Katō 1977: 58-65 include: Kyushu vs. Honshu, the latter further divided into Eastern, Central and Western; Kyushu, Eastern Honshu, Central Honshu and Western Honshu; and Kyushu, Western and Eastern.

4.1.2. Hachijō[22]
The only living descendant of the ancient Azuma language presumed to have been spoken east of the Japanese Alps, the Hachijō language has retained many characteristics that can be traced back to as early as the era of the *Man'yōshū* compilation and the *azuma-uta* recorded there, such as verbs with final *-o* and stative verbs (the so-called predicative adjectives) with the final *-e* in the attributive position; cp. the Hachijō examples *oro man* 'the time of weaving', *takumashike onogoko* 'a strapping boy'.

Status: definitely endangered (Moseley 2010).

Area: the islands Hachijō and Aoga, which belong administratively to the Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture.

Estimated number of speakers: a few thousand, although the actual numbers of active users could be around a few hundred on Hachijō island and a few dozen on Aoga island.

Internal diversity: there are three main varieties – Upper Hachijō and Sueyoshi on Hachijō island and Aoga on Aoga island.

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[22] Data concerning Hachijō has been synthesized from Kaneda 2011.

5.2. The Ryukyuan Group

4.2.1. The Northern Ryukyuan Subgroup
4.2.1.1. Amami[23]

The Amami language is known for its rich vowel inventory, typically consisting of seven short vowel phonemes, including two central – /ɨ/ and /ə/. Furthermore, several Amami consonants display the opposition of glottalized/-non-glottalized (cp. *tɨ:* 'a hand' vs. *ˀtɨ:* 'one'). Also, a number of Amami varieties are not bound by the minimality constraint (cf. 3.1.), which makes them distinct in comparison with other Ryukyuan languages; this could perhaps be explained by their longer and more intense exposure to mainland Japanese via the Amami ties with the Satsuma clan[24].

Status: severely endangered.

Area: a large part of the Amami islands (including Amami Ōshima, Uke, Yoro, Kakeroma and Tokuno).

Estimated number of speakers: around 10,000.

Internal diversity: the main regiolects include Northern Amami Ōshima, Southern Amami Ōshima with the three small islands Yoro, Kakeroma and Uke just south of the main island, and Tokuno. The affiliation of the remaining Amami group islands (Kikai, Okinoerabu and Yoron) remains disputable (see 4.2.1.2.).

The latter consists of varieties of the Tokuno, Okinoerabu and Yoron islands. The Okinoerabu and Yoron varieties phonemically resemble the Kunigami language more than other Amami varieties, and so they are sometimes classified as Kunigami varieties (Moseley 2010). Genetically, however, the most divergent branch of the language is supposed to be Yoron, and then Okinoerabu and Tokuno fall together against the remaining varieties (Pellard 2009: 264; it is worth observing, however, that the taxonomic tree does not address the issue of the Kikai island varieties).

4.2.1.2. Kunigami[25]

The most controversial unit among those distinguished by UNESCO, the Kunigami language, has been identified on the basis of two phonological features observable across its regiolects: the replacement of the stop /k/ with the fricative /h/ in certain environments (cp. Japanese *kaze* vs. Kunigami *hadzi* 'the wind') and the retention of the initial /h/ as a bilabial sound, either the fricative /ɸ/ or the stop /p/ (cp. Japanese *fune* vs.

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[23] Data concerning Amami has been synthesized from Niinaga 2010 and Niinaga 2013.

[24] The Amami islands had been a part of the Satsuma domain since 1609 (Niinaga 2013: 31).

[25] Data concerning Kunigami has been synthesized from Nishioka 2013 and Matayoshi 2010.

Kunigami *puni* 'a boat'). Kunigami resembles Amami in that it phonemically distinguishes between glottalized and non-glottalized consonants.

Status: definitely or severely endangered.

The situation on Yoron island is unique, distinguished by the still continued transmission of the local language to the children's generation (Majewicz 2006: 43-44) and by the conscious bottom-up efforts of the community to preserve the language, reflected for instance in a four-volume [*sic*!] textbook with a course in Yoron (Kiku 2006-2014).

Area: northern part of the Okinawa main island, including Nago, Nakijin, Motobu, Kin, Onna, and the adjacent islands Ie, Iheya and Izena; islands Tsuken and Kudaka; several islands from the Amami group: Kikai, Okinoearabu and Yoron[26].

Estimated number of speakers: 20,000 ~ 40,000.

Internal diversity: distinct regiolect for every island in question; the Okinawa main island varieties have also been called *yambaru*, which comes from the historical name of this area.

4.2.1.3. Okinawan

Often inaccurately referred to as "*the* Ryukyuan language" (probably due to the prestigious position it used to hold in the Ryukyus), Okinawan, and specifically its Shuri-Naha variety, was the language of the Ryukyu Kingdom rulers. It is the only Ryukyuan language which has any pre-modern written tradition, the script being the *kana* syllabaries borrowed from Japanese. Existing sources include, among others, *Omorosōshi*, a collection of 1,533 sacred and folk songs compiled at the order of Ryukyuan kings in 1531, 1613 and 1623; traditional poetry called *ryūka* 琉歌 'Ryukyuan songs', with a fixed rhythm of 8-8-8-6 *morae* for a verse; or the *kumiodori* plays first created in the eighteenth century by a court official called Chōkun Tamagusuku (Nishioka 2013a: 78). Considered as examples of classical Okinawan literature, they are valuable pieces of documentation which allow students of the language to uncover the earlier stages of its development.

Linguistic features which can be considered representative of Okinawan include: the raising of short mid-close vowels (i.e. no short /e/ and /o/

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[26] According to the taxonomic tree calculated in Pellard 2009: 264, Okinoerabu and Yoron are still more closely related to Amami than to Kunigami regiolects, with Okinoerabu placed within the same branch as Tokuno (which is uniformly classified as the Amami language). Consequently, shared features of what has been labeled here as the "Kunigami language" may in fact be a result of convergence/language contact, rather than divergence/genetic proximity.

except in relatively recent Japanese loanwords), the palatalization of proto-language *ki and *gi (cp. Japanese *kimu* vs. Okinawan *tɕimu* 'liver', *mugi* vs. *muzi* 'wheat'), a phonological presence of the glottal stop /ʔ/ (cp. *waː* 'you' vs. *ʔwaː* 'a pig'), or multiple markers corresponding to the present-day Japanese dative-locative marker *-ni* and directive *-e*: dative, directive and agentive (in clauses with passive voice) *-nkai*, locative *-nakai* and temporal *-ni*.

Status: definitely endangered (Moseley 2010).

Area: central and southern part of the Okinawa main island, neighbouring islands such as Kume or Kerama. Affiliation of some of the smaller islands with either Okinawan or Kunigami language is controversial.

Estimated number of speakers: anything from tens of thousands to a few hundred thousand. Since the main urban centres of the area attract newcomers from other parts of the Ryukyus as well as mainland Japan, the ethnic Okinawan population, which could potentially identify with Okinawan as their heritage language, is more difficult to assess than in the case of smaller Ryukyuan languages in less densely populated areas with smaller rates of immigration.

On the other hand, Okinawan is possibly the only Ryukyuan language which is taught in systematic courses (also outside of Okinawa, and even outside Japan), and thus there might actually be a surprisingly high number of Okinawan L2 speakers. A number of course books such as Nakahara and Nishioka 2000 are also available.

Internal diversity: apart from the Shuri-Naha variety, which had served for centuries as the language of the Ryukyu Kingdom court and aristocracy and thus the *lingua franca* of the archipelago, there are multiple other major ethnolects, such as Itoman, south-west coastal, Katsuren, and the insular varieties.

4.2.2. The South Ryukyuan (Sakishima) Subgroup
4.2.2.1. Miyakoan

Miyakoan is the language of moraic fricatives and syllabic consonants, which gives it a "consonantal" sound considered rather unique in the Japonic scale. It also has many other Japonically unusual features both within its phonological as well as morphosyntactic system, such as long voiced obstruents appearing word-initially (cp. *zza* 'a scythe', *vva* 'you'), reduplicated adjectives and a distinct adjective verbalizer *-kaz* (Proto-Japanese *ku ari*)[27], no distinction between the attributive and conclusive

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[27] This does not apply to Tarama, in which the verbalizer represents the same lineage as most other Ryukyuan ethnolects, *-sa ari.

verb forms, a synthetically marked *realis* mood (the affix *-m*) the function of which is to indicate the speaker's certainty of the proposition and its high information value (Shimoji 2008: 501), or two copula verbs, *ja:z* and *du:z*, differentiated by whether the information conveyed by the predicate is topicalized (the former) or focalized (the latter).

Status: severely endangered.

Area: Miyako islands (Miyako, Ikema, Kurima, Irabu, Ōgami, Tarama and Minna, with Ōgami and Minna on the verge of total depopulation, cf. Jarosz forthcoming: 161).

Estimated number of speakers: 12,000 ~ 20,000.

Internal diversity: two main regiolect groups, Tarama and Common Miyako, with the latter further divided into Central Miyako and Ikema-Irabu subgroups (after Pellard 2009: 294-295).

4.2.2.2. Yaeyaman[28]

A language most closely related to Yonaguni in a branch sometimes called "Macro-Yaeyama" (Aso 2010: 190). While the aspiration of consonants is not a phonologically distinctive feature in Yaeyaman, in many varieties, and most notably Hateruma, it can be as strong as to devoice one or even two immediately following vowels or sonorants: [sʰḁki] *saki* 'rice wine', [tʰu̥ɾi] *turi* 'a bird'. Voiceless stops tend to be voiced in intervocalic positions in a manner similar to the Tōhoku dialects of Japanese. Also, as opposed to Miyakoan but similarly to Northern Ryukyuan, Yaeyaman has maintained (or re-developed) a morphological distinction between the conclusive and attributive position of a verb (cp. conclusive *ukiruN* and attributive *ukiru* 'to get up'). Like Miyakoan, Yaeyaman has the *realis* mood, marked with the suffix *-N*. An apparent difference with the Miyako *realis* is that in Yaeyaman, the *realis* mood has strong limitations on the co-occurrence with the second person, even in interrogative sentences (Izuyama 2003: 62-64).

Status: severely endangered.

Area: the Yaeyama islands except for Yonaguni (Ishigaki, Iriomote, Hatoma, Kohama, Taketomi, Aragusuku, Kuro and Hateruma).

Estimated number of speakers: 10,000 ~ 15,000.

Internal diversity: as usual in the Ryukyus, each island has its own distinct variety. Hateruma and Taketomi seem to form a genetically divergent branch against other regiolects (Pellard 2009: 273-276).

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[28] Information on Yaeyama has been synthesized from Izuyama 2003, Aso 2010 and Nakahara 2013.

4.2.2.3. Yonaguni[29]

The ultimately peripheral, westernmost Japonic language, and at the same time probably the one the fate of which is most doomed as it is spoken on just one small isolated island with few future prospects for the young generation and no education above middle-school level available. Yonaguni has developed many unique features in the scale of the family, one of which is the replacement of the word-initial palatal approximant /j/ of other Japonic languages with /d/ (cp. Jap *yoru* vs. Yonaguni *duru* 'night', or *ji* vs. *di* 'a letter, a character'). Furthermore, Yonaguni words do not appear to be bound by the minimality constraint (cp. Yonaguni *a* and Miyakoan *a:* 'millet', Yonaguni *ti* and Miyakoan *ti:* 'a hand', etc.). Yonaguni also appears to be the only Southern Ryukyuan ethnolect which has a phonemic distinction between glottalized and non-glottalized consonants (cp. *tu* 'ten' vs. *tˀu* 'a man').

Like Yaeyaman and unlike Miyakoan, Yonaguni distinguishes between the attributive and conclusive forms of the verb.

Status: critically endangered.

Area: the Sonai and Hikawa settlements on Yonaguni island.

Estimated number of speakers: ~ 150 (Izuyama 2013: 128).

Internal diversity: distinct varieties of the two aforementioned settlements.

6. Further Goals: Replacing Arbitrariness with Research

The present overview, being but an overview – and of an understudied subject – is bound to contain some points of contention or vagueness which cannot be resolved just yet with the author's present-day state of knowledge, and perhaps also of Japonic studies in general. This involves especially matters concerning the history of the Japonic family, and the resulting terminology applied in this paper. Had there ever really been any such thing as a "Common Yamato" language, and if so, then what were its ancient divergence and convergence patterns? What about the timeline and the actual genetic proximity among the identified groups, languages and varieties? A much more comprehensive and systematic study of the particular languages is also necessary.

For the time being, the available studies of the languages under consideration still show a phonemic bias, which is the unfortunate legacy of decades of treating minority ethnolects as "Japanese dialects". For a full-fledged study of the Japonic language family, however, one accounting for both the shared features as well as the regional distinctiveness of the

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[29] Information on Yonaguni has been synthesized from Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2010 and Izuyama 2013.

member languages, the compilation of comprehensive grammars of the languages in question will be priceless. Either way, it will certainly take many more years until a full, multi-dimensional and accurate summary of the Japonic language family can be achieved. Hopefully, by that time the decline of non-standard Japonic regiolects will have been, at least to some extent, impeded, and one will find most of these regiolects revitalized and living.

Abbreviations

1	first person	INT	interrogative
2	second person	IRR	*irrealis*
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ACC	accusative	NMN	nominalizer
CON	conative	NOM	nominative
CAUS	causative	NPST	non-past
COP	copula	OBG	obligative
DAT	dative	PROG	progressive
DUB	dubitative	PROH	prohibitive
DIR	directive	PST	past
FOC	focus	PSV	passive
HON	honorific	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic
INCL	inclusive	VRB	verbalizer

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AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Aleksandra Jarosz
Teaching/research assistant at the Japanese Language and Culture Center of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. She specializes in Ryukyuan linguistics. Her research interests include typological and comparative/historical linguistics, as well as language documentation and language maintenance.

Zofia Kurzawińska

Akita Dogs as Representatives of Japanese Culture Abroad

ABSTRACT

It might be interesting to consider how deeply rooted in past political and historical events one breed of a dog can be. Dogs of resemblance to the Akita have existed since Jōmon period. Their survival to the present day is a consequence of many groundbreaking developments. This article traces the journey of the Akita dogs throughout history, discussing both the traditional meaning of the dogs, as well as their way to international recognition, which resulted in the establishment of the American Akita breed.

KEYWORDS: Akita dog, Helen Keller, Hachikō, Japanese dog breeds

Introduction

In a world of globalization, where different aspects of culture interchange unhampered, the Japanese dog breed Akita has achieved global success in terms of Japan's exports, alongside such products as traditional food, sushi or Japanese comics and animation. However, the popularity of Akitas mainly manifests itself in the recognition of the dog's basic features, such as its pointed ears and curly tail. When it comes to the more unconventional facts regarding the history of this breed, these remain unknown to a wider audience. This article aspires to introduce some of these unheard-of details. It touches upon the history of the breed, provides information on the most celebrated Akita dogs and clarifies a few matters about Akita shows in the United States. All that is intended to present a more complex image of the Akitas, place them on the Japanese history timeline, and show the breed's meaning in a more pop-cultural dimension, as well as to underline the hardships one must go through in order to gain a thorough recognition of this breed whilst keeping it pure. The article quotes descriptions of the Akita breed written by various organizations and contains some examples of names given to the dogs in the hope that both can provide the reader with a basic understanding of what a breeder's work in a kennel is like. Lastly, this paper also aims to present the Akita as a symbol of Japan, i.e. to provide evidence that the breed is one of the many components that make up the image of Japan and its culture.

The Origin of the Akitas

The first evidence of the domestication of dogs in Japan goes back to the Jōmon period (12 000 B.C. – 300 B.C). Skeleton remains and fossils from that time prove that the dogs were used for hunting. Images and figures found in the burial mounds of the Yayoi period (300 B.C. – 300 A.D.) depict dogs with standing ears and curled tails, characteristic of today's Japanese breeds. Around 600 B.C., during the reign of the legendary emperor Jimmu, new types of dogs came from Korea and China, which resulted in some similarities between Asian dog breeds (cf. Linderman & Funk 1994).

Dogs started to appear in early Japanese chronicles such as *Kojiki* (712 A.D.) and *Nihon shoki* (720 A.D.). From that point onwards, they began to feature in the country's literature.

In the 12th century, dog fights began to gain popularity. By the 13th century, a "dog chasing game", mentioned by Bouyet (2002), became a kind of sport:

> "For this event, a rope circle was erected in the public square. A dog was released from the centre of the circle, whereby several mounted Samurai bowmen tried to shoot the dog before it escaped from the circle. It is said that white dogs were used for the more formal occasions." (Bouyet 2002: 2)

There are writings proving that Hōjō Takatoki, a regent from the Kamakura period (1192-1333), was very much into dog fighting. Bouyet quotes that

> "(...) he loved dog fighting as a form of entertainment to such an extent that he collected dogs by way of taxes from the various provinces. This caused the people to breed dogs by dozens and send them to Kamakura, where they were fed on fish and fowl and dressed in elaborate tinsel and brocades." (ibid.)

She then adds that during dog fights, as is said, around two hundred dogs could be released at once to battle cruelly.

A significant person in the history of Japanese dogs is shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709), known by the nickname *Inu kubō* ("Dog shogun"). Born in the Year of the Dog, he enforced animal protection laws.

His Laws of Compassion were enacted in the later stages of his reign. The death penalty was one of the punishments for hurting animals. Thanks to Tsunayoshi, many dogs at that time were listed down in a registry called *Kazukesho* with descriptions of their coat colour (cf. Coren 2002). They seem to more or less match the coat colours known today.

In the early Meiji period (1868-1912), Akita-type dogs were used for hunting and protection. It is often mentioned that they could hold down the Hokkaido brown bear (*Ursus arctos yesoensis*). Due to their developed webbed paws, they were good fish-catchers and also helped in falconry (cf. Capricorn 2008). It is also said that mothers put their children under the dog's care while they went away for business.

However, with Japan ending its isolation, many Western breeds came to Japan. The dogs were crossed in order to create strong fighters. The Japanese Tosa dog proved to be stronger than the Akita, so the latter started to become less and less popular. Soon dog licensing was ordered and many owners gave up their dogs as they did not have enough money to pay. Moreover, many dogs were put down after outbreaks of rabies occurred at the end of the Meiji period (cf. Kajiwara 1975).

In order to prevent Japanese breeds from disappearing, seven of them were made "Japanese natural monuments" in 1931. This is the first time the term "Akita dog" was used.

Naming the animals "natural monuments" led to the rebuilding of the breed and crossing it back to have characteristic features. The Second World War came and many dogs died from hunger or were either killed for food or turned into fur for soldiers fighting in the cold. After the war, the Akita dog Goromaru Go gained fame as one of the first breed rebuilders (cf. Capricorn 2008).

For many years, Akita dogs were used as hunters, protectors and fighters. Their role changed in line with developments in the human world. In the 20th century, they also attracted attention overseas and the first foreign researchers came to study the dogs. Today, the Akita is internationally recognized as a breed.

The following part of this study investigates what helped the Akita gain this recognition.

Hachikō

One reason why the Akita is the most internationally well-known Japanese breed is the story of the faithful Hachikō, which transcends the breed itself. On page 4 in *The book of Akita* by the American author Joan Brearley, the following can be read:

Zofia Kurzawińska

"Dedication
This book is dedicated to the great
HACHI-KO,
The dog that became a legend in his country
And forever in the breed because he epitomized
The loyalty and devotion of all dogs. It seems
Only fitting that his statue at Shibuya Station in
Japan has remained a meeting place for lovers
In his native land." (1985: 4)

Hachikō was an Akita dog owned by Ueno Hidesaburō, a Tokyo University professor. Every day, the dog and the owner repeated an unusual routine. When Ueno went to work in the morning, Hachikō accompanied him to the station. When it was time for the owner to come back, the dog was already there, awaiting the train. However, Ueno's sudden death from a stroke in May 1925 put an end to this human-dog friendship. Although Hachikō waited at the station, his owner never came back. Throughout the ten years of waiting, passengers and passers-by showed much sympathy to this Akita and came to the station to support him. Hachikō died in 1935 at Shibuya Station (cf. Linderman & Funk 1994: 33-38).
This story of a dog's loyalty to his owner, well-known in Japan, is often mentioned in many non-Japanese books about the Akita breed. It is not uncommon for authors retelling the story to put a lot of emotion in the descriptions.
Here are two examples:

"(…) people who saw the pathetic figure of this faithful creature growing old day by day were so deeply moved by the sight that they decided to erect a statue in memory of this noble animal" (Linderman & Funk 1994: 38)

"(…) people of Tokyo came to know and love this devoted dog, and gave him food and water. Many made a special journey just to feed and pat him (…)" (Mitchell & Mitchell 1990: 12)

These two authors write with sympathy for Hachikō. The descriptions are to reach the imagination of the readers and bring forth a strong reaction.

Joan Brearley, the author of the first quotation within this unit, also depicts her emotional response to the story. In her short recollection, Hachikō is a representative of the Akita breed, of all dogs and an ideal example of an animal's loyalty and friendship. A tribute is also paid to his country of origin.

A more recent tribute to Hachikō's story is a film released in 2009 and directed by Lasse Hallström. It is an English-American remake of *Hachikō monogatari* (Kōyama, Japan, 1987). Two equivalent titles of this film function in English: *Hachiko: a dog's story* and *Hachi: a dog's tale*. The second variation uses the diminutive form of the dog's name. When the film came to Japan, the title *Hachi: the dog that kept its promise* (ハチ 約束の犬 *Hachi: yakusoku no inu*) was chosen. The production introduced Hachikō to a wide international audience, which proves that the story depicts the idea of loyalty in a highly universal way.

The dog appeared in Japanese newspapers even back in the 1930s. To commemorate him, statues were erected twice in front of the Shibuya Station. The first statue was unveiled in 1934, while Hachikō was still living. During the war, the original sculpture was taken down and melted for weapon production, thus the second statue was built as a replacement in 1948 (cf. Capricorn 2008). By gaining people's attention, Hachikō probably helped to preserve the Akita breed the way it is known today. It is also possible that his popularity in Japan triggered the importation of the first Akita to the United States, which will be mentioned again later in this article. With Hachikō's story having been retold so many times, his role in the history of the Akita breed cannot be omitted.

First Akitas in the United States

Hellen Keller (1880-1968) was an American writer, pedagogue and political activist. At the age of 19 months she lost the ability to see and hear, but with the help of her teacher, Anne Sullivan, managed to finish University and obtain a doctor's degree. In 1937, Keller came to Japan at the invitation of Iwahashi Takeo, a blind worker for disability organizations (Kaczyńska 1998: 322-326). In Japan she travelled giving lectures, which brought her at one time to Akita city. It is believed that by then she had heard of Hachikō. Due to her interest in the Akita breed, some arrangements were made by a policeman and dog enthusiast, Ogasawara Ichiro. As a result, Keller returned to the United States with a puppy called Kamikaze Go, previously owned by Ogasawara himself. Not long after, Keller sent a letter to Japan informing of Kamikaze's sudden death at the age of eight months. The dog's brother, Kenzan Go, was sent to her on the

ship *Kirishima Maru*. This attracted attention, for it was reported by the *New York Times* and also included a photo of the event (cf. Ogasawara).

This rare occasion of Kenzan Go appearing in the American news was of importance for further developments. When the time came for dog enthusiasts in the United States to become interested in breeding Akitas, the story of the two puppies was brought back to attention and this perhaps added a boost to the awakening interest.

In 1978, an article titled *Helen Keller: Saint of Three Burdens and the forgotten story of her Akitas - first in America* by N. Rhoden and J. Hooper appeared in the *Akita Journal* – a now non-existent American magazine dedicated to the protection, preservation and improvement of the breed. The article became the second chapter of the book *Pawprints in Japan: dogs in myth and history* released in 2002 by Rhoden. The author herself is a researcher of biological aspects of the Akita (cf. Linderman & Funk 1994: 2).

Pawprints... opens with the story of Hachikō and the book is, as the title suggests, generally Japan-related. But the figure of Helen Keller is not omitted. With such an influential person being the first to bring Akita puppies to the United States, the story of Kamikaze's and Kenzan's arrival became the second after Hachikō's to be retold outside Japan.

Akita as A Representative of Japanese Culture
In some of her letters, Helen Keller praised the beauty, loyalty and affection of Kenzan Go, her second Akita dog (cf. Keller 1940).

She also mentioned her first Akita, Kamikaze, in the *Akita Journal*:

> "If ever there was an angel in fur, it was Kamikaze. I know I shall never feel quite the same tenderness for any other pet. The Akita dog has all the qualities that appeal to me – he is gentle, companionable and trusty." ("Helen Keller: first Akitas in the USA" 1997)

These words of Helen Keller concerning the Akitas are very important, for in the United States Keller is known best for being a very inspirational and sensitive person. Her thoughts on life have become quotes and serve as examples for others, and so her opinion on Akitas might well be equally influential.

Some of Keller's thoughts about Akitas match the descriptions in dog standards created by Akita organizations throughout their years of activity.

These are some of the descriptions as given by the authors of *The new complete Akita* book.

The *Nihonken Hozonkai* (NIPPO) standard from 1992:

> "The dog possesses an intrepid spirit whilst being loyal and self-possessed. There is sophistication in its good-natured simplicity. The appearance should be dignified." (Linderman & Funk 1994: 76)

The Akitainu Hozonkai (Akiho) standard from 1927:

> "An Akita is quiet, strong, dignified and courageous. He is also loyal and respectful, reserved and noble. He is sensitive and deliberate yet possesses quickness." (Linderman & Funk 1994: 81)

What is interesting is an analysis of the Akitainu Hozonkai standard written by the research committee of the Akitainu Standard in Japan which says:

> "An Akita's nature is to be intensively loyal to its master. This is especially strong in the Akita compared to the other breeds. This characteristic parallels the intensely loyal character of the traditional Japanese people." (Linderman & Funk 1994: 81-84)

This analysis makes a certain statement on the Akita and the traditional behaviour of Japanese people. The idea of loyalty is present in many Japanese works of culture such as traditional literature or theatre. *Giri*, one's duty towards superiors, is a Japanese value researched into by many in the cross-cultural field. But such a statement, if not followed by detail, might lead to misinterpretation or stereotypization, which must always be considered. However, what is most important is that the above-mentioned words show that the Akitas do not only exist in the most realistic sense, meaning a type of dog breed, but they also exist as a form of theoretical idea associated with items that in some measure help to build the idea of a country called Japan, with its history, culture and tradition. This way of thinking adopted globally is what makes the Akitas significant in spreading the word about Japan abroad.

Another comparison of Akitas to Japanese tradition appears in connection with the colour of the dog's coat. This is quite a complicated subject, because there are many coat variations and Akita breeders often dedicate a separate book chapter to this issue. In the article *Aiken Journal*, a known Japanese Akita researcher Naoto Kajiwara states as follows:

> "(…) one should consider the colour hue admired by the Japanese in the native dog that inhabited the Tohoku region from ancient times. That is, colour hues that blend with the elegantly pure Japanese paintings, pristine and refined Japanese antique art objects, and the simple but sturdy and strong Japanese architecture should also be considered." (after Linderman & Funk 1994: 108)

As we read about Japanese aesthetics, "In every area of the Japanese lifestyle – whether it is food, clothing, painting or architecture – it is important to produce an aesthetic effect" (Ching-Yu Chang 2010: 62). Meanwhile, the above-mentioned fragment by Kajiwara puts the Akitas within their own aesthetic category alongside the most valued Japanese works of culture so that anyone can grasp their true beauty and the hidden meaning of their appearance. However, for a foreigner, in order to gain an accurate understanding of Kajiwara's concept of Akitas, specific knowledge of Japanese art must be gained, for however true Kajiwara's own aesthetic experience of Akitas may be, "aesthetic experiencing takes place not only between subject and object; it also is shaped by cultural and social developments" (Imai & Wulf 2007: 8). Hopefully people's interest in Akitas and the creation of an emotional bond with their pets triggers the need to learn more about the country of their origin. Indeed, as we can see in the following part of this paper, throughout their popularization abroad Akitas took part in events that inspired people to work seriously on adopting and developing the breed further. Akitas have also become an element of what Japan is in pop-culture and bear names drawn from popular Japanese motifs.

The American Akita

The first Akitas came to America in 1937, but it wasn't until after the Second World War that this breed started to become more and more popular. Many Japanese dogs were brought as souvenirs by American soldiers. From 1955, the Akitas could be shown in the Miscellaneous Class

with other yet unclassified dogs. The dogs only gained official recognition in 1972.

At the time of the Second World War, the breed was not in the best possible state and decreased in numbers. The dogs that came with the soldiers were often far from what a pure breed of Akita should look like. As a result, the differences made it necessary to form the term American Akita to distinguish the new type of dog.

In 1974, the American Kennel Club closed itself to further Akita importation and only dogs already residing in America could participate in shows. This lasted until 1992, when showing imported dogs was once again allowed (cf. Capricorn 2008).

In *The Book of the Akita*, Brearley notes that in the early 1970s special dog shows were held as part of Nisei Week - a cultural event, which started as a festival for the American Japanese community of Little Tokyo in Los Angeles. The word *nisei* 二世 and means 'the second generation', in other words the American-born Japanese.

According to Brearley, the show was called Akita Inu Hozonkai and took place alongside tea ceremonies, judo matches and other events connected to Japanese culture. Cooperation between Japan and America made it possible for specialists to come in order to judge the American Akita. In 1969, a Japanese veterinarian:

> "(...) gave a critique stating that Akitas with black spots or stars on their tongues are shown in this pet class since such is considered a fault in the breed. He also stated that the American Akitas were about twenty years behind the Japanese in their breeding program." (Brearley 1985: 28)

In 1970, another judge:

> "(...) found the color and brilliance in coat very much lacking. He went on to criticize facial traits: too many wrinkles, loose jowls, improperly shaped eyes and loose skin, weak hindquarters, and loose tails as the *predominant* faults. He added to this by stating that he felt the hair on the tails were not nearly long or full enough, and that there not nearly enough white Akitas in this country." (Brearley 1985: 28-29)

As shown by the above quotations, the difference in the outside looks of the original and American Akita were greatly noticeable. However, this

matter is not to be thought of negatively. The creation of an American-based Akita made the breed root deeper in the country's history of cynology. Moreover, American Akitas started to interest dog specialists in Japan and is now a part of their research.

As for the Nisei Week, it is now a huge event attracting many enthusiasts learning about Japanese culture. Although dog shows no longer feature in its programme, Akitas are present in the form of the festival's dog mascot bearing the name Aki the Akita.

Dog Names[1]

Since Akitas come from Japan, it is not uncommon for them to be given Japanese names, like Shirayuki, Matsukaze, Asahime or Ichitaro. The longest and most characteristic are the names of dogs participating in dog shows and contests. Here are some examples: Dragon Head's Emperor Kaito, Allure Island's Shogun, Nan Chao's Samurai no Chenko, Jade Ko Samurai, Keoshe Samurai Lee Down. The first word in the name often indicates the dog's kennel of origin, or its geographical location and so on, or the names of the dog's pure-breed sire or dam. It is interesting to note how these names of American Akita championship winners have been influenced by internationally recognizable Japanese themes and symbols. In this case, emperors, warriors and shoguns.

An interesting example of another champion's name is Kimino Kuro Siwo No Pearl. "Kuro Siwo" (黒潮 *Kuroshio*) refers to the ocean current flowing past Japan. The name is most likely to mean "Pearl of the Ocean Current Kuroshio". So the Akitas are called not only in reference to Japanese history, but geography as well.

The next category of names worth mentioning is art and culture. The best example is a dog from a Scottish kennel in the United Kingdom, Kisu's Madame Butterfly. It is called after the geisha heroine from a well-known opera (*Madame Butterfly*, 1904) by Giacomo Puccini. The opera is deeply connected to the 19th century japonism aesthetic cult and has its firm position among other theatre spectacles.

Coming back to American dog champions, the names seem to be quite playfully chosen by the owners and contain a dose of abstraction. One eye-catching example is Masumi's Ninja Kara Suteki ("Marvelous, because of being a Ninja"). There is also Kisu's Musume No Ikioi ("The Vigour of a Girl") and Fallonway no Chiisai Ureshii ("Small Joy of Fallonway").

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[1] All names after Linderman & Funk (1994) and Mitchell & Mitchell (1990).

Of course, other characteristic non-Japanese names are applied, too. Some interesting examples are: Tamarlane's Veni Vidi Vici, Gr. River's Sunshine On My Mind, Va-Guas Jamel The Mean Machine, The Mad Hatter O'BJ, Tobe's Return of the Jedi and Tobe's Obi-Wan Kenobi.

All in all, it could be said that the names of Akitas quite expectedly portray the most popular images associated with Japan.

Conclusion

However difficult it may be to point the moment in time when Akita-type dogs transformed into a characteristic breed to be then registered and professionally bred, research on Akitas continues and deepens the cooperation between foreign and Japanese specialists. With Hachikō being the best known Akita dog among them all, the breed keeps on arousing the interest of many moved by the dog's loyalty. Akitas have become a symbol of tradition in Japan. Their arrival in America with Helen Keller in 1937 entwined them in the history of Japanese-American relationships and coincided with the critical period preceding the outburst of the Second World War. Moreover, the appearance of American Akitas means the dogs have an American background too, and they have also become a specific case for cynology experts to study. Breeders give the dogs Japanese names and the name-searching provides an opportunity for contact with the Japanese language.

Akitas were once hunters, protectors and fighters. Now they are an internationally recognized breed participating in dog shows and sometimes also in events connected with Japan. Of course, in everyday life they are also people's companions.

Given the frequent comparisons, ubiquitous both in Japan and overseas, between Akitas and Japanese traditional values, the dogs can be called true ambassadors of Japanese culture. With the efforts of Akita enthusiasts, the development and popularization of the breed continues.

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AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Zofia Kurzawińska
B.A. degree student at Nicolaus Copernicus University. Participant in the Japan-Europe Mutual Understanding Scholarship Program for High School Students, IFA (2009). Areas of interests include psychological aspects of buddhism and state of human well-being in Japan.

Krzysztof Stefański

On the Revival of Hideyoshi's Folly, Tyranny of *bushidō* and Rejected Ieyasu's Legacy. In Tribute to Tokugawa Ieyasu

ABSTRACT

The paper is devoted to the analysis of the roots of the militaristic and imperialistic ideology ruling Japan of the 1930s and 40s. It is argued that, contrary to what Japanese propaganda of the period claimed, those roots were by no means embedded in the Japanese tradition or even warrior class ethos as a whole, and in fact the ideology was based on a carefully selected strands of that ethos. It is shown who of the military figures of old Japan and for what reasons was promoted as a model for the Nation and which strands of the old military ethos were popularized. It is also shown that the strands of the ethos, not fitting objectives of the political elites of the 1930s and 40s, were diminished, neglected or even openly rejected by the same propaganda though they were connected with outstanding figures from Japanese history. The myth of Japanese uniqueness promoted by the same propaganda and taken for granted by some circles in the West is challenged as well. It is shown by applying some notions of modern humanities that although some forms of important phenomena may be specifically Japanese their fundamental mechanisms are universal and manifest nothing specific at all.

KEYWORDS: Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tokugawa Ieyasu, bushido, imperialism, militarism

1. Introduction

The main objective of this paper is to demonstrate that, contrary to what followed from the Japanese militaristic propaganda of the 1930s and 40s, which was bought wholesale in the West, Japanese tradition as a whole should be blamed neither for the total defeat nor the atrocities committed by the Japanese army. I will argue that it was the choice of a particular current of that tradition which brought such regrettable consequences.

In the 1930s and 40s, the notion of the spirit of the samurai as the "divine" nation's "ethical" backbone and the foundation of the military doctrine of its "invincible" army and navy had been reiterated again and again as a mantra until all the Japanese, apart from a handful of the most intellectually independent individuals[1], began to believe in it. When the Japanese militaristic and imperialistic politics was reduced to ashes, the

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[1] Kiyosawa Kiyoshi, for example.

victorious nations started to use the same paradigm to explain both the specifically Japanese fearlessness and ruthlessness manifested during the war in East Asia and later in the Pacific. Thus, the picture of a homogeneous Japanese tradition dominated both the Japanese war propaganda and the Western view of the clash of civilizations resulting in enormous bloodshed and the suffering of millions of people on both sides. What is interesting is that, even now, many Western scholars keep discussing the Great Pacific War using exactly the same terms.

Here I challenge such a narrative and try to show that the homogeneity of the Japanese tradition, even in relation to the *bushi* class alone, is a myth and that the supposed homogeneity resulted from the disproportional inflation of importance of particular currents accompanied by the suppression or even complete rejection of others that at the time were more important or popular. What is more, I am convinced that taking a narrowly Japanological approach to this subject does not allow one to get the correct answers to the most crucial questions. I therefore try to analyse some aspects of the discussed problems using universal notions introduced by such giants of the humanities as Johan Huizinga and Erich Fromm.

The paper is arranged as follows. At first, I recall the changes to the sociopolitical structures of Japan following pressure from the Western powers, and expose the dramatic change of view on the role of Japan in the world compared with the seclusive Tokugawa Japan and the mechanisms created by the political elite which in its opinion were to secure the achievement of political goals connected with that role.

Next, I review the climactic stage of the process that was supposed to turn Japan into a superpower, i.e. the war in Eastern Asia and the Pacific including both the "Black Knight"-style fighting spirit[2] manifested by Japanese soldiers and sailors, as well as the innumerable war crimes committed by them during that war.

In the following section, I mention the importance of borrowed foreign ideas for building the foundations of the military and industrial power of the new Japan. However, I focus attention mainly on the selective usage of Japanese tradition by referring to particular historical figures, such as Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598), Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1828-1877) or Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336) and particular ideas like *bushidō* 武士道, based on *Hagakure*『葉隠』by

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[2] I have in mind the scene from the film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* – which scoffs at the Arthurian legends – where the mentioned Black Knight tries to block the passage of King Arthur and his companions even after all his limbs are chopped off and he is reduced to just the trunk and head.

Yamamoto Tsunetomo (Jōchō) 山本常朝 (1659-1718) to prepare the nation for the idea of building a great Japanese empire and changing society mentally and physically in the process. In the 1930s and 40s this resembled turning Elves into Orcs[3] – causing rural commoners to become indifferent to the peril of death, being used as cannon-fodder (*nikudan* 肉弾) in order to conquer an ever larger area.

After that, I show how a large part of the actual tradition was filtered-out in this process and how the ideas and principles of action of Tokugawa Ieyasu, a warfare-skilled but peace-seeking, world-curious and broad-minded warlord genius, have been completely eclipsed by those of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a shrewd politician and a very competent warlord but a man convinced of his own omnipotence and an unsated lust for power, who in his final years was probably insane. As the only figure of traditional yet historical Japan, he carried war to another country, and three centuries later his ideas found a devoted student in the person of Saigō Takamori. I also show how the fundamentally biophilic ideas of Ieyasu have been completely discarded and the ideas of a third rank samurai, narrow-minded, extremely parochial in his views and necrophilic[4] in his life-attitude were in the 1930s promoted to the role of a corner-stone of the nation's ideological foundation, called *bushidō*, but were, in fact, a grotesque caricature of the actual principles of the *bushi* ethos.

The paper ends with an attempt to summarize my principal statements and to give ultimate answers to the most important questions connected with the problem why Japan went astray and failed to achieve its political goals whilst bringing great suffering on itself and on neighbouring countries.

2. A Tragedy of Errors

My previous paper on a similar subject written in Polish was entitled *Bushidō armii cesarskiej, czyli tragedia pomyłek*[5], which translates into English as *Imperial army's bushidō or a tragedy of errors*. In fact, almost all of Japan's actions of the 1930s and 40s can be seen as one huge tragedy

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[3] Ienaga 1978 and Kiyosawa 1999 mention in a few places the practice of beating soldiers and sailors, often leading to serious injuries, as a routine method of training. This corresponds to the explanation of the origin of Orcs as tortured and mutilated Elves, quoted by Saruman in *The Lord of the Rings:The Fellowship of the Ring* – part one of the movie trilogy by Peter Jackson, taken not from "The Lord of the Rings" by J. R. R. Tolkien but from his other writings.

[4] The notion of necrophilia and biophilia, not as sexual deviations but as general attitudes towards life and death, were introduced by Erich Fromm in his *War within man*. According to Fromm's definitions, the first of them denotes a fascination with death, suffering and decomposition accompanied with distaste for and repugnance to life, while the other, on the contrary, accepts the inevitability of death but is directed to embracing life.

[5] Stefański 2013.

of errors. This was in large part a consequence of the deep de-rationalization of the world view of the leaders of Japan of that time.

2.1. Man's Life is Like Going on A Long Journey Under a Heavy Burden: One Must Not Hurry[6]
人の一生は重荷を負うて遠き道を行くが如し、急ぐべからず

Putting aside the observation that the above maxim attributed to Ieyasu sharply contradicts one of the "wisdoms" of Yamamoto Tsunetomo[7], (who considered human life to be just a moment), it presents the idea that if one wants to build something stable, one must not rush.

The idea of adopting Western know-how to avert danger from Japan caused by the West in the first instance and then to subdue "die ganze Welt" – the whole world – was explicated by the late Edo scholar Satō Nobuhiro 佐藤信淵 (1769-1850) as early as 1823 in his book *Secret Strategy for Expansion* (*Udai Kondō Hisaku* 『宇内混同秘策』). According to Nobuhiro, expansion, the objective of which was to reduce all countries of the world to Japanese districts, was supposed to begin with conquering China, starting from Manchuria[8]. Taking into account Japan's actions of the 1930s, this sounds chillingly familiar. *Bakufu*, however, although interested in preparing to resist pressure from the West (too late and without sufficient determination to be true), was apparently not interested in giving up its quarter of a millennium long policy of non-expansion. After *Bakufu*'s collapse at the end of the 1860s, the new political elite began to think along the lines sketched by Satō.

The leaders of Japan immediately after the Meiji Restoration had some sense of the truth, that rushing is the enemy of success, and they were able to win the upper hand over some impatient individuals like Saigō Takamori, who wanted to attack Korea as early as in 1873 but was overruled by his colleagues. As a consequence, he first withdrew from the cabinet and later (1876) raised the unsuccessful Satsuma rebellion[9] – Seinan sensō 西南戦争.

Leaders of the 1930s, following Takamori, tried to turn Japan into a superpower overnight. This time, however, there was nobody willing and able to stop them – those few who wanted to stop the madness were not

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[6] Sadler 1992: 7.
[7] This will be discussed later (pp. 102-103).
[8] Ieanaga 1976: 5
[9] This episode of Japanese history became world-famous (though in a distorted version) thanks to Edward Zwick's 2003 movie: *The Last Samurai*, with Ken Watanabe playing Katsumoto, modeled on Takamori.

able to (or were assassinated like the prime minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅 (1855-1932), and those who were perhaps able to[10] were even fewer and had no intention of doing that. Consequently, Japan entangled itself in wars against more and more numerous opponents: first China, and then the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the United States.

The results of these hasty actions might have looked impressive (though terrifying at the same time) at first glance. In 1932, after the so-called Manchurian (or Mukden) incident (*Manshū jihen* 満州事変) stemming from an explosion next to the South Manchurian Railway arranged by staff officers – with Col. Ishiwara Kanji 石原莞爾 (1889-1949) as one of the leaders – but blamed on the Chinese, the Kwantung Army wrenched Manchuria (*Manshū* 満州) from China and transformed it into the supposedly independent and *de facto* puppet state of Manchukuo (*Manshūkoku* 満州国)[11]. Manchukuo was recognized almost immediately by Japan (which was an obvious act of acceptance of the Kwantung Army's lawless action – condemned by the League of Nations), and within several years by some other countries such as Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. A year later, the Chinese province Jehol (*Rèhé* 熱河) was annexed by the Kwantung Army and incorporated into Manchukuo.

China proper was also not secure because Japan aggressively defended its privileges there, which lead to the bombardment of Shanghai in 1932 alongside an unsuccessful landing of the Navy marines. For several years, Japanese actions against China were limited in scale. This, however, changed in 1937 after the so-called Marco Polo Bridge incident (*Rokōkyō jiken* 盧溝橋事件 or *Shichi-shichi jihen* 七・七事変) of July the 7th. The

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[10] The question of ability in this context remains open due to the *gekokujō* phenomenon that turned Japanese politics and strategy upside down (Ienaga 1978, Coox 2007, Tamada 1981, Stefański 2015) and changed high-ranking politicians and military into hostages of lower and middle echelon army officers who were fanatical, narrow-minded and irrational. The fact that in some instances rebellious actions organized by members of those groups were vigorously suppressed and the ringleaders severely punished (as in the case of the 26th February incident – Ni-niroku jiken 二・二六事件 of 1936), their influence, especially on Japan's foreign policy considerably surpassed their formal position till the very end of the Second World War.

[11] Manchukuo had formally all the attributes of an independent state: the capital Xinjing 新京 (Jap. *Shinkyō*), the army, the emblem, the anthem and the head of the state – the last emperor of China – Puyi 溥儀 (1906-1967) deposed by the Chinese Revolution of 1912, reining under the name Kāngdé 康徳 as from March 1, 1934 to August 15, 1945. Manchukuo, however, was deprived of any real sovereignty with the army commanded by Japanese officers and the government dominated by Japanese ministers. In fact, Manchukuo became an unofficial Japanese colony providing raw materials and cheap labour, and it became a new home for several million Japanese citizens.

origin of the incident might have seemed funny[12] had it not lead to the occupation of a large part (nearly 50 percent) of the Chinese territory and to the great suffering of the Chinese people.

In a way, war against China was a byproduct of preparations to turn into reality plans long cherished by the Imperial Japanese Army, and its Manchuria-stationed branch, i.e. the Kwantung Army in particular, to invade the Soviet Far East and Eastern Siberia with immeasurable resources of raw materials. Such an idea was known as the "idea of the march towards the north" or *hokushinron* 北進論. The byproduct turned out to be costly, draining Japanese resources far beyond expectations and predictions. The Imperial Japanese Navy, on the contrary, squinted with an avid eye south towards the rich oilfields of the Dutch East Indies and the rubber-tree plantations of British Malaya, sketching the "idea of a march towards the south" – *nanshinron* 南進論.

At the beginning of the 1940s, even the Army abandoned (for some time) the idea of *hokushin* in favour of *nanshinron*. The premises for that move were twofold. First, after the occupation (for the sake of improving their strategic position in the war against China) of French Indochina by the Japanese Army in the spring of 1941, the United States placed a strict embargo on exports to Japan of raw materials in general and oil in particular. This confronted Japan's military industry with the vision of raw material shortages and the Imperial Japanese Navy in danger of complete immobilization in a short period[13]. Second, the limited scale and yet serious defeat inflicted by the Soviet Red Army on the Kwantung Army in the battle of Nomonhan forced even the most hawkish elements to act with some caution in the affairs with their neighbour from the north[14].

As a result, the plan was assumed to attack, with the objective to grab the raw material resources of Burma, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies at the end of 1941. To avoid retaliation from the U.S. Army and Navy, U.S. military facilities in the Philippines and the naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii were to be attacked simultaneously.

The first six months of the Japanese war on Great Britain, the Netherlands and the U.S. was a true blitzkrieg. With one blast on December 7th, 1941, the Imperial Japanese Navy neutralized a large part of the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and by the end of April 1942, Western Allies

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[12] The Japanese attack on Chinese troops was ordered under the pretence of the supposed killing of a Japanese soldier by the Chinese. In fact, the soldier – Shimura Kikujirō, was "miraculously resurrected" after several hours. His absence was caused not by his death but by his poor orientation; he lost his way after stopping to go to the toilet in an unknown location (Clark).
[13] Ieanaga 1978: 131, 132.
[14] For example Coox 2007: 1078,1079.

had been expelled from all the territories that Japan planned to capture in their first move (further expansion was planned, but only vaguely), except for New Guinea whose southern part remained in the hands of the Allies.

As easy as the first step of forging Satō's idea into reality seemed, one could question the sanity of the idea itself, and after a brief cool analysis one could conclude that the leaders of Japan must have gone crazy since the situation resembled that of a joke concerning Japan's ally – Germany:

(A lesson in a German elementary school somewhere in 1942.) The teacher demonstrates to kids a globe and shows various countries on it. "Here is our Fatherland – Germany, here the British Empire, here America, here our deadly enemy – Soviet Union...". Suddenly, little Hans raises his hand and asks: "Sir, are you sure our Führer has an identical one at home?"

It seems that Japan's leaders of the time must have had some other globes at their disposal. In the next section, I will discuss one of the basic reasons for the gap between reality and its perception by them.

2.2. He Who Only Knows Victory and Doesn't Know Defeat Will Fare Badly

勝つことばかり知りて負くることを知らざれば害その身に至る

The title of this section is taken from another maxim ascribed to Tokugawa Ieyasu. This maxim is perfectly illustrated by the 70-year-long history of the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces.

The history of the Imperial Japanese Army (*Dainihon teikoku rikugun* 大日本帝国陸軍) and the Imperial Japanese Navy (*Dainihon teikoku kaigun* 大日本帝国海軍) from their birth in 1871 and 1872, respectively, till the end of the 1930s looked like an unbroken sequence of successes. The IJA & IJN won the war of 1894/95 fought against a huge, but plagued by political and economic maladies, China ruled by the incompetent Manchurian Qing dynasty. Within ten years, the Japanese military had managed to repeat their success in the struggle against one of the world powers of the time – Tsarist Russia – pushing it out of Manchuria and greatly reducing its maritime might in the Far East. This success, however, was achieved at a great cost, both in terms of financial expenses and the high death toll of Japanese soldiers and sailors. The later became a key argument against backing a step, despite more and more pressing demands from the Western powers in Manchuria and China proper, the lands paid for "paid for" with the blood of Japanese soldiers. It should be stressed that the victory was achieved over an opponent who, although much

stronger than China, was not very strong due to both a crisis plaguing Russia at that time and due to geography since Japanese communication lines were several times shorter than the Russian ones.

Grasping German territories in the Western Pacific and East Asia during the First World War was an easy task, since the Germans were heavily engaged in Europe and did not have sufficient forces to resist Japan, who in turn, being an ally of Great Britain, France and the United States, had their blessing for territorial gains at Germany's expense.

Traditional Japanese enmity towards Russia was further enhanced after the Bolshevik revolution by fierce anticommunism, and as a result Japan got engaged in the anti-Bolshevik intervention in the Russian Far East together with the U.S. and other Western powers, keeping its army there as from the spring of 1918 until December 1924, i.e. considerably longer than any other capitalist power. After eventually pulling out, Japan experienced a short and unusual period of relative peace and moderate demilitarization, only to return to a path of vigorous rearmament and military expansion whose first conspicuous manifestation was *de facto* the annexation of Manchuria and the creation of Manchukuo.

China, being in a state of civil war, could offer little resistance to prevent such a course of affairs. The Marco Polo Bridge incident, which gave the Japanese a pretext to invade China proper, marked the beginning of a protracted and unwinnable war of attrition. Nevertheless, within the first two years of the second Sino-Japanese war, Japan, though not achieving all its military and political goals, did not experience defeat either.

In other words, the Imperial Japanese Army, since its very beginning in 1871, had to do with opponents that, for one or another reason, were weak, but instead of acknowledging and taking this into account the Japanese ascribed their victories to their own exceptionality and superiority over all other nations. They looked with contempt not only at the Chinese but also at the Russians and the Anglo-Saxons thinking of themselves as omnipotent.

The first defeat experienced by the IJA since its establishment in a limited yet quite large war against the Red Army, called Nomonhan Incident (*Nomonhan jiken* ノモンハン事件), fought from May until September 1939 on the border between the Mongolian People's Republic and Manchukuo forced some rethinking of the role of the military hardware, and importance of firepower, which had until then been greatly underestimated[15]. It had little influence, however, on the way the Japanese

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[15] The rethinking had limited influence on the practice. First, due to the strength of the conservative circles in the army who flatly rejected the recommendations of the committee

saw themselves and their current and future enemies (with the exception of the Soviet Union to some extent). The Japanese continued to be the divine nation, spiritually preeminent over all other nations, while the Chinese were considered to be animals rather than human beings. After Nomonhan, the Russians gained a bit in Japanese eyes[16]. Previously, they had been seen as primitive, cowardly people lacking intelligence, imagination and fighting spirit (during the Nomonhan incident they surpassed the Japanese in flexibility, imagination and organization, and were not much less brave, which was partially admitted even by the Kwantung Army)[17]. The Anglo-Saxons were supposed to be spoiled by their welfare, democracy and individualism and consequently unable to sacrifice their personal comfort for the sake of common interests and, consequently, lacked fighting spirit.

The first six months after the attack on Pearl Harbor seemed to provide evidence in favour of those circles of the Japanese military who neglected the lesson of Nomonhan, treating the defeat as just a minor accident and not the earnest of future calamities resulting from clashing with enemies whose material strength surpassed that of Japan many times. As General Tamada Yoshio conjectures in the closing section of his book, had the lesson of Nomonhan been learnt in depth, Japan might have avoided the insane engagement and hopeless fight against opponents much stronger, leaving it no chance to achieve victory[18]. It was not the case, however.

The Japanese blitzkrieg of the first half a year of the Pacific War was again rooted in quite a few weaknesses of the opponents. The most harmful of them consisted in the disdain and disregard the Westerners,   and in particular the British, felt towards the Japanese and Japanese army, which

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investigating the Nomonhan incident and continued assuming spiritualism – *seishinshugi* 精神主義 to be the cornerstone of the power of the IJA. Second, the Japanese economy was not strong enough to provide both the IJA and IJN with sufficient equipment. Consequently, the armament of the army, except for aeroplanes, despite improving with time, except for the final stage of the war, remained inferior when compared with that used by the Allies. Japan's armour and artillery was much weaker in terms of both quality and quantity (comparison of the number of light tanks – Type 95 Ha-Go 九五式軽戦車ハ・ゴ, being the most prolific type of tanks used by the Japanese during the Pacific War: 2,300 items; number of Soviet T-34 (produced until 1945): ca. 57,000!; or American M4 Sherman: ca. 49,000, both types by far more powerful than Ha-Go).

[16] Kotani 2009: 114, 115.

[17] Coox, Tamada etc.

[18] Tamada 1981: 214. Tamada Yoshio was one of the most successful Japanese commanders during the battle of Nomonhan. As commander of the 4th Tank Regiment of the Kwantung Army, he performed the first night attack in the history of armoured warfare, achieving considerable success at the tactical level, though failed to gain the operational objective, i.e. pushing Soviet lines to the Khalkhin river. On the other hand, he seems to be one of the most sober Japanese officers of that period.

can be illustrated by the following opinion expressed by British Air Marshal Robert Brooke during his visit to Hong Kong in 1940: "I had a good close-up, across the barbed wire, of various sub-human (! – K.S.) specimens dressed in dirty grey uniform, which I was informed were Japanese soldiers" [19]. Such views, heavy with racial prejudice, bore negligence of sufficient military intelligence and in turn total surprise not only by the quality of Japanese soldiers but also by the quality of some Japanese weapons, such as the formidable Mitsubishi A6M Zero fighter, about which both the British and Americans knew virtually nothing though it was used in China for more than a year before Pearl Harbor[20]. In this sense, the Pacific War can be seen as a story of arrogance punished.

2.3. Defeat

One side of the war waged by Japan in the 1930s and 40s consisted in the eventual complete bankruptcy of the Japanese war strategy. Despite enormous sacrifices on the side of Japanese soldiers and sailors, and innumerable acts of ruthlessness committed by them during the war, Japan failed to achieve a single strategic objective, no matter how spectacular the triumphs it celebrated at the beginning.

Almost exactly six months after Pearl Harbor, Japan experienced the first serious setback of the war on America in the battle of Midway, losing four of its large aircraft carriers whilst America lost only one vessel. From that moment, the Imperial Japanese Navy lost its strategic initiative, as the loss for it was irreparable due to the limitations of Japanese industry and the scarce reserves of pilots and carrier flight technicians of whom many perished during the battle. The battle was a turning point and one of several milestones of the Pacific War.

The way to regaining territories captured by Japan during the initial blitzkrieg that began with the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands archipelago in February 1943 was long and painful, and some of them were never won-back by military means. Nevertheless, from the end of 1942 the strategic initiative slipped from Japanese hands, and the Allies began to score success after success, increasing their qualitative and quantitative superiority over the Japanese navy and air force. In the middle of 1944, the Americans, after gaining control over other archipelagos of the Western Pacific (pretty often simply isolating Japanese garrisons on some islands), expelled the Japanese from the Mariana islands, which essentially changed the strategic situation as

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[19] Kotani 2009: 114.
[20] Kotani 2009: 113, 114.

Japan's main islands found themselves within the operational range of American strategic bombers.

After capturing Iwo Jima in the Volcano Islands archipelago in March 1945, which provided an airfield for bombers' emergency landings and for escort fighters, mass air raids on Japan became routine, spreading havoc on Japanese cities and industrial facilities, and killing hundreds of thousands of civilians.

The Battle of Okinawa, which began shortly after, showed two things: the Americans had learnt that fighting the Japanese, despite their huge technical superiority, would not be an easy walk and the Japanese learnt that no matter how tough the resistance they could offer, they were unable to stop the American steamroller. Nonetheless, the Japanese authorities in the middle of 1945 were not ready to talk about unconditional surrender, which was demanded by the Allies.

The mental resistance of both the civilian and military authorities was broken in August 1945 due to two nails in the coffin of the Japanese imperial ambitions: the dropping by the Americans of nuclear bombs on Hiroshima (August 6th) and Nagasaki (August 9th), and the entering of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan and its Manchurian Offensive Operation (dubbed the "August Storm" by the author of the most comprehensive book on it published in the West[21]). Putting aside the discussion of which of the two "nails" played the more important role in bringing Japan to its knees, on August 14th the Shōwa Emperor's famous surrender speech (without the terms "surrender" or "defeat" ever being used) was broadcasted by Japanese radio, and slightly more than a fortnight later Japan's representatives on the deck of the American battleship USS *Missouri* signed the Instrument of Unconditional Surrender. The boots of American soldiers soon stepped onto Japanese soil and hundreds of thousands of Japanese POWs from the Kwantung Army, annihilated by the Soviets in roughly ten days, began their *hokushin* being transported to labour camps in Siberia.

2.4. War Crimes

The atrocities committed by the Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy between 1937 and 1945 is another side of the war fought by Japan against its near and distant neighbours. From the very beginning of its existence, the Imperial Army served as the main means of imperialistic expansion of Japan. Until the end of the First World War, it used civilized methods of fighting. As from the middle of the 1930s,

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[21] Glantz 2003.

though, the Imperial Army started to neglect any rules making war less cruel, becoming one of the most infamous organizations in modern history. The war carried out by Japan in the 1930s and 40s was hallmarked by exceptional brutality and innumerable crimes committed both against the civilian population of occupied territories and captured soldiers of the enemy army who had become prisoners of war. To list the most telling examples from the Japanese "hall of shame", one can recall the fate of British POWs who after the surrender of Singapore were transported wholesale to Burma where they were forced to build a railway (including the famous bridge on the River Kwai) in nonhuman conditions with a high death toll.

Equally infamous was the episode called the Bataan Death March, concerning American and Filipino POWs who were captured after the surrender of the Fortress of Corregidor located next to the south cap of the Bataan peninsula at the mouth of the Manila Bay on Luson. The prisoners of war were forced to go on foot hundreds of kilometres with little or no food and water. Later, they were transported by railway, crowded in hundreds inside a single cattle-truck, from San Fernando to the camp at Capas. The death toll was very high among Americans and even several times higher among the Filipinos.

In general, Western POWs were forced to work like slaves in coal mines or build infrastructure (like in Burma) in inhuman conditions with rampant infectious diseases which, together with overwork and chronic undernourishment, decimated their ranks. Brutal beatings and torture in the case of the slightest "misbehaviour" (according to Japanese "standards") of the POWs was routine practice. Many POWs were decapitated by Japanese officers practicing their sword-wielding skills.

The fate of Chinese POWs, denied by the Japanese such status, and treated as bandits, was even worse since large numbers were killed often in the most cruel ways, such as being buried alive or by inflicting multiple wounds during bayonet practice by Japanese soldiers[22].

The Japanese conscience should also be burdened with innumerable crimes against civilian populations everywhere in the occupied territories, but mainly in China where, according to rough estimates, about 10 million civilians perished during the Japanese occupation. Symbolic for the treatment of Chinese civilians was the infamous Rape of Nanking which took place in 1937 shortly after the invasion of China by the Japanese Imperial Army. According to various estimates, the number of civilians

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[22] Russel 2002 : 84-96; 132-141; etc. (Polish edition).

who were raped, tortured and killed during the felonious frenzy which lasted more than six weeks ranged from 40-300,000[23].

I will not recall here examples of atrocities committed by the IJN against thousands of Allied sailors in the open sea, but their list is also long.

Most hideous crimes committed by the Japanese during their war on China and connected with preparations for the war on the Soviet Union were related to the activities of Unit 731 (*Dainanasanichibutai* 第七三一部隊) whose headquarters were located at Pingfang near Harbin in Manchuria. One can describe the Unit's facilities as a vestibule of hell and the Unit's commander, General Ishii Shirō, as the devil's true apprentice. The Unit, whose official name suggested that its purpose consisted of securing a drinking water supply for the Kwantung Army[24,] was in fact involved in the development of chemical and (mainly) biological weapons, improving methods of growing bacteria and methods of their transmission to the civilian population of China and opponents' armies. New products were tested on the Chinese, Korean and Russian prisoners supplied in abundance by the political police *Kenpeitai* 憲兵隊. The unfortunate victims of such experiments were infected with various microbes, and after developing the disease dissected for the inspection of internal organs, typically without anesthesia. What's particularly terrifying and disgusting is that none of the members of the Unit, including Ishii himself, were ever tried by the Americans, to say nothing of sentencing, imprisonment or execution. This was the price paid for data on medical experiments carried out by the Unit and their results.

A number of members of the Unit and their superiors who had been captured by the Red Army in Manchuria, were tried in 1949 in the so-called Khabarovsk (Хабáровск) trial and given sentences ranging from two years for members of lower rank personnel to twenty years for the Kwantung Army Commander in Chief. Although the criminal activities of Unit 731 were perfectly known to the American authorities, General McArthur included, the process was sneered at and disregarded in the West as communist propaganda, and facts concerning the Unit revealed by its members during the process were rejected. Only in the 1980s did information about the activities of Unit 731 begin to spread[25].

In general, the number of Japanese war criminals tried and sentenced was surprisingly small for the scale of the crimes. The most important cause of

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[23] Russel 2002, Chang 1997.
[24] The full name of the Unit sounded: Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department of the Kwantung Army – *Kantōgun Bōeki Kyūsuibu Honbu* 関東軍防疫給水部本部.
[25] Gold 2004: 114, 126.

that can be seen in the American struggle for dominance over the world, mainly against the Soviet Union, which began immediately after Japan's surrender.

2.5. How Did This Come About?

Although there is no simple cause-effect connection between the defeat Japan suffered in the Pacific War and the crimes Japan's armed forces committed in its course, both seem to have common roots and this section focuses on exposing them. The first question, however, is: who or rather what was responsible for both the defeat and atrocities committed by the Japanese. The main objective does not consist in pointing at particular individuals, but rather at mechanisms hidden behind the phenomena discussed above.

As far as the military defeat is considered, it was rooted in the deeply irrational mentality of the circles of de facto military leaders with an enormous accent on the spiritual aspects of warfare and the neglect of other aspects. As a result, the strategy, logistics and even tactics were not taken care of, and the ideas of conducting war went as far back into the past as the pre-sengoku times. Simplifying the description a bit, the frontal night bayonet charge became the main tactical trick used by the Japanese, and the individual performance of soldiers and officers and other imponderables rather than the military effects were their main concern. In a way, it was a counter-revolution, as they went back to the "ludic war" – a war treated as a deadly play and not as a means of achieving political objectives[26]. The "maturing" of war happened in many places and times. In Japan, it happened in the Sengoku period, i.e. around the end of the 15th century, but the military geniuses – Minamoto Yoshitsune and Kusunoki Masashige – treated war much earlier as a tool and not as a stage giving individuals the opportunity to display their prowess.

As far as the crimes are considered, they were often justified as a means serving victory over Japan's enemies. Such an explanation, however, sounds like a grim joke if one takes into account the fact that the Japanese seemed to do everything to lose in a confrontation with a strong and sufficiently determined opponent. The list of stupidities (from the military point of view) that at first cost the Kwantung Army the humiliating defeat at Nomonhan and later devastating defeats in their war against the West is long. It comprises such "sins" as using forces piecemeal, disregarding logistics, aversion to fighting in defense, the lack of coherent commanding, disregard of military intelligence and the misuse of possessed information,

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[26] Huizinga 1947: 89-104.

the continuous overestimating of their own abilities and underestimating that of the enemy, and poor or no cooperation between services, etc.[27] Whatever the justification, it is quite likely, as some historians claim, that the cruelty demonstrated by the servicemen of the IJA and IJN was in large part (though not exclusively) a byproduct of the rapid increase of the size of IJA in the 1930s, which created the problem of the almost instantaneous transformation of masses of peasants into soldiers, which was solved by using, as mentioned before, the most brutal methods of military training, which killed empathy in the majority of soldiers and officers.

Usually, or at least very frequently, the whole Japanese tradition, or at least the spirit of the warrior class – the samurai, is blamed for both the specific methods of fighting and for the crimes. It is claimed that the Japanese are naturally disciplined, unconditionally loyal, aggressive, fearless and ruthless ever since their appearance as a nation, i.e. forever. Thinking such a way means buying wholesale claims of the official Japanese propaganda of the 1930s and 40s. This propaganda brainwashed Japanese people to convince them that they should be more like their ancestors. In this section, I will challenge such a view, since in Japanese tradition one can find many elements that are in sharp contradiction with such an image of the Japanese, and only the leaders (whoever they were) extracted some elements from that tradition and inflated them beyond any reasonable limits.

The propaganda of that period heaped lie upon lie. Let us consider some examples. According to the propaganda, the Japanese were supposed to be disciplined, but in reality those who yelled about that most loudly in fact were very frequently most active exponents of *gekokujō* which means "overturning hierarchy"[28]. As a pronounced example of this phenomenon was the pack of middle echelon staff officers (majors and colonels) of the Kwantung Army who *de facto* forced their superiors to do what they wanted, often ignoring orders from the IJA supreme command.

It was exactly that mechanism which was hidden behind the Nomonhan incident[29]. The man who forced the Kwantung Army Commander in Chief – General Ueda Kenkichi 植田 謙吉 (1875-1962) to escalate the incident, after each setback showing a mirage of victory hidden behind a subsequent dune, was a member of the military operations section of the Staff of the Kwantung Army, a Maj. Tsuji Masanobu 辻政信 小佐 (1902-

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[27] Iwaki 2013: 90-98.
[28] Stefański 2015?
[29] Tamada 1981: 211, 212; Coox 2007: 72.

1962?), the Kwantung Army's evil spirit and chief warmonger. General Ueda obeyed, despite Tsuji's formally much lower position within the military hierarchy.

The same is true about the supposed unity of the Japanese. It was sheer propaganda, having little connection with reality. Majors and colonels of the IJA, having mouths full of slogans about national unity, did not treat their colleagues from the IJN as partners but as rivals at best or as foes at worst, and the latter paid them back in their own coin. This, of course, made the cooperation of both services difficult, if possible at all. Many other rifts shattered the armed forces of Japan as well as the whole of Japanese society: younger officers vs. senior officers, staff officers vs. officers of the line, military vs. non-military, etc.

One of the causes of the tragedy of the crushing defeat and the tragedy of war crimes followed from the fact that due to the rampant phenomenon of *gekokujō*, enormous influence on Japanese politics was in the hands of middle and lower echelon officers of the IJA. Such officers of the Kwantung Army, in particular, shaped the politics of the country by playing the role of a tail wagging its dog. Unfortunately for Japan and its neighbours, that group was least predisposed to the role of leading the nation, since the majority of its members were narrow-minded, conservative and far too self-confident, which followed from both their social origin and the type of their military education. Most of them came from poor rural communities: conservative, parochial and with little intellectual ambition. Their education was a narrowly military one which enhanced rather than corrected their "innate" features. Not without importance is also the fact that the IJA was infantry-dominated and this particular service is not in any army a reservoir of the intellectual elite. The navy and artillery were much better from this point of view, as their officers were expected to show not just courage but also brains. A recent book by Kotani shows that in the military intelligence of both the IJA and IJN there were quite a few smart and sober officers who did a good or even excellent job, but the information gathered and correctly interpreted by them was largely ignored by the decision-makers at the strategic level.[30]

Armed with the spirit of *bushidō* (which gradually enslaved the souls of not only officers but also the rest of the military personnel and to a large degree even the civilian population) the IJA lost any contact with reality, being convinced of its own illusion of omnipotence that it could fly, walk on water and through fire intact. The awakening must have been painful.

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[30] Kotani 2009: 160.

3. The Heroes

The growing militaristic and expansionist mood (which was in fact a reflection of such tendencies in the West), in the IJA\IJN and Japanese society as a whole resulted in the increased need to find similar threads in the nation's history and tradition. Although moderate or radical isolationistic tendencies prevail in the history of Japan, it was not a hopeless task to find examples of opposite trends. It was absolutely natural to reach for Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions of the Korean peninsula as a prototype for the planned conquest of continental East Asia. Consequently, Hideyoshi a great chieftain and clever politician, no doubt, grew to the stature of a superhero. In much later times, another heroic figure eager to wage war abroad was found. He was the prototype of Katsumoto (who was featured in the 2003 movie *The Last Samurai*) – a member of the Cabinet between 1871 and 1873 – the renowned Kagoshima born Saigō Takamori.

With the emperor located at the centre of the new regime, it was also quite natural that individuals excelling in loyalty towards the Imperial House were elevated as praiseworthy examples to be followed. Kusunoki Masashige, who was a loyal samurai serving the cause of Godaigo tennō 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1318-1339), was placed at the summit among such individuals despite the fact that the Meiji emperor and his descendants belonged to the lineage of the imperial family that was enthroned by the mutinous Ashikaga Takauji[31] 足利尊氏 (1305-1358) and not to the lineage of Godaigo.

3.1. Korean Adventures as a Manifestation of Hideyoshi's Folly

Hideyoshi is, without a doubt, an exceptional figure in Japanese history and the person whose career in terms of the increment of social status faces no match. Although not born, like some claim, into a peasant family, he was the son of *ashigaru* 足軽 – an infantryman, whose status was the lowest among *bushi*. Thanks to his military skills and character, being below thirty he became one of the main retainers and most trusted generals of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) who initiated the process of unification of Japan more than a century after it was shattered into a mosaic of practically independent realms of *sengoku daimyō* 戦国大名 who competed with each other using various means, war included. Less than two weeks after Nobunaga's death, in the so-called Honnōji *coup de*

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[31] The first of the Ashikaga *shōgun* dynasty.

main – *Honnōji no hen* 本能寺の変, Hideyoshi had defeated the traitor – Akechi Mitsuhide 明知光秀 (1528?-1582) and settled the succession dispute inside the Oda house by declaring Nobunaga's infant grandson – Sanbōshi 三法師 Oda Hidenobu 織田秀信 (1580-1605) to be Nobunaga's successor. Hideyoshi also took on the role of Sanbōshi's guardian himself and thereby became Nobunaga's *de facto* successor[32].

It took two years before he could secure his dominant position after fighting first in 1583 against his fellow-general from Nobunaga's army – Shibata Katsuie 柴田勝家 (?-1583), and crushing him in the battle of Shizagatake – *Shizugatake no tatakai* 賤ヶ岳の戦, and then in 1584 against Nobunaga's eldest surviving son – Oda Nobukatsu (Nobuo) 織田信雄 (1558-1630), who aspired to the role of his father's successor and was supported by Tokugawa Ieyasu, Nobunaga's long-term loyal ally and Hideyoshi's rival. Although Hideyoshi's army was defeated in two battles, known jointly as the battle of Komaki-Nagakute – *Komaki-Nagakute no tatakai* 小牧・長久手の戦, which lead to a deadlock, Hideyoshi managed after a few months, when Nobukatsu gave up his pretensions, to reach a peace agreement with Ieyasu on terms satisfactory for both parties, since Ieyasu formally recognized Hideyoshi's suzerainty at the price of retaining an incomparable level of independence. The agreement may serve as an example of the rationality of both warlords. Ieyasu realized that continuing hostilities when Hideyoshi's side had considerable superiority of resources, would eventually lead to the ruin of his own house. Hideyoshi, in turn, was conscious that Ieyasu was an opponent of a stature surpassing those of Akechi and Shibata and that a protracted war against him would exhaust his own resources making him vulnerable to attack by other rival *daimyō*.

The agreement with Ieyasu allowed Hideyoshi to continue subduing fellow *daimyō*. In 1585, he succeeded in subordinating the North-East and later Shikoku. In 1587, he did the same with Kyūshū and finally, in 1590, he arranged a huge expedition to break resistance from the last independent *daimyō* – the Gohōjō 後北条. This time, Ieyasu, who had avoided involvement in Hideyoshi's expeditions of 1585 and 1587, was forced to participate.

Eventually, in 1590, after crushing the fractious Gohōjō (also called Odawara Hōjō 小田原北条) Hideyoshi became the actual ruler of Japan without an opponent able to challenge his position. He devoted the

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[32] Sansom 1990 Vol. II : 311.

remaining eight years of his life to securing the succession of power to his house, which I will not discuss here, and to expanding his power outside Japan. The reasons behind Hideyoshi's decision to launch an invasion on Korea in 1592 and once more in 1597, are not fully clear. Some historians conjecture that it was a shrewd move aimed at decimating the ranks of the samurai to prevent troubles caused by their excessive number and difficulties to secure reasonable economic support for all of them and to drain resources of the *daimyō* to prevent opposition from their side.

There is also another conjecture according to which Hideyoshi in his older years began to exhibit symptoms of mental insanity and lost contact with reality, and I personally would vote for such a possibility. In such a case the whole Korean adventure, successful only at the very beginning and which later faced more and more serious obstacles, would be a consequence of the whim of an old, mentally unstable man [33,34] who was unable to judge impartially the chances for success. Shortly after Hideyoshi's death, the invading army was withdrawn from the Korean peninsula, following the decision of the regency council – *gotairō* 五大老. The Korean adventure was the principal reason why the leaders of the 1930s and 40s promoted Hideyoshi as a national hero despite the fact that many of his other actions contradicted the principles of their own policy. To show an example, let me recall that the militarization of the whole of Japanese society was one of the cornerstones of that policy, while one of the fundamental achievements of Hideyoshi consisted in strictly separating the class of warriors from the remaining social classes that were demilitarized and disarmed.

In general, like the whole Japanese tradition, the promoted heroes were cut to portions and only some of them were used in the propaganda, which will be demonstrated again below.

3.2. Saigō Takamori and Kusunoki Masashige

Among the heroes of the 1930s and 40s, two other figures deserve some attention. I have in mind Saigō Takamori and Kusunoki Masashige, who were promoted to the role of models. The first one was worshipped as a follower of Hideyoshi's conception of expansion to the continent, and the second as a loyal, to the point of self-sacrifice, defender of the cause of the emperor. Both figures suited the trends of the nation's education of the

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[33] Sansom 1990 Vol. 2 : 352-362.

[34] As an example of his irrational behaviour, one can use the case of Senno Rikyū 千利休 (1522-1981), Hideyoshi's favourite tea master who, due to Hideyoshi's attack of rage, was ordered to commit seppuku (Sansom 1990 Vol. 2: 370).

period, in which Japan "united" around the emperor and expanded to the continent.

A fictional portrait of Saigō Takamori became well known in 2003 when the Hollywood movie *The Last Samurai*[35] with Ken Watanabe and Tom Cruise as the main protagonists was shown in movie theatres around the world. The film shows Katsumoto-Takamori as a man giving priority to spiritual values over material goods and defending true samurai virtues against the corrupted world of westernized elite personified in the character of Ōmura. Such a picture would partially fit the purposes of the pre-war Japanese propaganda, but the film does not show Takamori's other face, the face of an ardent partisan of Japan's imperialistic expansion. In Japan at that time it was a praiseworthy attitude, though nowadays it would be frowned upon so therefore, according to the principles of political correctness, this side of Takamori was concealed in the movie.

However, in the 1930s and 40s only those aspects of Takamori's system of values which fitted the purposes of propaganda were displayed. In fact, Takamori was an equally ardent follower of the idea of military expansion (which was in accord with the current policy) as an opponent of the idea of abandoning exponents of the samurai status and the militarization of the non-samurai (which was in acute discord with that policy).

The figure of Kusunoki Masashige was not popularized in such a way in the West but he, for his service to the imperial cause, deserved an equestrian statue guarding the Imperial Palace in Tōkyō. The famous monument of Masashige facing the moat of the Imperial Palace in Tōkyō was designed by a band of excellent Japanese sculptors as the first Japanese equestrian statue rooted in the Roman monument of Mark Aurelius but in its dynamism much closer to the century older Bronze Horseman – the Saint Petersburg statue of Peter the Great by Étienne Maurice Falconet, and (ironically) very similar to the painted equestrian portrait of Takauji.

Putting aside the paradox that Masashige fought for the cause of the branch of the imperial family which half a century later gave way to the branch of the present emperor, Masashige was in fact a man of many virtues. Being well educated according to the standards of his times, he was also one of few and may have even been the only truly loyal and selfless supporters of Godaigo tennō. There is little doubt that he deserved

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[35] The film was made by Edward Zwick, who was also the director of other such renowned movies as *Glory* and *Love & other Drugs*.

the highest esteem. What's more, he was also one of the most gifted military leaders in Japanese history – an excellent tactician and strategist[36]. Even in his case, however, the propaganda of the 1930s and 40s used only excerpts from his numerable merits. His loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Emperor were useful and accented. His methods of waging war, however, were in considerable discord with the methods the IJA preferred. For Masashige, military results were at least equally important as the demonstration of individual military prowess, and intangibles did not prevail over logistics and tactics. Masashige was also a master of fighting in defense. His successful defense, which lasted for several weeks against a large army dispatched by the Bakufu, of the Chihaya fortress (Chihaya jō 千早城) built by his men near the summit of mount Kongō (Kongō san 金剛山) in Kawachi 河内国 near Yamato 大和国 and Kii 紀伊国 provinces is one of his most outstanding achievements[37].

In the 1930s and 40s, however, little was learnt from Masashige in this respect and the hierarchy was turned upside down with fighting spirit, and the performance of individual soldiers and officers prevailed over the material aspects of war – in those times spiritualism – *seishinshugi* 精神主義 was a cornerstone of IJA's military doctrine, though it did not play such a role in Masashige's method of waging war.

4. In the Iron Grip of *bushidō*
4.1. Bushido – the Soul of Japan

In the quest for native ideas that could become an ideological foundation for the Japanese in modern times, something supposed to be once the ethos of the samurai was drawn forth and called *bushidō*, literally meaning "the way of the warrior". In fact, except for a few cases during the Edo period, the term was not used before the eve of the Meiji era when it became used frequently and was seriously considered. As Benesch writes, in that period of Japanese history the notion experienced a real boom. Intellectuals of that time published numerous papers and books on its true meaning, and their colleagues in China and Korea joined them in their praise, naively perceiving it as the backbone of the ideology for the movement that under the leadership of Japan was to liberate nations of Eastern Asia from the domination of Western powers[38]. When Japan, however, joined them in the race to subdue nations of the Asian continent,

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[36] Sansom 1990 Vol. 2: 52, 53.
[37] Sansom 1990 Vol. 2: 122-125.
[38] Benesch 2011.

it could not be any longer viewed as a leader and became yet another enemy, and *bushidō* began to be associated solely with Japaneseness.

The notion was popularized world-wide by *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, a book written in 1900 by Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862-1933). His version of *bushidō* was a mixture of Yamaga Sokō's 山鹿素行 (1622-1685) *shidō* referring to the neo-Confucian idea of moral virtues[39] and of Christian ideas. The book, which was written originally in English and translated into western languages during the Russo-Japanese war, was enthusiastically accepted in the other West as a key to understanding (no matter whether correctly or not) the mentality of Japan, which had just brought one of the world powers to its knees.

Nitobe's idea of *bushidō* found less recognition in Japan and in fact it was practically rejected as not presenting the right interpretation of what *bushidō* should be. Not long after the fuss about the interpretation of *bushidō* calmed down, for a dozen years or so, as from the Taishō era (1912-1926), Japan became less aggressive and more open to the outer world and ideas coming from abroad. In the 1930s, however, the discussion erupted anew and soon a single interpretation, based on a book written at the beginning of the 18th century, eclipsed all other interpretations.

4.2. Yamamoto Tsunetomo – The "Sage"

In the 1930s, one more samurai figure became an object of nation-wide promotion and worship by the propaganda apparatus. It was Yamamoto Tsunetomo, a medium ranked and not particularly successful retainer of Nabeshima Mitsushige 鍋島光茂, the *daimyō* of Saga 佐賀 han. Tsunetomo was elevated to the position of a sage and prophet.

After Mitsushige's death, Tsunetomo craved *junshi* 殉死 – the traditional suicide of retainers after their master's death, but since it was strictly forbidden both by the bakufu and the *han* authorities, he instead shaved his head and went into seclusion to spin out bitter reflections on the miseries and corruption of life in his own times and to recollect admirable deeds due to virtuous and brave warriors of old. He wrote down some of his thoughts himself, e.g. *Gukenshū* 『愚見集』, which can be translated as 'Collection of humble opinions' but the "gem" of his heritage –

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[39] Yamaga Sokō referred to those virtues in the context of fundamental duties to be done by the samurai living away from battlefields in peaceful Japan: the internalization of those virtues, their strict observance and setting an example for other classes. He, however, was blamed, without reason, for inspiring 47 *rōnin* of Akō han to illegally avenge their deceased Master – lord Asano, and in the Meiji and Shōwa eras he was worshipped for the same reason (Tucker 2003: 35, 36).

Hagakure was put down in writing by a faithful listener to Tsunetomo's stories – his fellow samurai Tashiro Tsuramoto 田代陳基 who took notes between 1709 and 1716.

Basic facts concerning Tsunetomo's life and a pretty comprehensive discussion of *Hagakure* can be found in a relatively new book by Ikegami Eiko – *The Taming of the Samurai*[40]. Although the discussion is very interesting, I would disagree with some statements by Ikegami concerning the importance of Yamamoto's work.

In my opinion, *Hagakure* is an invaluable source of information about the state of mind of some samurai during the *pax Tokugawa*. No doubt, there were quite a few *bushi* who found it difficult to adjust their vision of being a warrior to the time of peace and *Hagakure* gives a precious insight into the psyche of such men.

The madness of the 1930s and 40s consisted in completely mixing up the roles that the thoughts of Tsunetomo may have played. Instead of being a source of information, in the 1930s, when it was popularized, it was promoted to the role of a life-guide or even a catechism of the warrior for which it was not suited at all, contrary to what those who promoted it claimed and perhaps even thought. It seems that Tsunetomo himself treated his thoughts as something rather private and not public and Tashiro suggested burning a copy of *Hagakure* after reading it. During the Edo period, it had almost no influence on the warrior class of Japan with no support from the Saga han authorities and with a nation-wide ban from the Bakufu.

In fact, *Hagakure*, with its obsession with death can be viewed as a Japanese manifesto of *necrophilia*, understood not as a sexual deviation but as a fascination with death, corpses and decay, i.e. in the meaning introduced by Erich Fromm with reference to the speech of the great Spanish philosopher and writer – Miguel de Unamuno who, in 1936 as the Rector of the University of Salamanca, participated in a rally at the University with one of the Francoist generals – Millân Astray, whose "war-cry" was "Viva la Muёrte!" (Long live death!). Unamuno, who initially supported Franco but soon changed his mind, commented on Astray's speech and his war-cry and on that occasion he used for the first time the term *necrophilia* in this broader, nonsexual meaning, connecting it with physical or psychical cripplehood (in this case General Astray was a physical cripple)[41]. Ten years later, Fromm, in a book that is a dozen

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[40] Ikegami: 278-298.
[41] Fromm 1963: 7-23.

times longer, developed the ideas of necrophilia and its opposition – biophilia[42].

When one compares the first sentence of *Hagakure*: "*Bushidō*, or the way of the samurai, means death"[43] with General Astray's war-cry "Viva la Muërte!", one sees the same philosophy behind it. Apparently, although some outer forms are Japanese, the heart of the ideas presented in *Hagakure* has nothing specifically Japanese in it. It would be rather a Japanese manifesto of the life-hating cripples' International[44].

The second foundation of *Hagakure* life-philosophy, i.e. absolute loyalty to one's master, apparently has its roots in Tsunetomo's historical ignorance, since such loyalty was enforced (and even then not always efficiently) only in the late Sengoku period when the majority of retainers were deprived of land property by the *daimyō* to became economically dependent stipendiaries paid in rice. The rise of large, disciplined armies, which left little room for the demonstration of individual military prowess, was the other side of this process.

This evokes another problem with Tsunetomo's work. Absolute loyalty in Tsunetomo's vision, has very little in common with discipline, necessary e.g., for executing large military operations. The obsession with an honourable (even if useless) death being one of the principal themes of *Hagakure* is after all a manifestation of extreme egotism and this is something that makes difficult or even impossible any sort of cooperation on a larger scale.

In a way, *Hagakure* is full of ideas, which may have suited samurai from an imaginary past, but most of them, contrary to what is usually thought, were of little or no use for soldiers entangled in modern warfare.

4.3. The *bushidō* Based on *Hagakure*

It is not too surprising that *Hagakure* was used by the military as a "holy book", which could help to mould fearless and ruthless human war robots (together with the techniques of physical violence mentioned above that were used abundantly in the process of military drills). As was mentioned earlier, however, *bushidō* based on *Hagakure*, with its actual individualism,

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[42] Fromm 1973.
[43] Ikegami 1995: 285.
[44] Fromm does not claim that cripplehood necessarily implies necrophilia and gives the example of Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), a war invalid like General Astray, the author of *Don Quixote* (*El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*), a book that is as far from necrophilic ideas as is possible. By the way, the nostalgic and idealized image of the samurai of old and their deeds presented by *Hagakure* was in fact very close to the content of the mind of "el ingenioso hidalgo" Don Quixote, mercilessly ridiculed by Cervantes.

was of little use for the purpose of modern warfare. On the other hand, it became a pretty efficient means of intimidating Japanese society as a whole, securing firm control over it.

Hagakure used during the war in such a controversial role, after the war surprisingly enough enjoyed considerable and indiscriminate admiration amongst a broad circle of the Western elite. This may seem strange at first glance, but I think the explanation of this phenomenon is relatively simple. The recommendation by the famous (and, in fact, outstanding) Japanese writer – Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫 [1925-1970] plays in favour of *Hagakure*, and his *Hagakure nyūmon* 『葉隠入門』 ('Introduction to *Hagakure*'), translated into Western languages is a vehicle of this recommendation.

In my view, this phenomenon is made possible first by the ignorance of the historical context and second by not recognizing the fact that Mishima, being a psychical cripple, was himself a declared necrophile. Recognizing his mastery of wielding words, I reject the ideas that he preached which are very close to those of Tsunetomo.

4.4. The Soft Tyranny of Bushido

Bushidō became, as mentioned above, a backbone of the militaristic and nationalistic ideology and a religion for the army and navy personnel. Apart from that, it was also used for intimidating and subduing practically the whole population of Japan who were to worship these new national heroes being a collective incarnation of the ideals and spirit of *bushidō*. This must have been pretty efficient judging from the fact that physical terror executed by the political police within Japanese society was used on a relatively small scale. Simply, an overwhelming majority behaved as if they fully accepted the official ideology (which was a fraction of the true devotees, who in reality internalized those ideals and which, as I mentioned earlier, is a separate problem[45], difficult but for sure may be worth some effort).

Although the ideological terror executed with *bushidō* was a very important tool for the mental enslavement of Japanese society in the 1930s and 40s, large groups of that society were attracted to the ideology embodied in the lower and medium rank officers thanks to the pride of Japanese military successes and the "mirage" of increasing chances for the ordinary Japanese to improve their life due to enlarging the sphere of Japanese economic domination, i.e. creating new Promised Lands. Apart

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[45] Stefański 2013: 405.

from that, it should be remembered that the feeling of being a citizen of a power is an essential element of quality of life that compensates to a large degree the economic hardship and limitations of personal freedom. This again is a universal phenomenon concerning not only Japan.

5. Ieyasu's Legacy and Its Rejection

Tokugawa Ieyasu was the third of the Japanese unifiers of the 16th century whose stature and achievements were diminished or disregarded by the propaganda of the new regime after the Meiji revolution, as in the story for children according to which Nobunaga kneaded the dough, Hideyoshi baked the cake and Ieyasu ate it. This does not do justice to Ieyasu, who contributed a lot to Nobunaga's successes between 1562 and 1582 (when Nobunaga died) and was Nobunaga's reliable ally (and not retainer and general like Hideyoshi) and an efficient guard of Nobunaga's eastern flank. By the time of Nobunaga's death, Ieyasu held a firm grip on his home province of Mikawa 三河国 as well as on Imagawa's former provinces of Tōtomi 遠江国 and Suruga 駿河国, and two of Takeda's former provinces of Kai 甲斐国 and Shinano 信濃国.

At the time of Nobunaga's death, he would be, due to his relationship with Nobunaga, the most natural successor of the unifying mission. Since, however, he was caught out by Nobunaga's death away from his domain and with virtually no army at hand except for a handful of bodyguards, he could not react swiftly to the new situation and was overrun by Hideyoshi who, though of lower status, had at the moment some trump cards in his hands.

As mentioned earlier, both warlords tried each other by force of arms only once in 1584 at Komaki and Nagakute, with Ieyasu emerging victorious, and after several months they reached an agreement, which settled their relations for the rest of Hideyoshi's life. Ieyasu, though recognizing Hideyoshi's superior position, preserved an unchallenged freedom of action allowing him to elude involvement in Hideyoshi's expeditions of 1585 to the North and Shikoku, and to Kyūshū in 1587, and only in 1590 was he not able to wriggle out of participating in the siege of Odawara.

After the fall of the Odawara Hōjō, he was relocated by the order of Hideyoshi from the five provinces in Tōkaidō to the Hōjō's former domain in Kantō. Hieyoshi's scheme was apparently aimed at separating Ieyasu from his natural base and moving him further away from the capital. Both objectives were, no doubt, achieved, but Ieyasu with his mastery in handling relations with people was able to quickly establish firm ties of loyalty with the new subordinates, and as a byproduct he became the most

economically powerful *daimyō*, except for Hideyoshi himself, with his *kokudaka* 石高[46] of 250 *mangoku* 万石, more than twice surpassing the *kokudaka* of the next *daimyō*. He also continued his policy of absconding involvement in Hideyoshi's restless activities. Ieyasu's part in Hideyoshi's Korean adventure was less than symbolic since not a single one of Ieyasu's retainers put his foot on Korean soil and Ieyasu's contribution to the logistic support contingent in northern Kyūshū Nagoya amounted to around a hundred swords[47].

Ieyasu, however, became a very important political figure due to Hideyoshi's feverish endeavours to secure succession for his baby-heir Hideyori, as the *primus inter pares* within the board of five *tairō* 大老 nominated from within the most powerful *daimyō* and supposed to guard Hideyori's interests. One of the first decisions of the board after Hideyoshi's death considered withdrawing troops from Korea and finishing the mad adventure.

Ieyasu is usually considered to not have had any intention to care about Hideyori's interest and this may be true. One should think a while, however, before calling this disloyalty. If Ieyasu was disloyal in this case, he was disloyal to somebody who had been far more disloyal earlier. After all, Hideyoshi was an upstart who became Nobunaga's *de facto* successor, betraying Nobunaga's true heirs despite the fact that he (exceptionally gifted – no doubt) owed Nobunaga his position as an important retainer and general. On the other hand, Ieyasu owed Hideyoshi little if anything since in alliance with Nobunaga he grew to become one of the most powerful *daimyō*, and unluckily for him it was only due to the coincidence mentioned above that he had to recognize the superiority of Hideyoshi[48]. One should stress that between Komaki-Nagakute and Hideyoshi's death, Ieyasu never displayed disloyalty, though he had an occasion to remove Hideyoshi but did not do this considering such an act to be base[49].

Having the subject of loyalty mentioned, we can return to politics. Whatever the true intentions of Ieyasu towards Hideyori were, he claimed to act for the latter's good. The same was claimed, whatever his true intentions were, by a member of the lower regency board – *bugyō* 奉行 Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成 (1560-1600), one of the closest retainers of the

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[46] *Kokudaka* means the average income in *koku* ≈ 180 dm^3 of rice; one koku was an approximate amount of rice necessary to feed one person *per annum*.
[47] Sadler 1992: 176-183.
[48] I do not intend to deny Hideyoshi's talents or his prevalence in this respect over Nobunaga's legitimate heirs, but if one wishes to consider the subject of loyalty this is it.
[49] Sadler 1992: 156,157.

deceased Hideyoshi. In any case, their visions of Hideyori's interest were so different that in 1600 two military coalitions clashed in the battle of Sekigahara. Ieyasu won and Mitsunari lost his head some days after the defeat.

It is very likely that Ieyasu's victory was good not only for himself and his house but also for Japan as a whole. His defeat would have likely meant the return of *sengoku*, as in the opposing coalition no person existed that enjoyed such an equally indisputable position, which would have led to a shorter or longer period of further struggle for power between the victorious chieftains.

The result made Ieyasu the most powerful *daimyō* and three years later his exceptional position was confirmed by the title of *seiitaishōgun* which was granted to him by the Emperor. This, in turn, bore premises to keep the peace in Japan for a long time. In 1605, the title was transferred to Ieyasu's son Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579-1632), and Ieyasu left Edo moving to Sunpu 駿府, his last capital before his transfer to Kantō and the place where he had spent his youth as Imagawa Yoshimoto's hostage, and supervised the policy of Hidetada from behind the scenes, enjoying the company of Miura Anjin 三浦按針, i.e. the Englishman William Adams (former navigator of the Dutch galleon *Liefde*) from whom he learnt about the West and whom he planned to use for building a merchant fleet and turning Japan into a trading power. Those plans, however, never became reality. Nevertheless, Ieyasu's triumph meant a quarter millennium of peace for Japan.

In the eyes of many, especially admirers of the Toyotomi house, destroying Ōsaka and forcing Hideyori to commit suicide in 1615 revealed the dark side of Ieyasu's nature. It was certainly not an act of magnanimity. On the other hand, twenty years earlier Hideyoshi had forced his nephew Hidetsugu to commit suicide and ordered all members of Hidetsugu's family to be killed in order to secure the interests of two-year-old Hideyori. According to my judgment, Hideyori might have had a better chance for survival than Hidetsugu. Had he officially given up pretensions to Hideyoshi's succession, as descendants of Nobunaga did in the days of Hideyoshi's rule, he might have had a chance to live peacefully in the country ruled by the Tokugawa. One can say that Hideyori became a victim of his mother's ambitions since it was she who put pressure on exacting Hideyori's right to take his father's succession and become the *de facto* ruler of Japan. This, however, could not be accepted by Ieyasu.

In summary, Ieyasu can justly be considered one of the most outstanding figures and probably the most successful *bushi* in Japanese history, being a

military and political genius, perhaps the greatest Japan has ever had. It would seem quite reasonable then to look at his principles of action not as a ready etalon but as an inspiration.

After careful insight into the actions taken by Ieyasu in his long and successful, although not trouble-free, life, one can extract some crucial principles that go beyond the maxims ascribed to him. They could be summarized as follows:

- fight gallantly (and efficiently!) if you have to but do not seek fighting for vain glory[50]
- do not require your retainers to sacrifice their lives in vain – don't allow them to die a dog's death[51]
- trade rather than conquer.

These could be considered Ieyasu's intellectual legacy.

If one looks at a more precise description by Fromm of the fundamental features of a necrophilous personality[52]:
"The necrophilous lives in the past, never in the future."
"The lover of death necessarily loves force. (…) the use of force is not a transitory action forced upon him by circumstances — it is a way of life", one can immediately and with no effort find such features both in *Hagakure* and in the ideology of the Japanese armed forces of the 1930s and 40s. On the other hand, Ieyasu's principles are practically free of them. Ieyasu was, by no means, fascinated with death, though he had to deal with it more than once as an observer and "author". His mind was bent to the future, and if he looked to the past, he did it critically and without nostalgia (cf. the problem of *junshi* mentioned above[53]). He used force on quite a few occasions and did it on a huge scale, but he did it only if no

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[50] Ieyasu fought many battles losing only few, but he preferred to settle affairs peacefully. For him, war was only a tool for achieving political objectives that could not be achieved any other way.
[51] His view of *jusnshi* (Sadler 1992: 337) is a good example of his standpoint concerning this matter; the affair of a group of *hatamoto*, who retreated under the pressure of defenders during the siege of Ōsaka castle, can be used as another example since Ieyasu recommended Hidetada who thought of punishing them symbolically to simply ignore the incident (Sadler 1992: 290, 291).
[52] Fromm 1963: 6.
[53] One can cite, after Sadler (1992: 337), Ieyasu's opinion on this matter expressed on the occasion of reprimanding Hidetada for failing to prevent committing *junshi* by some retainers of his younger brother – Tadayoshi, who died in 1607 in Edo while visiting his shogunal brother: "(…) Of course, there may be exceptional (! – K. S.) cases where he (a retainer – K.S) shows his loyalty by giving his life for his lord, but this useless *junshi* is just dying a dog's death."

other tools allowed him to achieve important objectives, i.e. as "a transitory action" and not as "a way of life".

As is clear from what was written above and in preceding sections, none of the above principles or Ieyasu's maxims was observed in the slightest way in the period of the collective madness of the 1930s and 40s. Nobody can tell for sure what would have changed in the course of history had an important element been changed, and yet one can justly formulate certain conjectures, estimating probabilities of certain effects. Taking this as a basis, I would conjecture that had the leaders of Japan looked at Ieyasu's examples Japan might have avoided the havoc of destruction, humiliation of defeat and enmity or even hatred from the side of its neighbours that Japan experienced as a result of acting according to other principles, which were fundamentally different from those of Ieyasu.

The above provides pretty firm evidence in favor of my claim that the Japanese were not predetermined by their tradition or history to do what they did. They (or, more precisely, their leaders) simply chose particular elements of that tradition neglecting or disregarding others, and that choice turned out to be disastrous.

6. Summary

The political elite of Japan in the 1930s and 40s referred to false sages without turning their eye at the figure who, though not flawless, was nonetheless a man of true wisdom based on a profound understanding of human nature and the mechanisms of what makes the world to go around – something that was lacking in the actions of the Japanese in the period[54]. In short (and with some simplification), it could be summarized in such a way: Instead of choosing the biophilic "ideology" of Ieyasu (to be frank, many other sengoku *daimyō* shared his attitude in this respect) they chose the necrophilic ideology of *Hagakure*. The price paid for this error was enormous.

The performance of the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces during the Second World War from the point of view of the military results and not the show of fighting spirit on the one hand was not impressive even at the tactical and at the operational and strategic level it was disastrous. On the other hand, its character in many cases was criminal. The second of the fundamental flaws is very often associated with particular features of Japanese cultural tradition or at least with the spirit of the Japanese warrior class. This article provides some arguments against such a simplistic point of view.

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[54] Tamada 1981: 214.

I tried to show that both calamities followed from a very selective use of Japanese tradition in general and samurai tradition in particular. I argued that the nostalgic, irrational and necrophilic strand present in that tradition (and *Hagakure* may serve as its outstanding manifestation) was exposed and inflated, exerting a strong grip over Japanese ideology of the 1930s and 40s. Despite the cult of Japanese exceptionality, which was worshipped by some circles in Japan and in the West, there was nothing specifically Japanese in this apart from certain superficial manifestations. Similar nostalgic, irrational and necrophilic ideologies were dominant at the same time elsewhere. In general, the Nazi and fascist ideologies ruling over many nations in Europe comprised these very elements as their foundation.

This should be good news for the Japanese since they can look critically at their Second World War history without the necessity of negating their national tradition. It would be enough to refer to those strands in that tradition that are rational, biophilic and future oriented, and one can find them with no special difficulty in the principles observed by many outstanding figures of Japanese history, with Ieyasu as the greatest of them. It is important to admit that the political leaders of that time (1930s and 40s) had chosen wrong ideas and wrong elements of national tradition, though they had at hand many other options, which probably more suited the problems faced by Japan at that time.

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AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Krzysztof Stefański

The author, being theoretical physicist by his primary profession, for the last twenty years devotes increasing share of time for research in the field of Japanese studies. His interests are focused on certain problems of Japanese history, comprising such areas as history of the material culture of Japan, evolution of Japanese arts of war, and recently, a critical inspection of the links between ideology of the 1930s and 40s and the actual way of life of the warriors in pre-modern Japan.

Vít Ulman

Gozan Bungaku: the Cultural Exchange between Japan and China as seen through the Life and Works of Sesson Yūbai and Zekkai Chūshin

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this article is to elucidate the changes in the approach to the cultural relations between Japan and China as seen through the literary output of Sesson Yūbai and Zekkai Chūshin. After a brief introduction to the cultural environment of the Gozan monasteries, which is necessary for better understanding of the processes the Gozan literature was undergoing at that time, the author will endeavour to explain the main differences between the poetry of Sesson Yūbai and Zekkai Chūshin. Basic statistic information will be given to quantify different genres and types of poetry appearing in their poetic anthologies. Afterwards, some concrete examples of their poetry will be analysed to better illustrate the reasoning behind the conclusions given in the last part of the paper. Finally, the author will attempt to explain why the differences between the poetry of Sesson and Zekkai appear to be personal, rather than systemic, and why the approach to the Chinese culture didn't change during the time between the Yuan and Ming dynasties.

KEYWORDS: Gozan bungaku, Japanese poetry, Chinese poetry, Zen monks, literary analysis

Introduction

The main purpose of this article is to analyse the development of cultural relations between Japan and China during the Middle Ages as seen through the poetic works of Sesson Yūbai 雪村友梅 (1290-1347) and Zekkai Chūshin 絶海中津 (1334-1405) and to ascertain which factors contributed to differences in these monks' poetry. To understand the conditions in which these cultural contacts happened, we have to start with a brief introduction of the era.

The time we are talking about is a period starting from the very late thirteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Sesson Yūbai and Zekkai Chūshin were both Zen monks from the officially sanctioned Gozan 五山 monasteries. The Gozan monasteries were big urban centres in which monks, apart from their own religious duties, practised a wide variety of cultural activities such as painting, tea ceremonies, and most importantly literary pursuits. Such monasteries in Japan had very strong relations with the Chinese Zen (Chan) monasteries especially in the area

around Hangzhou, and Zen monks often functioned as envoys and interpreters for the Japanese military aristocracy. Some of them were among the most educated people in medieval Japan. Their knowledge, especially of the Chinese classics and literature, was unparalleled. It will probably not come as such a surprise that most of their literary works were written in literary Chinese.

Sesson Yūbai and Zekkai Chūshin were two such educated monk-poets. With only two generations between them, they shared many features such as literary talent, interest in Chinese culture and of course religious affiliation. However, what puts them apart are the conditions they were faced with whilst studying in China. Sesson Yūbai, the elder of the two, went to China whilst it was still under the control of the Mongol Yuan dynasty, a regime very hostile to the Japanese government and to the Japanese in general. Nevertheless, there were always a few Japanese monks studying at the Chinese monasteries, which is not a surprise given their strong, often personal relations to their Chinese colleagues.

On the other hand, Zekkai Chūshin lived in an era when relations with China were much friendlier. He entered China after the native Ming dynasty wrestled control of China out of Mongolian hands. Therefore, the attitudes of the officials he encountered were much more welcoming. (Terada 1977: 131-166)

Sesson made the decision to cross the sea to China when he was just 18 years old. He boarded a merchant ship in Hakata and crossed the sea to Mingzhou, nowadays known as Ningbo. This port proved to be crucial to his later life, as we are going to see. Sesson, being a disciple of the well-known Chinese monk Issan Ichinei (Yishan Yining), was very well received in a monastery led by an abbot from the same *dharma* lineage. At first there were no signs of trouble, Sesson was able to travel freely and did not encounter any problems. However, soon afterwards, after some trade disputes with Japanese pirates broke out, the port of Ningbo was attacked and partially burned down. From then on, Sesson's life story took a sharp turn for the worse as the Yuan authorities decided to arrest all the Japanese monks in the area as they suspected them of being spies. The abbot of the monastery hosting Sesson attempted to cover for the young Japanese monk, but it seems somebody from the monastery informed the officials, and they were both taken into custody. The abbot died from torture, and Sesson was due to be executed. Luckily for him, he managed to impress the official overseeing his execution by his stoicism and by the poem he recited so much that the official decided to spare him. However, that did not mean that Sesson was immediately released. Instead, he was transported to

Chang'an where he was interned in a monastery for three years. Afterwards, for an unknown reason, he was transferred again to the far-away province of Sichuan, thus becoming possibly the first Japanese person known to have entered this province. He spent ten whole years there, first when he was forcibly interned at the monastery, during which time he spent most of his time studying, and later, as the conditions of his confinement slowly improved, also teaching sons of the local gentry. After those ten years, he was finally pardoned and after travelling briefly through China he returned to Japan. At that time, he was already 40 years old. (Imatani 1994: 51-140)[1]

Zekkai Chūshin, on the other hand, encountered no such problems. He was already a 32-year old grown man, and therefore probably more prepared for any eventualities. After his arrival, he became a disciple of one of the Zen (Chan) monks known for their literary acumen called Litan Zongle. Litan was soon chosen to be a new abbot of one of the Wushan monasteries – Hangzhou's Jingshan. Wushan were roughly equivalent to the Japanese Gozan monasteries and therefore Zekkai was able to enter a place where the top echelons of the Chinese Chan gathered. He used the opportunities given to him in the fullest, and at the end of his nine-year stay in China he was even allowed an audience with the Hongwu emperor himself. They exchanged poems on the topic of the old shrines of Kumano. Luckily, these poems survived, and they can be found in Zekkai's poetry collection *Shōkenkō* 蕉堅稿. (Terada 1977: 131-166)

Both Sesson and Zekkai later became important abbots of the Gozan monasteries, and they had a profound influence on the development of Gozan literature, but their stay in China remains an important part of their life during which they wrote the major part of their poems. Most of them can be found in the case of Zekkai in *Shōkenkō* and in Sesson's case in *Mingashū* 岷峨集[2].

Such diametrically different environments should have produced a different reaction from the poets, and in many ways they did, but let us analyse these perceived differences a bit more closely. What is important is that we have to distinguish between at least two levels of difference. The first one is the personal one. Both poets had different preferences even if we ignore the external factors influencing them. It is only natural that they had different sources of inspiration, even though they shared the knowledge of the poetic canon of the time. They both knew Du Fu, Li Bai,

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[1] This is mostly based on Sesson's hagiography *Sesson Daioshō Gyōdōki*.
[2] Parts of *Mingashū* were lost very early on. Nowadays, we only have two volumes; it is not clear how long it was originally.

Wang Wei, Su Dongpo, Tao Yuanming, and many other, more obscure poets (based on the various allusions to earlier poetry they used in their poetic works).[3] However, what they took from each and in what quantities was mostly up to them. The second level is the key part of this paper – the influence of the Chinese environment and their experience with it. However, to learn about the latter we have to be able to distinguish between these two layers. This article could not possibly contain the whole analysis needed for a reasonably valid conclusion. Therefore, only the results of the analysis will be presented here with a few examples for better illustration. Both *Mingashū* and *Shōkenkō* contain approximately 200 poems of various lengths. Following primary analysis, a representative sample was chosen to cover most of the types, forms and genres of the poetry present in these collections. The focus was put on the poems that have comparable equivalents in the other collection.

If we look at the sources from which they both drew on, we will discover that they both valued Tao Yuanming, perhaps for his reputation as a recluse, which was probably quite close to their Zen monk mindset. They both use allusions to Du Fu's poems. Du Fu was, after all, probably the highest ranked poet out of all Chinese poets from all historical periods.[4] Su Dongpo's influence is also present in both collections. Slightly more surprisingly, we can also trace mentions of Du Mu, a lesser known (but still very important) late Tang poet. On the other hand, there are some poets, allusions to whom are not attested in the other poetry collection, or they are much less frequent. For example, it is surprising that Sesson did not use nearly as many allusions to Wang Wei as Zekkai did, even though Sesson visited the place where the famous Wang Wei's country mansion used to be in Wangchuan. Zekkai's *Shōkenkō* is completely filled with allusions to Wang Wei, and some could argue that it is even visible in the style of his writing. On the other hand, Sesson seems to be more dependent on Li Bai, even his principal poem *Minzanka* 岷峨歌 is based on Li Bai's famous *Shudaonan* 蜀道難 *The troubles on the road to Shu*. This could be partially explained by Sesson's preference of poems in the old style.[5] It cannot be said that there are more old-style poems in *Mingashū* than regulated poetry (*jintishi*), but when compared to Zekkai's *Shōkenkō*, their percentage is very high. And as Li Bai also excelled in old-style poetry, it is not surprising that Sesson drew from him more than Zekkai. Sesson also had

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[3] Ulman 2012: 86.

[4] Actually, it was the Gozan Zen monks who first appreciated Du Fu's poetry in Japan.

[5] They differ from the Tang style of poetry in that they do not have to adhere to the strict tonal rules, and even their lines do not have to be the same length.

an unexpected source of inspiration in Taoist literature. In his poems we can find quite a few allusions to the famous Zhuangzi. This leads to the fact that some of his poems have distinctly Taoist overtones. Zekkai rather surprisingly took inspiration from a monk poet called Chanyue[6]. There is a cycle of fifteen poems written on the basis of Chanyue's poems included in *Shōkenkō*. Some readers might ask why it is surprising that Zekkai writes poems inspired by another poet-monk, the reason for that becomes quite evident when we look at Zekkai's literary works as a whole. Zekkai's poetry is sometimes indistinguishable from the poetic produce of contemporary Chinese officials. His style and his choice of topics is very much secularized. It is part of a larger trend in Gozan literature that as time progressed their literary works became more and more secular, and Zekkai himself contributed greatly to this tendency. Even when compared to Sesson, who was already quite secular in his writing (as was his Chinese master Yishan), Zekkai comes across as quite an irreligious poet. Of course, that does not mean there are no poems with Buddhist vocabulary, it is just that there are very few of them that could be really called religious. In this, Sesson seems to be still rather like a Buddhist monk than an official (Ulman 2012: 85-87).

Their choice of topics and genres was different too. However, it is important to say that both *Mingashū* and *Shōkenkō* contain a great portion of something we could call "social poetry". Many poems written by these monks were used as a part of a social contact on various occasions. We can see genres such as poems on 'parting with a friend', as 'thanks for a present' or help, on meeting etc. This is quite typical of the intelligentsia of the time. However, the choice of topic is more personalized in poems that were not used in this way. Sesson quite often writes poems that could be considered natural poetry; mainly it was mountains that drew his attention, especially when they were the seat of a Buddhist monastery. In such cases, his love of nature mixed with his religious sensibilities. Zekkai, on the other hand, showed a great interest in the history of China. Historical allusions are very frequent, and some of his poems exhibit a great deal of something one could call Chinese patriotism. Often he alludes to the times of the Song dynasty when the Han people were defending their country against peoples they considered barbarians. Such poetry had to be quite popular in the first years of the Ming dynasty after the Mongol Yuan dynasty was defeated in an uprising led by the first Ming emperor.

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[6] Chanyue (832-912) was a late Tang monk-poet. He is often remembered together with Hanshan. His poetry was often read by Zen monks.

Needless to say, we can see no such poems in Sesson's *Mingashū*. Sesson definitely did not want to jeopardise his own position any further, which could have quite possibly ended in prison for the second time. However, there is one more thing almost missing from *Mingashū* – poems expressing Sesson's complains and woes. Considering his sad fate, it would be quite normal to expect that his poetry would be filled by it, but instead there is only one cycle of poems he wrote while being transferred from prison to Chang'an, and later one poem complaining of being very ill on the perilous journey to Sichuan. Otherwise, if he mentions his fate, it is in poems giving thanks to people who have helped him. Maybe it is proof of his resilient character, a character of a man who was said never to have laughed in his life, although making such conclusions on the character of the author on the basis of his poetry is quite dangerous and has been rightly criticised. Another genre that frequently appears in Zekkai's *Shōkenkō* are poems on paintings. These poems describe the view and the character of the picture, and as the paintings concerned were Chinese ink paintings, mostly being of the *shanshui* mountains and waters genre (in European terms paintings of natural countryside, often of scenic views), this poetic category was often similar to the *shanshui* genre of poetry. Zekkai also produced quite a few poems intended to be used as inscriptions on fans or folding screens. This is further proof that the artistic activity in monasteries around Hangzhou was not limited to poetry, Zen monks were often very skilled painters and this is not true only of the Chinese Chan, but also of the Japanese Zen.

Analysis
To illustrate the preceding discourse, let us examine a few concrete examples of poetry present in *Mingashū* and *Shōkenkō*.

Sesson Yūbai   Ten pieces created occasionally
偶作十首
函谷関西放逐僧、
黄皮痩裏骨稜層、
有時宴坐幽巌石、
只欠空生作友朋。

函谷関の西、放逐の僧
黄皮、痩裏骨子、稜層
有る時宴坐す幽巌石

ただ欠く空生の友朋と作るを[7]

'A monk banished west of the Hangu Pass,
under his yellowish skin bones are coming out.
Sometimes he sits in meditation on a lone rock,
only missing Subhuti as his friend.'

This is one of the few aforementioned poems where Sesson complains of his fate. It is the first of a cycle of ten poems written with the same rhyme, around the time he was transferred from prison to a monastery called Cuiweisi near Chang'an. We can be quite sure that his physical condition was quite poor, after all he had spent a few years in prison where he was also tortured (if we are to believe his account and his hagiography). The Hangu pass is a famous place east of Chang'an/Xi'an, which formed the sole entrance to the land of Qin in the era of the Warring states. It is interesting that Sesson even paid attention to such things at that time. There are at least two ways of analysing the mood of the poem. On the one hand, we can consider it a confession of a tortured man that feels alone in the world, or on the other hand, it could be proof of his ability to find his peace in meditation and his religious conviction. The author of this study leans to the latter. The meaning of the first couplet is quite evident, this dichotomy is created solely by the second half of the poem. This poem is of a very dense composition, the seven-syllable quatrain is a very short form, and therefore it restrains poets' verbosity slightly more than a similar octave. The first line gives us a setting, the second line provides information about the monk's miserable physical state. The third focuses on the powerful image of a lonely monk sitting on a rock somewhere in the dark. The last verse ends with a sigh that the monk is only missing Subhūti as a friend. Subhūti was one of the disciples of Buddha (*śrāvakas*), and he is said to be the first one to understand the concept of emptiness.

Sesson Yūbai   Yuanyu (The first night)
Two poems composed in Lantian
元夕　二首在藍田

上元春事少年心
孰忍龕灯獨夜吟
一種風流難免俗

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[7] Based on the Genroku period Bunkaidō print (1694).

竹軒松吹賛鳴琴

上元の春事少年の心
孰か忍ん龕灯獨夜の吟
一種風流俗を免れ難し
竹軒の松吹鳴琴に賛ふ[8]

'During the Shangyuan festival, you can feel spring, a youthful mind.
How shall I bear it, a light on a Buddhist altar, I chant alone through the night.
Elegant in a way, it is hard to avoid worldly customs.
A bamboo hut, wind in the pines, I praise the sound of zithers.'

This is the second poem out of two written during Sesson's visit to Lantian, a place where the famous Tang dynasty poet Wang Wei had his country mansion. Surprisingly, there are no mentions of Wang Wei in this poem. However, the topic is quite strongly connected to Chinese customs. The time setting here is the festival of Shangyuan. Shangyuan was taking place on the 15th day of the first month, and it was customary to light lanterns as can be seen in the second verse. These lanterns were not only situated on Buddhist altars like in this case, but usually outside in the streets as a part of local festivals. This can be seen, for example, in *The Water Margin*. There is a mention of it in the first poem, where lights can be seen in a mountain town. The storyteller persona is wondering how he will go through the night, sitting in front of an altar chanting alone through the night. Then there is a slight allusion to Du Fu in the third verse where there is written that it is hard to avoid following customs. Du Fu also used this expression when talking about wine.[9] Finally, the poem ends with a night scene that could easily appear in a Japanese language poem, as it consists of a very simple description focusing on the details of the immediate vicinity. There is just a bamboo hut, wind in the pines (even the word for 'wind' is missing) and a Chinese *qin* zither playing.

Zekkai Chūshin **Giving thanks for a painting**

披図一悵然
風物奮林泉
佛寺雲端出

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[8] Based on the Genroku period Bunkaidō edition (1694).
[9] How to avoid worldly customs in your life? (理生那免俗)

僊家嵐際連
青山晴散靄
白石浄無煙
千古詩中畫
輞川休独専

図を披けば一に悵然
風物は奮林泉
仏寺、雲端より出で
僊家、嵐際に連なる
青山、晴れて靄を散らし
白石、浄くして煙無し
千古、詩中の畫
輞川、独り専らなるを休めよ[10]

'When I open the scroll, I feel pain in the heart,
the scenery is an old grove and spring.
A Buddhist monastery comes out of a cloud's lining,
a hermit's house is conjoined with boundaries of mountain haze.
Green mountains are basking in the sun and the mist disappears,
white stones are clean, there is no fog.
Throughout the ages, poems in painting,
Wangchuan, quit saying there is only it.'

This poem is of interest to us on several levels. Firstly, it is a poem pertaining to a painting, which was one of the major genres present in *Shōkenkō*. Secondly, it explicitly contains an allusion to the Tang dynasty poet Wang Wei whose country mansion was located in Wangchuan. The mention of Wang Wei not only shows Zekkai's interest in this poet, but also it is quite logical because Wang Wei was also a well-known painter of the *shanshui* genre. It is not difficult for anyone who has ever seen a Chinese painting to imagine what kind of scenery Zekkai is describing. There are mountains and trees, there is also water in the form of a spring, and quite typically there is also a monastery in the mountains peering out of the clouds. There are also a few difficulties we encounter while translating this poem. The characters normally meaning in modern Japanese 'storm' 嵐 and 'smoke' 煙 in this case just point to different types

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[10] Based on Kageki 1998: 15.

of mist or haze. Therefore, just in this poem there are four distinct kinds of water vapour. Another question is how we should translate the word *qing,* normally meaning 'green', for it can also mean 'black' in certain cases, and one cannot expect mountains in an ink painting to be really green. Be that as it may, the poem exhibits a great deal of parallelism, especially in the second and third couplet. Its diction is very clear, as was true of most of Zekkai's poems. It can be said that poems of this style form the bulk of his poetry.

Zekkai Chūshin   Reading the Du Mu Collection
読杜牧集
赤壁英雄遺折戟
阿房宮殿後人悲
風流獨愛樊川子
禅榻茶烟吹鬢絲

杜牧集を読む
赤壁の英雄　折戟を遺し
阿房宮殿　後人悲しむ
風流獨り愛す樊川子
禅榻の茶烟　鬢絲を吹く[11]

'At Red Cliffs the heroes left a broken halberd,
the Epang palace brings sorrow to later generations,
Mister Fanchuan, he only loved elegance,
a Zen chair, steam from tea blows through the grey on his temples.'

This poem is interesting in two ways. Firstly, it alludes to the aforementioned late Tang poet Du Mu. Secondly, the topic of the poem shows us the interest Zekkai had in Chinese history.[12]
If we believe the title of the poem, it was composed after or possibly while reading a collection of Du Mu's poems, and for some reason Zekkai chose to base his own poem on Du Mu's works dealing with two of the most famous and also possibly infamous periods in the history of China. Chibi[13], Red Cliffs, in the West known even among the general public thanks to the

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[11] Based on Kageki1998: 147.
[12] This poem is just one of many where Zekkai used allusions to Chinese history.
13 Here, Chibi represents the pinyin transcription of the Chinese reading of the characters 赤壁, not the Japanese word *chibi.*

eponymous film, is the name of the place where the most famous battle of the Three Kingdoms period took place. The Epang palace was the royal residence of the first Chinese emperor Qin Shi Huangdi. It did not survive the rebellion that caused the end of the Qin and led to the establishment of the Han dynasty.

In the second part, there comes a sudden twist as the focus moves away from the scenes coming from inside Du Mu's poems to Zekkai's own appreciation of Du Mu. Mister Fanchuan is no one other than Du Mu himself, and Zekkai comments here on the emphasis Du Mu puts on elegance (*fengliu*; Jap. *fūryū*).[14] Then, the scene changes once again, and the focus moves unexpectedly from a general statement about Du Mu to a specific scene from another of Du Mu's poems. He is pictured probably leaning on a Zen chair and letting the vapour from his tea pass through his grey hair. Zekkai skilfully combines two lines of the original poem into one and reimagines the whole while paying homage to the late Tang wordsmith. This must have seemed a good scene for a Zen monk to take from another poet's collection. In 'Reading the Du Mu Collection' one can observe swift changes of topic and setting from one line to another. Such rapid movement of the focus of the poem is quite typical of Zekkai's poetry and can be found even in his longer poems as one of the dominant poetic techniques.

Conclusion

Be that as it may, the poetry of Sesson Yūbai and Zekkai Chūshin differ in many aspects, and naturally so. They were two individuals of similar upbringing and religious persuasion, but individuals nevertheless. Therefore, it is really important to point out which differences are caused by their personal preferences. After analysing most of their poetic works, it is evident that Sesson Yūbai was much more interested in Old-Style poetry,[15] he preferred to write about mountains, nature and remote temples, whereas Zekkai focused more on Recent-Style poetry [16] and placed considerable effort into the depiction of places of historical importance. They both had access to the great corpus of Chinese writing, and their sources mostly overlapped, but still we can say that Sesson drew much more from old Taoist texts, something we cannot see in Zekkai's poetry.

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[14] For more information about *fūryū,* see Tirala 2006: 176-177.

[15] Poetic style used before the Tang dynasty.

[16] Poetic style originating from the Tang dynasty. This poetic style is characterized by complicated rules for tonal patterns used in every line.

Zekkai, on the other hand, found inspiration mostly in the works of Wang Wei and used allusions to earlier poetry quite heavily.

However, what is remarkable is that if we ignore these personal differences, there is almost no change in the attitude they had towards Chinese culture. Even though Sesson must have suffered greatly during his stay in China, it did not change his cultural viewpoint. Let us quickly explain why that may have been so: we have to distinguish between China as a political entity (at that time the Mongol dynasty Yuan and later the Ming dynasty) and as a cultural concept. Sesson and Zekkai lived in a time before the birth of the modern nation; cultural, religious and other distinctions were probably more important to them. They were permeated with Sinitic culture, and Chinese poetry was their main means of artistic expression. Even if Sesson had decided to express his negative feelings towards the Chinese officials and their Mongolian rulers, he would probably have done so in literary Chinese in the form of a Chinese poem. This might explain why so little changed in his writing, and why we cannot trace any shift in his attitude when we compare it with the one of Zekkai Chūshin.

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AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Vít Ulman
Vít Ulman is a Ph.D. studies student at Charles University in Prague, enrolled in the Literatures of Asia and Africa study programme. He mostly specializes in the medieval Japanese *kanbungaku,* especially in the literature of the Five Mountains (*Gozan bungaku*). He also holds a lasting interest in contrastive and historical linguistics (historical phonology, etymology etc.)

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