FINDING THE IMPETUS FOR LINGUISTIC DIVERSIFICATION: A CAUSAL ANALYSIS OF THE GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC BROADENING OF AWARE

by

EKATERINA KOMOVA

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 2012

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS in

The Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

(Asian Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

August 2014

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis explores the interrelated linguistic processes of grammatical and semantic broadening as they pertain to the Japanese concept of aware 哀れ during the initial stages of its development, paying close attention to the 250 year span between the 8th and late 10th centuries which saw its highly limited interjectional use burgeon into the diverse instantiations characteristic of the mid-Heian period (794-1185). As I will argue, it was precisely during this time that aware’s literary usefulness as an interjection motivated a crucial syntactic reanalysis into a bound nominal form that was in turn conducive to its subsequent grammatical diversification, semantic strengthening and even aesthetization. Accordingly, approaching this issue from a strictly functional perspective, I aim to link the linguistic evolution of aware to the growing social import and standardization of Heian poetic practices, taking note of the cross-generic influence between poetry and prose and its effect on aware’s path to diversification.

After a brief introduction to the literary and cultural background surrounding the history of aware in Chapter One, I turn to its narrow interjective function in the Kojiki 古事記 (712), the Nihon shoki 日本書紀 (720) and the Man’yōshū 万葉集 (759) in Chapter Two, arguing that it was the very markedness of this linguistic realization that enabled aware to diversify in the first place. In Chapter Three, I then focus on aware’s development as evidenced in the Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集 (905), using the prose-bound tokens found in the Kana preface 仮名序 to explain the semantic incongruities between the overtly analogous structures found in poetry and relating them to the emergence of aware’s bound nominal form. Chapter Four consequently contextualizes the importance of this development with poetic and prose evidence from the Taketori monogatari 竹取物語 (c.901), Ise monogatari 伊勢物語 (c.930) and Tosa niki 土佐日記 (935). Finally, the Epilogue addresses aware’s status at the turn of the 11th century and discusses the overarching connection between aware’s linguistic evolution and its growing aesthetic status.
PREFACE

This thesis is an original, unpublished and independent work by the author, E. Komova.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the many individuals whose continuous support had enabled me to complete this thesis. First, to my supervisor Professor Joshua Mostow, thank you for seeing me through this learning process from start to finish and for helping me with my research on more occasions that I could count; this journey would not have been the same without your guidance and unending patience. I am likewise very thankful to Professors Christina Laffin and Stefania Burk for their kind direction and constant encouragement, as well as for believing in me and my work even during the most stressful of times. To Professor Peter Nosco I owe much gratitude for always pushing me to think critically and for inspiring me to reach for the top in academia and personal life alike. I would also like to acknowledge Professor Sharalyn Orbaugh for kindly volunteering her time to chair my committee and for offering me much in the way of moral support.

In the outside world, I am of course much indebted to my parents for seeing me through the thick and thin and for allowing me to pursue my goals no matter how crazy they may have seemed at first. Your love and dedication is what keeps me going day after day. To my friends, I could never say thank you enough for always being there for me, for putting up with my countless disappearances into the academic vortex and for never failing to remind me that there is life on the other side as well.

Lastly, I would also like to extend my appreciation to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for generously funding my research through the Joseph Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship.
The following chronological timeline lists the major works which appear or are otherwise mentioned in the thesis. In cases of poetic anthologies, the title abbreviations used throughout are given in parentheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>English Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kojiki (KJK) 古事記</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>Records of Ancient Matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nihon shoki (NSK) 日本書紀</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>Chronicles of Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man'yōshū (MYS) 万葉集</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>A Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taketori monogatari 竹取物語</td>
<td>c.901</td>
<td>The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokin wakashū (KKS) 古今和歌集</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>A Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ise monogatari 伊勢物語</td>
<td>c.930</td>
<td>The Ise Stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosa nikki 土佐日記</td>
<td>935</td>
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<td>Gosen wakashū (GSS) 後撰和歌集</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izumi Shikibu nikki 和泉式部日記</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genji monogatari 源氏物語</td>
<td>c.1008</td>
<td>The Tale of Genji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murasaki Shikibu nikki 紫式部日記</td>
<td>c.1008-10</td>
<td>The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivating an inquiry

The following thesis seeks to explore the often associated linguistic processes of grammatical and semantic broadening as they pertain to the concept of aware 哀れ across the two hundred and fifty year span between the 8th and late 10th centuries, which saw the extremely limited interjectional use of the term begin to develop into its highly diverse instantiations characteristic of the mid-Heian period (794-1185). Although aware’s widespread incidence beyond the 950s precludes an exhaustive investigation of all the extant works in which it appears, much can be gleaned from tracing its evolution from the earliest 8th century chronicles to the Tosa Diary 土佐日記 (c. 935). As I will argue, it was precisely during this time that aware underwent a crucial syntactic reanalysis into a bound nominal form which subsequently allowed it to attain its ubiquity as evidenced in The Tale of Genji 源氏物語 (c. 1008).

Over the years, aware has by no means lacked in scholarly attention: ever since the hermeneutic efforts of the 18th century Nativist scholar Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) resurrected it from the archaic diction of the classics, its import has grown considerably and developed into somewhat of a staple as far as Japanese poetic, literary and even artistic traditions are concerned. For Japanese scholars and the public alike, aware is often the source of national pride, an aesthetic concept passed down and culturally essentialized for over 1,250 years; for foreigners, an ungraspable abstraction or an exotic element of wonder. At its core, however, aware was just a word, a graphically represented combination of sounds peppering with various frequency the stretches of texts that, even by Norinaga’s time, only a select few could access.
The cognizance of the fact that *aware* developed linguistically over time is inescapable. Its variant grammatical forms, increasing in number as the years progressed, have been noted in a handful of studies and some efforts have been further devoted to cataloguing its fluctuations of meaning. Yet under the vivid influence of what *aware* has become today, what Norinaga had made it out to be, most such inquiries are either biased on account of retroactively forcing the kind of textual reading necessitated by his theory, or cherry-picking certain examples at the expense of others in the same light. Moreover, the preoccupation with *aware*’s aesthetic bearing has largely overshadowed its joint transformation at the grammatical and semantic levels, which is what this thesis tries to remedy.

I have no illusions of trying to assert that the purely linguistic evolution of the term is somehow more interesting or essential to the Japanese literary or aesthetic sphere at large than the overarching socio-cultural importance that it has come to hold; and yet, I do not believe that we can fully appreciate the latter without understanding the former. *Aware* has, in many respects, acquired its present status thanks to its inescapable ubiquity in the *Tale of Genji* and, by extension, the mid-Heian 平安時代 (794-1185) lexicon, a detail which simply would not have been possible without *aware*’s grammatical universality and literary usefulness. Realising the processes which allowed *aware* to move beyond the narrow function of an interjection, accordingly, can be very telling as to the how and why the term evolved in the way that it did. Assuming that its aesthetic value established itself over time, moreover, such a diachronic approach to *aware* may also hold clues as to its accompanying route of aesthetization and its relatedness to linguistic change.
1.2 The Japanese have a word for it

In my opening remarks, I spoke of aware as common knowledge. Indeed, for anyone who has ever pursued even the briefest of inquiries into Japanese literature, culture or philosophy, the word aware – at the first glance at least – will hardly spell out something new. From that nearly impossible-to-translate waka and歌 sentiment, to the overarchingly thematic awareness of the transience of life in religious and literary writings alike, to the profound emotional sensitivity afforded by the alleged Japanese national exceptionalism: these are but a few situational thoughts surrounding our frequent encounters with aware. Although it is often referred to as “the moving sadness” or “the transient nature of things,” to say that the term defies succinct definition, of course, would be a massive understatement. In his notes to Izumi Shikibu niki 和泉式部日記 (c. 1004), for example, Edwin Cranston acknowledges this challenge by translating three separate tokens of aware first as “emotional awareness”, then as “mournful loveliness” and lastly as “sweetly sad,” giving consideration to their respective contexts.¹ In her English translation of the early 10th century waka anthology, the Kokin wakashū古今和歌集, Helen McCullough interprets aware in close to a dozen different ways and contextually-speaking, the gradients of emotions captured by her renditions, which range from elation to longing, are also not unwarranted.²

More recently, a review run by The Japan Times of the “Mono no aware and Japanese beauty” exhibit, presented by the Suntory Museum of Art in the summer of 2013, enticed the potential patron with promises of illuminating “how the concept of mono no aware (the pathos of


things) influences the artwork to produce something uniquely Japanese.” As an excuse for his belated coverage of the venue, one critic cited even the irony of his timing by referencing “the essence of the show [hinged on] the appreciation of things in the shadow of their future absence.” Even from the brevity of this advertisement, one can easily sense the artistic, cultural and decidedly aesthetic import assigned to and propagated by the term, in this case in application to a body of artwork dating from the Heian period 平安時代 (794-1185) to the present, holding the further implication that it is something a foreigner would not understand intuitively. This, coupled with aware’s documented existence in esteemed Heian written sources, like the aforementioned Kokin wakashū (c. 905), maintains the general acceptance of its ongoing cultural relevance and historical authenticity. Nevertheless, as any cursory investigation would reveal, aware – or its idiomatic expression of mono no aware 物の哀れ (literally, ‘the aware of things’) seen above – simply did not exist in its present essentialist capacity before to the linguistic and philological endeavors of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801).

1.3 Norinaga and the genesis of aware

Norinaga is perhaps best known today as a prominent member of the National Learning (Kokugaku 国学) movement which prospered in the 18th and early 19th centuries, a time marked by escalating social tensions and the rising public dissatisfaction with the Confucian-based government. A very prolific writer, Norinaga largely thought to redirect the main trajectories of

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scholarship towards the studies of the Japanese classics, in which he saw the Golden Age of Japanese culture and identity prior to its “pollution” by the Chinese and continental morality and didacticism. Although over his long career Norinaga touched upon a plethora of different works and his nationalistic ambitions for doing so were never far behind, aesthetic concerns tended to lie at the very core of his inquiries provided that he saw ancient literature and art as a gateway to understanding the hearts of his predecessors. In order to battle the circumscriptive attitude to poetry and literature that was prevalent during his day, he posited his theory of aware as the means of rehabilitating waka 和歌 and the monogatari 物語 (as a genre) by postulating them as the product of the human emotional and lived experience that was spontaneous and natural to the unadulterated Japanese way of life. He outlined this theory in his commentaries on poetry and the Genji, as found in Isonokami sasamegoto 石上私淑言 (1763) and Genji monogatari tama no ogushi 源氏物語玉の小櫛 (1796), respectively.

Aesthetic concerns figured prominently in Norinaga’s resurrection of waka and monogatari because of his belief that that they conveyed the natural human emotions “just as they are (人情のありのまま)” without judgment or didacticism, pleasing their readers instead.

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5 Norinaga’s best known work, the posthumously published Kojikiden 古事記伝 (1822), took to the myths found in the earliest extant Japanese chronicle, the Kojiki (c. 712), and brought this rather inaccessible text to the heights of a polemic on the origins of the Japanese national identity. It took over 30 years to complete (1764-1798).

6 For example, under Confucian ideology, the merit of poetry and prose hinged on their sole merit of propagating social order and morality, and courtly romances like the Genji were described as anything ranging from ‘unrefined’ to downright ‘immoral’ and ‘sedition’ (Harper 1971: pp. 115-137).

7 To give a quick outline of each, in the case of Isonokami sasamegoto, Norinaga tries to redefine poetry as the traditional Japanese form of expression. He traces the origins of its form, situates the human experience captured by aware at its core, asserts its superiority over Chinese poetry, and links it to (Japanese) human nature traceable to the ancient gods themselves [see Michael Marra’s (2007) The Poetics of Motoori Norinaga]. In Genji monogatari tama no ogushi, he argues against the appropriateness of religious didacticism in critiquing monogatari, gives the (first) formal definition of what actually comprises one, and finally motivates Murasaki Shikibu’s authorial intent in producing the Genji [see Thomas Harper’s (1971) doctoral dissertation, Motoori Norinaga’s Criticism of the Genji Monogatari; pp. 79-156].
with a kind of relatability that appeased their senses and created an ethical community linked by such shared experiences. One’s facility in relating to the states of others, weeping with their sorrows or partaking in their joy, also provided a standard of measure for these posited community members to gauge their own sensitivity to each other and the external world at large. This effectively instinctive form of communication, Norinaga believed, would eventually allow people to transcend the conventions of language marred by social and particularly foreign influences, and to rediscover the language of the native gods.

As Isomae Jun’ichi rightfully points out, Norinaga is highly suspect when it comes to “over-exaggerat[ing] the mono no aware-like understanding” of classical Japanese works and myths for the purposes of nationalist social refashioning.\(^8\) David Wishart states that “facts cannot ‘speak’ until they have been ‘asked’, and no two scholars will ask exactly the same questions;”\(^9\) if Norinaga had questioned the classical texts about the existence of a unified trait of the Japanese with such an agenda in mind, therefore, he would have easily succumbed to Naoki Sakai’s warning that one is bound to find something “particular or proper to the unified group of people called the ‘Japanese’ who inhibit the geographic territory called Japan” if one assumes that any coexistent group of people is bound to have intrinsically linking traits.\(^10\) Nevertheless, a great number of scholars both within Japan and without have subscribed to Norinaga’s nationalist theory in the past and continue to do so in the present. For the purposes of this thesis, I would like to abstract myself from any nationalist implications of aware because, among other


things, I do not believe that the validity of Norinaga’s claims can even be fully tried unless the core function of aware in his source materials can be determined first. I will furthermore abstain, to the greatest degree possibly, from viewing any aesthetic experiences encoded by the tokens of aware that we will look at in the light of his theories, and will instead attempt to address them on a case-by-case basis rather than retrospectively and in connection with whatever we might know of Heian aesthetics at large. If we are to treat Norinaga’s critical works with such suspicion, however, we must invariably question the saliency of defining poetry and the Genji as products of aware.

1.4 Locating aware in poetry and Genji monogatari

Searching for the origins of aware in poetry is not entirely unmotivated, provided that its earliest attested tokens in fact appear in the songs/poems of the Kojiki 古事記 (c. 712) and the Nihon shoki 日本書紀 (c. 720). Since together with prose, poetry was one of the two intertwined forces governing the realm of classical Japanese court literature and its multiplicity of genres, situating aware as a poetic staple could logically allow it to share in the latter’s culturally exalted status. Within the confines of the Genji, too, aware seems to be quite pervasive: across the fifty-four chapters of the work that span over a thousand pages in its standard Tōyō bunko edition, aware appears a staggering 1,044 times in nearly ten distinct grammatical realizations, which is a

11 Particularly monogatari 物語 (courtly romances) like the Genji and nikki 日記 (literary diaries).
frequency of close to one token per page. The chart below summarizes the various forms assumed by *aware* in the work.\(^\text{12}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical form assumed by <em>aware</em>:</th>
<th>Number of appearances:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as an interjection/exclamation</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as a noun</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- garu</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- <em>ge nari</em></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- <em>sa</em></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- <em>nari</em></td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- <em>bu</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- <em>mu</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mono aware</em></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mono no aware</em></td>
<td>13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Grammatical realization of *aware* in *Genji monogatari*

From its poetic roots to its physical omnipresence in a generically-related work of prose, which also happens to be one of the most iconic exemplars in the Japanese literary canon, there appears to be some credence to Norinaga’s assertions; and yet, there also seems to be a bit of conceptual discontinuity.

As was mentioned earlier and as will be analyzed in more detail in Chapter Two, the first few tokens of *aware* that we find occur as interjections only. In the *Genji*, while this interjective form still exists, at only 33 tokens, it amounts to roughly 3% of the total and only one such interjection can be found within a poem. This supports the conclusion that *aware* expanded grammatically, entered prose at some point and diversified functionally, somewhat displacing its original usage. This is further maintained by the extant texts in the sense that we see *aware* gradually acquire more grammatical realizations as time progresses, increase in frequency in the process, and diffuse between poetry and prose; of the eight distinct grammatical realizations of

aware that we see in the *Genji*, with the exception of the single verbal token of *awaremu*, all of the others have appeared in earlier texts. If we are to see *Genji monogatari* as a work of *aware* then, it is not because it introduced new forms that have not been attested elsewhere, but because it embodies the pinnacle of its versatility.\(^{13}\) In other words, *aware*’s ubiquity in the *Genji* does not appear to be the result of whatever specific function it occupied in the earliest poems, but because of the existence of different derivative grammatical forms at that later time which had allowed for various distinct propositions. If the initial interjection did not seem functionally enticing of its own accord, however, it begs the question as to what allowed it to diffuse so substantially within only two hundred and fifty years. I think that it in order to address this problem, to be able to fully understand and appreciate the role of *aware* in the *Genji* and other contemporary works, we need to go back to square one and trace its diachronic evolution in terms of its grammatical form, meaning and aesthetic content, at least to whatever extent the surviving textual evidence will allow it.

1.5 Prior scholarship

For a term that is as well-documented as *aware* – and indeed, a quick titular search on CiNii alone reveals as many as 207 hits – surprisingly, very little work has been done to trace its earliest development in a linguistically diachronic manner; and the scholars who do touch upon it

\(^{13}\) *After Genji monogatari*, although *aware* briefly retains considerable literary importance in areas like the poetry of Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204) and Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241) [c.f. Meli’s (2001) ‘Aware’ as a Critical Terms in Classical Japanese Poetics], its usage begins to decline and become more specialized starting with the Kamakura period (1185-1333). Its meaning and spelling furthermore divide into *appare* and *aware*, with the former signifying heroism in warrior literature and the former taking on a more Buddhist connotation of the aesthetic sorrow in the impermanence of things. By the Edo period (1603-1868), *appare* comes to be used as a praise for someone excelling at working within the constraints of social obligations to his profit, while *aware* comes to denote a sympathy towards someone who does not (Ônishi 1964: 107).
from an etymological or hermeneutic perspective either list the steadily diversifying tokens in a cataloguing fashion, or are primarily concerned with the genesis of its aesthetic import or comparison vis-à-vis Norinaga’s theory. Still, I believe that a brief overview of some of the major works is in order.

On the Japanese side, while the vast majority of inquiries dealing with aware has been grounded in literary criticism or the structure of aesthetics spanning the late Heian to modern periods, a handful of studies dealing with the linguistic and aesthetic concerns as sourced in the earlier classical texts still exists. Among the linguistically-motivated ones, Okazaki Yoshie’s section entitled “Investigation of Aware (あはれの考察)” in The Japanese Literary Arts 日本文芸学 (1923) very carefully traces the historical use of the term between the Kojiki and the Man’yōshū (759), paying much attention to the manner in which aware is recorded using the man’yōgana script and the way that it functions semantically within the verses contained therein; he also provides a brief perceptive account of the term grounded in empathy aesthetics. Ikeda Tsutomu’s 1976 essay on mono no aware in The Structure of Beauty within Japanese Literature 日本文学における美の構造 perhaps comes the closest to the developmental scope of this thesis by locating aware’s significance in poetic and prose works ranging from the Kojiki to Genji monogatari, yet within the span of only fourteen pages (in which he nevertheless addresses the meanings of isolated tokens with precision), the piece is more of an exhibitory survey than a linked causal analysis. Although Yamazaki Yoshiyuki’s extensively longer work Studies of ‘Aware’ and ‘Mono no aware,’ particularly in regards to the Genji 「あはれ」と「もののあはれ」の研究、特に源氏物語における (1986) also attempts to address aware within this timeframe, it is limited by his predetermined argument that aware’s import remains resistant to change. There is also a number of innovative works published in regards to the purely
emotive/psychological and aesthetic experience encoded in *aware*, notably by Watsuji Tetsurō (1994) and Ōnishi Yoshinori (1964), however they are more concerned with the way in which the earlier tokens affirm or limit Norinaga’s theory.

As far as English-based scholarship on *aware* in the historico-linguistic capacity is concerned, the situation is even more circumscribed. In spite of the fact that *aware* has been acquiring a little bit of a momentum in the context of Norinaga’s theories, particularly through the translation efforts of scholars like Thomas Harper (1971) and more recently Michael Marra (2007), most mentions of the term’s historical development usually amount to less than a page, and cite heavily from the aforementioned Japanese works. It is for this reason that I will limit my discussion to just one, Mark Meli’s 1997 doctoral dissertation, which to no small extent inspired the thesis at hand. The innovative historical approach put forth by Meli is rather straightforward, namely in that he aims to delineate *aware*’s original meaning and development as a word, with special consideration paid to the emotionally and perceptually-differentiated aesthetic experience contained within (albeit within the context of poetry alone). While his ultimate objective also entails contrasting the meaning of *aware* in the 7th-10th century *waka* practices with Norinaga’s poetic theory, he does not embark on this task before carefully establishing a maximally detached meaning of *aware* in the context of individual poems which he views as paradigmatic of what the contemporary readers understood to be the plausible experiences of *aware*.

Although limited textual and consequently grammatical scope is one problem affecting the majority of abovementioned studies, including Meli’s, the one paramount criticism that I would like to level against them equally is the lack of interrelation and causality between the observed linguistic changes. Even when a change in form and meaning is noted, nothing is typically said about the possible interconnectedness between the two or the way in which it
relates to former and later tokens. A similar lack of consideration is shown to the potential of a cross-generic influence between poetry and prose affecting the process of diversification.

1.6 Linguistic change

It would stand to reason that *aware* did not diversify rapidly or multidirectionally at once. As with any linguistic change, diversification (both grammatical and semantic) does not spring out suddenly yet uniformly across a community of speakers;\(^\text{14}\) instead, it starts out at the level of individual innovation which must then diffuse to other members before even qualifying as linguistic change.\(^\text{15}\) Semantic and syntactic reanalyses in particular, which underlie the majority of cases of linguistic diversification, may start out from the speaker’s conscious or semi-conscious manipulation of language, but fundamentally rest on the hearer’s ability to hypothesize a new derivational meaning based on his knowledge of the underlying form, internalizing it, and spreading it on.\(^\text{16}\) This presupposes that even in the face of its innovation, the meaning or usage of the new token must be theoretically retrievable by association with the old familiar one; even in the event that any associations between the two eventually become lost as in the case of lexicalization, this process must be gradual to be salient. Though some scholars have more

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\(^\text{14}\) I use the word “speakers” here loosely to refer to the members of a linguistic community at a single point in time. While textual records invariably limit our insight to the use of the literary language alone, one must assume that these records were produced by a single body of speakers even if in the loosest sense, provided that the literary conventions frequently differ from the spoken norm.

\(^\text{15}\) See, for example, Milroy & Milroy (1985) and Milroy (1992). The former cautions that care must be taken to discriminate between “innovators” and “early adopters.” The former may produce unattested or anomalous tokens, but only the latter can bring about change through dissemination of the new form/usage.

\(^\text{16}\) The speaker may operate under the assumption that the hearer will be able to understand his novel use of a word, but in the absence of such an existing form or meaning in the lexicon, the hearer must technically create a new hypothetical language system for interpretation (c.f. Eckardt 2006, 2007).
recently criticized this speaker-driven view of linguistic change on the account of being teleological, or necessitating some sort of implausible end goal towards which all of the changes in language converge.\textsuperscript{17} I think that we must distinguish between teleological and functional directions of linguistic change, consigning the former to the language itself and the latter to its speakers.\textsuperscript{18} We are of course concerned with the less marked functional direction, granted that while language does not have a (provable) end goal, speakers functionally do: the success of communication or conveying the desired meaning to the audience, even in the advent of marked linguistic innovation. And if such success is achieved, particularly by a member of certain status or social prestige in the speaking community, it is more likely to catch on and result in a linguistic change. It is in accordance with the above that I will approach \textit{aware} from a diachronically functional perspective.

The one precaution I must take at this point, however, is to be stress that all of the linguistic observations made throughout this thesis are confined to the sphere of Nara and Heian-period texts and are in no way representative of the contemporaneous spoken language or in fact any other linguistic practices that fall outside of the documents examined. While written language invariably presents us with the only means of accessing the past captured by the works and poetry in question, it is universally recognized for being highly conventional and in the context of the premodern Japanese court society in particular, which prized itself on decorum and linguistic conformism, the likelihood of this artificiality cannot be underemphasized.


1.7 Structure of this thesis

In order to better ground the functional foundation of aware, in Chapter Two I will turn to its earliest attested tokens as found in the song/poems of the Kojiki (712), the Nihon Shoki (720) and the Man'yōshū (759). To a large extent, I will follow the analytical framework put forward in Chapter Three of Mark Meli’s dissertation and will pay much heed to his observations, chiefly in the area of aesthetics. That being said, my orientation will be significantly more focused on the interrelationship of the syntactic, grammatical and semantic aspects of aware and taking into account the precarious linguistic position of interjections in general, I will argue that it was this very grammatical form in particular which had allowed aware to diversify in the first place.

In Chapter Three, I will resume tracing the linguistic evolution of aware initiated by the preceding chapter and, once again following Meli’s lead, will turn my attention to the next available poetic repository on aware, the first imperially-commissioned anthology of poetry known as the Kokinshū (c. 905). As we shall see, some of the tokens of aware contained there represent a bit of an analytical problem in that their seemingly analogous structures yield unclear or contrasting interpretations, which cannot be conclusively explained diachronically in association with the Nara-period works or the stylistic trends of the new anthology. Consequently, I will aim to resolve this issue by examining the previously unattested tokens of aware found in the Kokinshū’s kana Preface 仮名序, which have been thus far virtually ignored by scholars including Meli, and will posit the appearance of a bound nominal form of aware at

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19 In Chapters Two and Three of this thesis, I will largely rely on the poem translations presented in Meli’s dissertation. Everywhere else, unless otherwise noted, the translations are my own.
the heart of this development. In doing so, I also hope to exemplify the oversight of focusing on poetry over prose and stressing the importance of considering the two media in tandem.

My fourth chapter will be subsequently devoted to analyzing the evolution of aware in prose monogatari and nikki up to the 950s, although not at the exclusion of the poetry-based tokens contained within these works. I will specifically look at the use of aware in the Taketori monogatari 竹取物語 (c. 901), Ise monogatari 伊勢物語 (c. 930) and Tosa nikki 土佐日記 (935), which are roughly contemporaneous with the Kokinshū, solidifying the use and the meaning of the new grammatical forms found in the Preface. My goal in using these texts will be to both affirm the existence of the bound nominal form identified in the previous chapter and to ground the functional importance behind this development as far as the imminent literary boom of aware is concerned.

For my final chapter, I will wrap up with an epilogue giving some mention to later mid-Heian works containing aware which span from the end of the 10th century and up until the Genji. While it is in this period that aware reaches its zenith of popularity thus making any exhaustive analysis of all of the extant tokens unfeasible, I will make note of any overarching trends as well as of newly emerging forms and their relatedness to the linguistic changes observed until then. I will finally conclude with a discussion on the overarching aesthetic implications of aware and the trajectories for future research.

Discounting the fact that the sheer breadth of aware’s pervasiveness within the realm of classical Japanese literature effectively precludes the kind of descriptive account that is entirely free of generalizations, it is nevertheless my hope for this thesis to connect the processes of grammatical and semantic diversification in order to contribute a more historically salient and
unified analysis of the term. For one, it is my aim to compare *aware*’s function within poetry and prose in order to better characterize the potential limitation of some grammatical manifestations ascribed to the either form, but to also discuss how the linguistic broadening of *aware* overall becomes conducive to aesthetization or vice versa. In this respect, I will moreover attempt to show the interconnectedness between the evolution of language and culture in the Heian period.
2.1 The humble interjective beginnings of *aware*

Several centuries prior to the burgeoning evidenced in *Genji monogatari* – and indeed over a thousand years before the transformative power of Norinaga’s influential theory – *aware* appears to have existed within a very limited grammatical and semantic scope, which most likely explains why its early realizations are seldom discussed at length in scholarship. While the fact that we can find *aware* in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (“Record of Ancient Matters,” c. 712) at all is not insignificant, provided that it is believed to have been the earliest work written in the Japanese language, with only four tokens to speak of, it does not seem to have been a particularly salient term. Its exhibited aesthetic aspirations at this stage, moreover, are arguable at best. This highly narrow use of *aware* in the Nara period (710-794) in general is only reaffirmed by its similarly small representation of just four tokens found in the second oldest Japanese historical record, the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (“Chronicles of Japan,” 720), as well as the earliest extant collection of Japanese poetry, the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (“Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves,” c. 759), where it appears only eight times out of some 4,600 poems. While the latter work possibly exhibits some evidence of linguistic productivity, it is not until the reinvention of the Japanese poetic court practices later in the Heian period (794-1185), as epitomized by the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (“Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times,” comp. 905~916), that we can see the beginnings of a systematic expansion of *aware* in terms of syntactic integration and, more
prominently, its semantic weight. It is also here that we see start seeing irrefutable signs of aesthetic codification.

The earliest attested manifestation of *aware* is that of an interjection. This is probably one of the least controversial points in the history of the term’s scholarship and something that virtually all commentators can agree upon; and yet, possibly in the face of the universal recognition of this fact, very little attention has been paid to the actual linguistic possibilities afforded to *aware* precisely because it started out as an interjection. Since interjections largely occur as syntactic isolates, meaning that they do not interact with other clausal constituents in quite the same integrated way as other lexical and syntactic elements, the derivative lack of grammatical diversity has generally prompted scholars to focus their attention on identifying the meaning of *aware* in the context of individual Nara-period poems, with only the occasional perfunctory nod to its interjective form. While it is true that the meanings of *aware* (or more specifically, the pragmatically-determinable emotions encoded in the term) exhibit a greater level of variability at this stage and associatively hold more interest to the discourse of aesthetics, ignoring these ‘meanings’ outside of a more thorough discussion on the inherent properties of interjections causes the resulting analyses to fail at explaining as to why it was possible for *aware* to signify varying emotions or why its onset of syntactic broadening seen in the *Man’yōshū* took the path that it did.\(^{20}\) Even more prominently, it seems to ignore the fact that in its road to diversification, *aware* defied the prototypical unidirectionality of syntactic and semantic change.

\(^{20}\) While I have used the term ‘meaning’ rather loosely here, similarly to how it has been used thus far in literature on *aware*, in the discussion which follows I will be more careful as to distinguish between semantic and pragmatic levels of meaning.
In order to rectify this common disjunction between the original interjective form and the evolution of *aware*, the present chapter will re-examine Mark Meli’s – and to a lesser extent Okazaki Yoshie’s – analyses of the thirteen poems containing *aware* as found in the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shiki* and the *Man'yōshū*, with a much more thorough emphasis placed on the linguistic form of each token. Since this study has been largely inspired by Chapters Three of Meli’s 1997 dissertation dealing with these particular texts,21 I will for the most part adhere to the organization and numerous observations introduced by his work, albeit with a slight regrouping of the order in which the individual poems appear. While I will go over his commentary wherever relevant, the reader is nonetheless strongly encouraged to refer to his original discussion for the phenomenological account of the changing *aware* experience that comprises one of the central point of his dissertation, provided that my own focus – although also pertinent to the aesthetic development of *aware* – is much more concerned with the multifaceted linguistic processes responsible for the evolution of the term.

Although the linguistic breadth of *aware* captured by the three aforementioned Nara-period works comes nowhere close to what we find in the *Genji* or even in other earlier works that we will turn to in Chapter Four, it nevertheless offers a very good starting point for a study like this as it allows us to trace the evolution of the word as a fairly gradual process, and within a controlled body of textual evidence. The former point will be especially useful for providing us with a model of linguistic change triggered by *aware* in the later times, where its increasing

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21 Chapter Three, “‘Aware’ in Pre-Heian Era Japanese Poetry” (pp. 99-127), deals with the poems from the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki* and *Man’yōshū*, as does this chapter of my thesis. Chapter Four, “‘Aware’ in the *Kokin Wakashū* (pp. 127-164), deals with the 10th century poetic anthology just as the name suggest and has subsequently influenced a portion of Chapter Three of this thesis.
popularity inspires syntactic and semantic broadening to occur at higher levels of productivity and at a much faster pace.

One final remark I would like to make at this stage relates to the terminology employed in the ensuing analysis. While Meli, Okazaki and many others have been very liberal with their delineation of the ‘subject’ and ‘object’ separation in reference to the speaker/poet/experiencer/noetic pole of aware and its respective addressee/stimulus/noematic pole, at times without a clear transition between their unique connotations, I would like to restrict these two specific terms to their strictly grammatical function. Whenever the discussion will call for any of their more marked meanings, I will refer to them accordingly using the more explicit signifiers.

2.2 A quick interjection on interjections

Before proceeding to the interjection-heavy exemplars of the Nara-period aware, a couple of things must be said about this rather unique group of linguistic elements as a whole. Edward Sapir, who is often credited with introducing linguistics to the midst of academic disciplines, had once declared that “[i]nterjections are among the least important of speech elements.”22 Although interjections occur and more notably vary across languages, meaning that they are indeed linguistically encoded and inform our systematic knowledge of Language, they constitute one of the most understudied elements of speech. In part, this lack of interest in interjections stems from the prevalent view echoing Sapir that they are “non-words,”

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Even before Sapir, Latin grammarians dismissed interjections as non-words (see, for example, Wharton 2003) and 19th century scholars went as far as to call them “the negation of language” (Benfey 1869: 295) or to assert that “language begins where interjections end” (Müller 1862: 366).
“anomalous” and only “loosely integrated into the linguistic system.” On the other hand, they seem to function paralinguistically, or at the syntactic and semantic periphery of language: they tend to be syntactically disconnected and independent from the other elements in a clause, and escape definition applicable to the more descriptive lexical categories such as adjectives, nouns or verbs. While they are commonly employed by speakers to express their isolated emotions or otherwise participate in discrete communicative acts, to quote Norbert Corver, “the meaning of wow! seems harder to define than that of amazing! or beautiful! [and] the meaning of interjective shit! is harder to grasp than the noun shit in the shit on your shoe.” Felix Ameka explains that “interjections […] are all produced in reaction to a linguistic or extralinguistic context, and can only be interpreted relative to the context in which they are produced,” partly echoing Quirk et al. in that they are “pure emotive words which have no referential content.” Some scholars have even raised the issue as to whether interjections should be treated as linguistic elements at all and whether they can be simply said to transverse the border between vocal and physical gestures.


24 Interjections, in fact, have all but one essential features in common with the (prototypical) sentence: they have distributional autonomy, form an intonation unit, form a semantic unit and form a communicative unit. Their only distinguishing factor is that they lack the necessary subject + predicate structure (Cuenca 2000: 30).

25 They have been often compared to adverbs, since they lack morphological variability and encode for subjective values. This, however, can be true for other word categories as well and the distribution of interjections, which function like sentence equivalents rather than constituents, is irreconcilable (ibid.: 31).


28 Quirk et al. (1972), p. 413.

In her article “Defining the Indefinable?,” Cuenca argues that rather than trying to define interjections using necessary or sufficient conditions to assert their membership in a given linguistic category, the better cognitive-based approach would be to simply accept them as peripheral elements with whatever cluster of features they come with.\(^{30}\) I agree with her in this regard and will, instead of trying to argue whether interjections constitute a legitimate part of language or not, focus on their mostly agreed upon characteristic features, namely 1) their syntactic integration (or the lack thereof); 2) their emphasis on a context-based (pragmatic) meaning versus a semantic or a lexical one; and 3) implication of feelings or emotive states of mind. When dealing with an academically well-studied term such as *aware*, going into this study, we have no choice but to recognize that our ending had already been partially spoiled: we know that *aware* will in fact evolve and diversify linguistically, and so the real mystery at hand rests with the process, or the when and how. Theoretically, any changes pertaining to the points 1) though 3) outlined above would upset the very essence of what interjections entail and must accordingly be monitored with utmost care.

The last point which we must address at this stage concerns the traditional classification of interjections into two categories, primary and secondary. The primary or prototypical interjections typically subsume short, phonologically and morphologically unique tokens (such as *wow, oh, ouch*, etc.) that do not occur anywhere else in the language;\(^{31}\) secondary interjections, on the other hand, usually start out and continue to exist as salient items belonging to other word classes (e.g., *damn, excellent, God*) or even phrases (e.g., *dear me, good heavens*,

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\(^{30}\) Cuenta (2000), p. 35.

\(^{31}\) Ameka notes that they can even at times violate the phonological rules of the given language, as can be seen from the English *tut-tut*, which is produced with the otherwise undocumented dental clicks, or the vowelless *psst*! (1992: 105-6).
In the case of the latter group, we can normally tell that we are dealing with interjections rather than the denotata expressions because they tend to stand alone as emphatic utterances and their semantic meaning also appears bleached to encode for more pragmatically-driven sentiments like surprise, agreement or regret. According to Norinaga’s famous breakdown, *aware* could be seen as better aligned with primary interjections:

“*Aware* is the sound of the sigh one makes upon being moved by the sight, sound, or sensation of something just as people now say “*aa*” and “*hare*.” For example, when one looks at a flower or the moon and is moved one says, “*Aa,* what a beautiful flower,” or “*Hare,* what a lovely moon.”

Although we have no way of confirming this etymological origin of the term, I will take the absence of its any non-interjectional forms in the earliest extant texts as indication supporting this primary classification in general. Consequently, any syntactic diversification of *aware* that we will see in the later times will be treated as a case of reanalysis of this interjectional form rather than some original, pre-grammaticalized constituent.

### 2.3 Aware in the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon shoki* and the *Man’yōshū*

The following section will present a systematic analysis of thirteen different poems appearing in the *Kojiki* (712), the *Nihon shoki* (720) and the *Man’yōshū* (c. 759). Rather than adhering to the chronological sequence in which the poems appear in these texts, I have grouped

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32 See Cuenca (2000) for a detailed discussion of the role that grammaticalization plays in the formation of secondary interjections (pp. 38-41).

33 A quote from Norinaga’s *Tama no Ogushi* (1797), adapted from Patrick Caddeau’s *Apprasing Genji* (2006: 52).

34 In his *Genji monogatari hyōshaku* (”Commentary to the *Tale of Genji*,” 1854), Higawara Hiromichi, for example, disagrees with Norinaga’s analysis by citing that while one can find “*aa*” in old texts and even contemporary speech, “*hare*” appears in neither, making him question whether this is something peculiar to Norinaga’s dialect (ibid.).
them in the order of increasing linguistic complexity, focusing on syntax, choice of expression and theme. Moreover, although the tokens of *aware* in question appear within poetic verses only, attention will be given to the prose-set situations surrounding each poem considering that, as Meli points out, the poems themselves “often relay little in terms of emotional and cognitive content when taken out of context.” This observation seems entirely in line with the pragmatic dependency of interjections we had discussed above. First, however, a little must be said about the properties of the three works in question.

The *Kojiki* 古事記 (712) and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720), known collectively as the *Kiki* 記紀, are the two oldest chronicles documenting the origins of Japan and of the various *kami* inhabiting it; replete with myths and legends on the subject, both works are predominantly recorded in the form of poems and songs collected from unknown sources and times. As the notably more detailed work of the two, the *Nihon shoki* also happens to be the first official imperial history which attempts to legitimize the imperial line by tracing it all the way from the Age of Gods to the reign of Empress Jitō 持統天皇 (645-703, r. 686-697). Each of the works contains four tokens of *aware*, as was mentioned earlier, with one poem in particular appearing in both, albeit in a somewhat different context. The *Nihon shoki* then also happens to share one poem with the slightly older *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (759), which is the third text rounding up this selection and which is considered one of the most reputable poetic anthologies to date. Widely believed to have been compiled by the eminent poet Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (c. 718-785), the *Man'yōshū* covers the time span between 347 and 759 and, for the most part, contains


36 While the *Kojiki* is not given the same ‘official’ imperial import as the *Nihon shoki*, it was compiled by Ō no Yasumaro (d. 723), the same man said to have assisted Prince Toneri (676-735) with the *Nihon shoki*, at the request of Empress Genmei (660-721, r. 707-715).
poetry in the form of *tanka* 短歌 (*waka* 和歌) and the longer *chōka* 長歌.\(^{37}\) Out of the three texts, it can be said to be the most progressive as far as the development of *aware* is concerned, provided that at least two of its eight tokens exhibit usage that seems markedly different from its decidedly interjectional manifestation seen in the *Kiki*. Prior to examining this diversification, however, we must first establish the said interjectional role that seems to characterize the Nara-period use of *aware*.

1. **KJK #89**

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隠り国の 泊瀬の山の 大峡には 幌張り立て さ小峡にし なか定
める 思ひ妻あはれ 槻弓の 臥やる臥やりも 梓弓起てり起てりも
後も取り見る 思ひ妻あはれ
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On Mount Patuse of the hidden country,
On the large ridges are erected banners,
On the small ridges are erected banners.
As upon a large ridge, Do you rely upon our troth,
My beloved spouse, *aware*.
Like a *tuki* bow, reclining,
Like an *aduse* bow, standing up –
Later, I shall hold you close,
My beloved spouse, *aware*.\(^{38}\)

2. **KJK #91**

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くさかべの こちの山と 畳こも 平群の山の こちごちの 山のかびに 立ち栄ゆる 葉広くまかし 本には いくみ竹おび 末辺には
たしみ竹おび いくみ竹 いくみは寝ず たしみ竹 たしには寝ず
後も隠み寝む その思ひ妻あはれ
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In the valleys,
Here and there
Between the mountains this side
Of Kusaka-be
And the Peguri mountains
(Of the rush matting)
There stand flourishing
Wide-leaved great oak trees.

\(^{37}\) *Yakamochi* is known as one of the Thirty-six Immortals of Poetry (*三十六歌仙*), a group designated by Fujiwara no Kintō (966-1041) as the exemplars of poetic talent among courtiers up until the Heian period. The time span covered by the *Man'yōshū* is estimated based on some of the dateable poems, namely #85-89 (from c. 347) and #4516 (from c. 759); the vast majority of the poems, however, was likely composed after 600.

\(^{38}\) Following Meli, the translation given is based on Phillipi’s, with the exception of one change affecting the two lines containing *aware* in order to reflect the original word (in the translations, these lines read as “Ah, my beloved spouse”). Phillipi, p. 122.
At their foot
Grows entwined bamboo;
At their tips
Grows luxuriant bamboo.
Entwined bamboo:
We did not sleep entwined;
Luxuriant bamboo:
We did not sleep luxuriously.
But later we shall sleep entwined –
That beloved wife, aware. 39

3. NSK #97

石の上 布留を過ぎて 薦枕 高橋過ぎ 物多に 大宅過ぎ 春日
春日を過ぎ 妻隠る 小佐保を過ぎ 玉けには 飯へ盛り 玉もひに
水さへ盛り 泣きそほち行くも 影媛あはれ

Passing Furu
“Which is in Iso no Kami,”
Passing Takahashi
“High like a mat-covered pillow,”
Passing Oyake
“Where things are bountiful,”
Passing Kasuga
“Hazy as a day in springtime,”
Passing Osao
“Where men retire with their wives,”
Even putting rice
Into a precious vessel,
Even putting water
Into a jeweled bowl –
And shedding tears with every step,
Princess Kage, aware!

The first three instances of aware seen above exhibit a typical interjectional behavior,
exclaimed emphatically at the mention of the speaker’s wife (1&2) or Princess Kage (3), the
emotional foci of the poems. More specifically, they are syntactically independent from the rest
of the clauses in which they appear and constitute discrete utterances all on their own, meaning
that although these ‘women’ happen to be the pragmatic referents of their respective aware, they
are not their grammatical subjects, and the tokens themselves display no predicative structure.

39 Philippi, p. 351-352.
Although one can say that *aware* is linked most closely with these proper nouns, which denote concrete entities and are thus not interjections themselves, this relationship is maintained via parataxis rather than syntactic subordination, once again underscoring its syntactic isolation. This is additionally confirmed by the lack of any functional particles tying *aware* to the rest of the constituents and by zero evidence of inflection on these tokens themselves. Furthermore, while we cannot know for certain how these poems/songs were recited historically, it is likely that these utterances of *aware* comprised their own intonational units.\(^40\) It is for these reasons that in the interests of a faithful translation, much like the English exclamation “ah,” these manifestations of *aware* feel most natural when separated from the rest of the clause using a comma or a dash.

Contextually-speaking, in the case of (1) in particular, the poem was recited by the Crown Prince Karu upon seeing his younger sister and lover, Karu no Iratsume. As the Prince was exiled to Iyo on the account of this illicit affair, he thought he would never get to see his beloved again, which is why his uttering of *aware* is tinged with surprise in addition to delight and affection.\(^41\) The second example (2) then relates the feelings of Emperor Yūryaku (r. 456–479) who, upon his betrothal to Waka-Kusakabe no Miko, intended to spend the night with his new bride but was inadvertently prevented from doing so on the account of a directional taboo; the poem, recited from a mountain pass on his solitary journey home, imbues his use of *aware* with notes of disappointment, lustful yearning but also love. Finally, the poem in (3) shifts towards the sorrowful spectrum of emotions of mourning and pity, provided that this is a funeral

\(^{40}\) That is, they would have likely been separated by a brief pause from “*(sono) omohi tsuma*” or would have been stressed individually at the prosodic level. For more information on intonational autonomy of interjections, see Ameka (1992).

\(^{41}\) Meli notes that this *aware* also bears a hint of sadness, considering that rather than living together in bliss, the two lovers will go on to take their lives (p. 105)
song recited by Princess Kage in connection with the murder of her husband, Heguri no Shibi no Omi, at the orders of his rival Hatsuse no Wakasaki no Mikoto who wanted the Princess for himself.\textsuperscript{42}

As could be seen even from just these three poems/songs, the emotional connotation of \textit{aware} ranges from surprise to longing to sorrow, and each of these emotions can be said to incorporate an even narrower subset of emotions in turn. In lieu of relating their spontaneous feelings exhaustively using words then, the poet’s exclamations of \textit{aware} serve as the most natural and immediate way to relate their subjective reactions to the external elements. In doing so, \textit{aware} fulfills the primary role of interjections and particularly in the context of non-verbal human communication, part of which rests in relating spontaneity and naturalness of speech.\textsuperscript{43}

To further quote Wilkins, “interjections are the most reduced form an utterance can take, and [...] the motivation for such reduction is to be found in the functional principle which determines that the more information that is recoverable directly from context the more reduced an utterance will be.”\textsuperscript{44} In the context of poetry, the effectiveness of which pivots on brevity of expression, the usefulness of a term such as \textit{aware} is therefore self-explanatory.

Meli makes the additional observation that unlike the poem in (1), where the ‘wife’ is perceived directly by Prince Karu and it is this sight which openly causes him to exclaim

\textsuperscript{42} Brower and Miner note that this is a special contextual poem (\textit{monogatari uta}) which is “built upon a structural technique of preparation (passing many places, doing certain actions) and conclusion (the exclamation of Princess Kage’s grief),” with the listed place names creating an imagined journey to emphasize the Princess’ struggle in making her funeral offerings (1988: 68).

\textsuperscript{43} Wharton, pp. 203-5.

\textsuperscript{44} Wilkins, p. 153.
“*aware,*” the token seen in (2) is internally-driven and lacks the same visual stimulus.\(^{45}\) The feelings that are being expressed, however, have been ostensibly present within both the Prince and Emperor Yūryaku the entire time leading up to the exclamation, meaning that they reveal more about the internal states of the poets than about the attributes of their addressees. The example in (3) is slightly more complicated to account for, particularly in regards to Princess Kage’s peculiar third-person self-address, first noted by Okazaki: could these have been the words of the oral historian who recited the tale for the record instead, or could they have come from onlookers instantly moved by either seeing or hearing of the Princess’ wretchedness?\(^{46}\) The distinction between sensory- and cognitive-based stimuli behind the utterance of *aware* will become important once we start gauging the aesthetic values found in the word’s later uses. Yet since the exclamations in these three poems, and all of the *Kiki* poems for that matter, are grounded on established personal emotions projected by the speaker towards the source of *aware* (even if that source is the speaker herself), we can preclude any aesthetic readings for the time being and not have to worry about the discrepancy in (3).\(^{47}\)

4. NSK #21

尾張りに 直に向かへると 一つ松あはれ 一つ松 人ありせば 衣
著せましを 太刀はけましを
Towards Ohari
Straightway you are facing,
One pine — *aware*
One pine.
If you were a man,
Clothes I would give to you,
Sword I would gird you with.

\(^{45}\) Meli, p. 106.

\(^{46}\) Okazaki, p. 449.

\(^{47}\) For the purposes of this thesis which is not primarily concerned with aesthetics, I will follow the general understanding of what comprises an aesthetic experience as based on something in the external world that is intuitively and immediately perceived by the speaker/poet.
Although the *aware* seen in (4) does not appear at the end of the poem as we have seen so far in (1-3), its form is nevertheless identical to what we have already encountered in those earlier poems, with the only exception being that the ‘pine’ has taken the place of its earlier human targets. Nevertheless, because once again we find *aware* after a noun towards which it is pragmatically directed, in spite of being fundamentally unincorporated into the grammar of the host clause otherwise, there can be little doubt that this token, too, functions as an interjection. The background to the poem tells us that it was recited by Yamato Takeru no Mikoto, the legendary son of the Emperor Keikō of Yamato (r. 71-130?), on the occasion of having left his sword under a pine tree on the beaches of Otsu; in finding the sword just as he had left it upon his return, Yamato Takeru re-imagined the pine as a watchman, showering it with gratitude for having guarded his treasured possession. Meaning-wise, here again we can see the more uplifting side to *aware*, culminated in admiration and affection. Meli additionally notes that while *aware* found in the *Kiki* seems to be reserved for emotions directed at humans, since the personification of the pine in this particular case shows that it is perceived as more of a dear friend than a tree by the hero, one that he would clothe and even arm with a sword as he would a person, it makes it in accordance with the aforementioned trend. Accordingly, since this poem hinges on the poet’s feelings projected towards a personified figment of his imagination rather than an external stimulus emitted by the tree, once again the experience cannot be read as aesthetic.

5. KJK#42, NSK #275
やつめさす 出雲建が はける刀 黒葛多纒き さ身無しに あはれ
Lay your eyes on this! The sword Izumo carries, Wrapped in black arrowroot, lacks a true blade – *aware*.

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The last poem that we shall consider in connection with the two early histories actually appears in both of the works, albeit under noticeably different contexts. Set a little bit prior to the events depicted in (4), the *Kojiki* version tells the story of a time when Yamato Takeru had gone to the land of Izumo and had slain by the means of trickery the local champion, Izumo Takeru. Prior to the duel, while the two warriors bathed in the River Hi, Yamato Takeru switched his opponent’s sword with a wooden one, securing himself an easy conquest and subsequently sung these verses in the face of this victory. In the *Nihon shoki*, the circumstances of this episode are nearly identical, aside from the facts that the slain adversary happens to be Yamato Takeru’s younger brother Ihiirine, and that the poem is recited by other people from this time (*toki no hito*), be they interpreted as bystanders or later auditors of the tale. In this latter case, the emotions infused in *aware* clearly seem to be those of pity for Ihiirine’s fate; but what can we make of this exclamation coming from the mouth of Yamato Takeru?

Okazaki discusses several views on the matter, with the traditional opinions ranging from Yamato Takeru’s contemptuous derision of his opponent to praise directed at the wooden sword which, although useless in and of itself, successfully carried out his plan. 49 Meli dismisses the former possibility on account of falling outside of heroic codes of the time, and generally concedes that it is the act of trickery that is being accentuated here. 50 This theory is interestingly supported by the structure of the poem where, for the first time, we see that the *aware* seems to be linked to the other elements by the locative particle –*ni*. The section to the right of the particle constitutes a single clause or a complete proposition, where the 刀 (‘sword’) and its modifiers serve as the subject and the …さ身無し (‘…lacks a blade’) is the terminating relator, as

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49 Okazaki, pp. 443-4.
50 Meli, p. 103.
confirmed by the sentence-final form 終止形 of the adjective nashi (‘to lack’).\textsuperscript{51} This entire clause is then taken as a new referent to motivate a new relational predicate, and yet in place of a syntactically connected relator, we find the syntactically independent (and uninflected) aware that holds no concrete truth-value for this new proposition.\textsuperscript{52} In other words, while this token of aware shows a hitherto unseen degree of integration (in the context of the poems we’ve looked at) to the extent that we can tell that it is the entire situation (of there being no blade to the sword carried by Izumo) being referenced, syntactically, it fails as a predicator and is thus once again an interjection.

What we are left with here are two distinct but equally plausible readings of aware, one that is more contextually salient and brings in the emotion of pity, and the other which is more syntactically-enforced and evokes praise or admiration. What these multiple interpretations of a single token reveal about aware, if it was not clear from the variation displayed by the discrete readings of earlier poems, is that context inevitably influences its gist. This relates back to Meli’s observation that in order to understand the significance of aware in the Nara period, we need to consider it within and not outside of prose contexts.\textsuperscript{53} The implication in all of this then is that all of the aware which we have so far encountered are semantically weak, and while they consistently encode for the impression left on the speaker by the addressee, any specific emotive ‘meanings’ that we assigned to them are purely pragmatic. This is also where we inevitably run

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\textsuperscript{51} 黒葛多繰き (‘is wrapped in black arrowroot and...’) is the first half of this predicate, tied to the second by the verb nak-/u (‘to coil, wrap’) in the 連用 (continuative) form.

\textsuperscript{52} This is not to highlight any sort of ungrammaticality on the part of the verse, however, as in the case of poetry in particular, clauses are frequently left incomplete. The point here is to show that aware, in spite of being located where one would expect to find the predicator [cf. X ni ar/-i], is an independent utterance.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 101.
into a conceptual problem with interjections, one which may potentially translate to an impetus for *aware*’s semantic strengthening. If, in line with cooperative principle, we presuppose that *aware* is not a vacuous exclamation but is in fact an act of communication on the part of the poet, we feel free to look for an implicature in his use of the term as we are in fact assuming a degree of cooperation from him in the sense that he would imbue his words with a retrievable meaning.\(^{54}\) Since poetry lacks the added paralinguistic level of communication that is often associated with interjections, however, there is a higher risk of ambiguity [as seen in (5)] and thus a greater potential for communicative failure.\(^{55}\) Consequently, this is why speakers may elect to take greater precaution by structuring phrases using a greater syntactic constituency than was, for example, achieved through the locative –*ni* in (5), or by employing words with a stronger lexical meaning. Perhaps for this reason, in the case of the *Man’yōshū*, we will see that *aware* begins to develop a greater degree of syntactic integration and even the makings of a strengthening lexical import.

6. MYS#415
   家にあらば妹が手まかむ草枕旅に臥やせるこの旅人あはれ
   If he were at home, he would rest upon his wife’s arm.
   Fallen on his journey, grass his pillow,
   this traveler – *aware*.

7. MYS#2594
   行かぬ吾を来むとか夜も門閉さずあはれ吾妹子待ちつつあらむ
   On this night when she thinks I come though I do not,

\(^{54}\) The cooperative principle, as defined by Grice (1975), presupposes that unless the participants of an exchange deliberately try to deceive one another, they will expect of each other to make a “conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange” (p. 46). The speaker thus assumes that the listener has either prior familiarity with pragmatic constituents or can infer their meaning.

\(^{55}\) In communicative acts, paralinguistic phenomena may include effects such as intonation or even non-linguistic behavior like facial expressions or bodily gestures to better express one’s affective state. On the basis of the English interjection *wow*, which can encode for anything from surprise to wonder to disgust, as based on one’s tone or body language, Wharton (2003) argues that no definition can be reached to account for the many combined meanings of an interjection (pp. 177-80).
her gate left unlatched –
*aware*, my love must yet be waiting.

8. MYS#1417
名児の海を朝漕ぎ来れば海中に鹿児そ鳴くなるあはれその鹿児
One morning, while rowing across the sea at Nago, across the water came the crying of baby deer.
_Aware_, those deer.

9. MYS#1756
かき霧らし雨の降る夜をほととぎす鳴きて行くなりあはれその鳥
The _hototogisu_, crying as it flies on this foggy and rainy night.
_Aware_ – what a bird.

10. MYS#761
早河の瀬にいる鳥の縁を無み思ひてありしわが児はもあはれ
_Aware_ – my child, burdened with worries and with no means of support, like a bird in the rapids of a raging river.

Continuing with the trend exhibited in the _Kiki_, the five _Man'yōshū_ tokens of _aware_ seen above are also interjections. The poem in (6) in particular, which incidentally co-appears in the _Nihon shoki_ as part of a longer verse, takes on the identical form seen in (1-3): a determiner phrase (‘this traveler’), which is also the pragmatic referent of _aware_, followed by the _aware_ proper, independent of the main clause. Contextually, the heading to the poem informs us that it was composed by the legendary regent Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 upon seeing a corpse by the side of the road, with Meli and several other commentators agreeing that this _aware_ connotes compassion and pity on the part of the regent not only towards the deceased man, but also towards his as-of-yet oblivious wife.56

Poems (7-9), in spite of also being interjections, begin to show some variation to the form which we have seen so far. The tokens no longer appear at the end of the line, and what’s more,

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56 Meli, p. 113.
have their determiner phrases actually preceded by the interjection. Interestingly enough, however, this condition is not thoroughly discussed in the case of (7). For Okazaki, this poem more or less expresses the same function of *aware* as already encountered in the *Kiki*, with the man’s sentiments for his fruitlessly-waiting lover manifesting in pity;\(^{57}\) for Meli, there is a significant change in that this new connotation of *aware* seems to be relying on thoughts rather than sense-based impressions as the impetus behind its utterance, introducing physical distance into the equation.\(^{58}\) As for the structure of the poem, however, Meli dismisses this new location of *aware* as still syntactically independent. By contrast, the next two poems in (8) and (9) seem to be overwhelmingly grouped together, with their structure of “あはれその—” introduced as a new grammatical form. What is quite evident, however, is that this is done for conceptual rather than syntactic considerations. For one, both Ikeda and Meli remark that these poems are directed towards entities of nature (animals) instead of humans as before, and that the emotional locus of the poems is no longer based on the poets’ pre-existing feelings but is entirely derived from the scenes before them.\(^{59}\) Both commentators further agree that this emotive immediacy is what’s being highlighted through the use of the pronouns to focalize the fawns and the *hototogisu*, and Meli most significantly argues that these are the first truly aesthetic applications of the term.

Although I generally agree with the aforesaid descriptive observations, I do not think that the innovation exhibited by these two poems can be quite boiled down to the focalization afforded by the use of *その*. While these poems are not generally considered together with (7),

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\(^{57}\) Okazaki, p. 485-6.

\(^{58}\) Meli extends this argument for two more poems which will be examined later, arguing that the physical distance between the two lovers is a forerunner to forthcoming aesthetic distance, where the speaker is more focused on the state or appearance of his addressee/referent than on his own feelings for them (p. 116).

\(^{59}\) Ikeda, pp.52-3; Meli, pp. 117-8.
likely due to the absence of this determiner structure, the fact that that the fronted position of aware in that case too seems to accentuate the attention on the poet’s beloved (吾妹子) and particularly her state of waiting – that is, rather than his implicit feelings for her – cannot be coincidental. More specifically, it would seem that the fronted position of aware seems to emphasize whatever comes after it (be it “その X” or another clause) which, in this case, is its referent rather than the speaker’s feelings towards it. Similarly, this focal shift could be explained by the larger constrains governing interjections and hesitations (cross-linguistically), as suggested by Deborah James. When in the fronted or initial position, she argues, interjections can indicate that the speaker had to pause in order to think of what to say next – in order to recall something, find a way to phrase something better, accentuate it, etc. Since we have already discussed that interjections can be seen as spontaneous surges of emotion that are hard to verbalize otherwise, one can see how the speakers in (7-9) could be said to have been moved by the thoughts or scenery they had begun to describe in the initial verses of their poems, and only then composed themselves enough to summarize the causes of their outpourings which, by the virtue of having been hinted at before, ended sounding emphatic. This, moreover, ties into the next point that whereas before the pragmatics of aware were largely derived from an outside (prose) context, in the case of these three poems we find internal contextual evidence: the poet in (7) describes his lover’s actions; the one in (8) the cries of the deer echoing through the bay; in (9), we hear of hototogisu’s vocal flight. This notably reduces any referential ambiguity and we

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60 This may well relate to the head-final directionality of Japanese as well: just as 鹿児 and 鳥 determine the meaning of the compound その X, so in the paratactic relation あはれ Y the “Y” subordinates あはれ (albeit indirectly).


will accordingly have to readdress these points a little later. For the time being, however, let us turn to (10) which seems to exhibit yet another instance of syntactic innovation involving *aware*.

The *aware* in (10) appears at the end of the line, as we have seen repeatedly in the context of the Kiki and also in (6) shared with the Man’yōshū. Yet in this case, it seems to be connected to its pragmatic referent using the particles –*wa* and –*mo*, which Meli interprets as the compound of two the binding particles (係助詞) expressing emphasis and likeness (“like the bird, the child is *aware*”). According to the Obunsha Zenyaku kogo jiten, the one other way to read this construction would be through a combination of binding (係助) and sentence-final particles (終助詞), solely denoting emphasis. If we were to interpret –*wa+mo* in the latter sense then, *わが児* would still remain the pragmatic referent of *aware*, but no longer have the loose syntactic connection offered by the former interpretation. Contextually, either of the two possible readings would make sense, as the poet is speaking as a mother, comparing the precarious situation of her child, who does not have strong paternal support, to a bird caught in the river torrents; the difference in interpretation of –*wa+ mo* would either emphasize the aspect of this comparison or the emotive feelings towards the child, in both cases encoding to something like pity, concern and love.

We may also begin to notice a pattern here that unlike with the tokens of *aware* whose pragmatic referents are comprised of simpler determiner phrases or proper nouns, the cases

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63 Meli, p. 114.

64 Coincidentally, this is the more common usage of the compound seen in the Man’yōshū: eg. MYS#890

Oh, my mother and father, who are eagerly waiting for my return,
thinking it would be today or tomorrow,
counting the days since I left home and went on a journey! (Motohashi, p. 56)
where *aware* relates to more complex states or comparisons [as is the case with (5) or (10)] also leave greater room for interpretative ambiguity and show attempts at syntactic integration through the use of particles, as if trying to induce *aware* into a proposition. David Kaplan had previously shown that a specific emotion X encoded by a given interjection cannot be synonymous with the statement *I feel X* because the interjection lacks the truth-conditionality inherent in the latter proposition. He subsequently differentiates between their modes of expressions or conceptual structure by classifying their content as expressive (non-truth-conditional/non-propositional) and descriptive (truth-conditional/propositional), respectively. Building on this analysis, Tayebi & Parvaresh argue that the naturalness and spontaneity of interjections appeals to speakers as the means of fastest and most unmediated emotional communication, which motivates their desire to employ them in more syntactically integrated constructions. Since such integration seems contingent on truth-conditionality, however, it would seem that any syntactic operations (and even more so a case of full syntactic reanalysis) involving interjections should also entail a shift from their expressive content to a descriptive one, lest we encounter the potential ambiguity surrounding (5) and (10). We will subsequently need to return to this issue of interconnectedness between syntactic and semantic change momentarily.

Yet going back to poem (10) for the time being, Meli groups it together with poem (7), noting that it also represents a shift towards a thought-based rather than impression-based use of *aware*, thus inching closer towards a cognitive aesthetic conception by concentrating more

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heavily on the referent rather than the speaker’s pre-existing feelings. I do not think that this comes across as strongly as the example in (7), however, provided that the comparison made by the poem in particular underlines the mother’s own subjective emotions and concerns in thinking about her child rather than an explicit property of the child’s state that is primarily contextually-derived. In other words, the cause behind her utterance of aware seems much more pragmatic and metaphorical than the explicitly described state of the waiting lover in (7). As I have proposed earlier, this difference can be partially attributed to the fronted vs. line-final position of aware in these two respective poems, with the paratactic integration of (7) thus matching much closely that of あはれその一 in (8 & 9), and the syntactic associations afforded by particles in (10) that of the locative –ni in (4).

11. MYS#3197
住吉の岸に向かへる淡路島あはれと君を言はぬ日は無し
Here on Awaji Isle, which faces the shore at Suminoe.
there is not a day that passes
when I do not speak of you, “aware.”

12. MYS#1409
秋山の黄葉あはれとうらぶれて入りにし妹は待てど来まさず
Aware – the leaves of autumn’s mountains
whence my fallen wife has passed,
I await her, but she comes no more.

While a couple of the tokens of aware that we have seen so far have begun to show some degree of linguistic productivity, one can safely say that none of them have as of yet exhibited the same extent of syntactic integration as seems to be suggested by the あはれ-と construction in (11) and (12) above. In line with the earlier observation, we must accordingly pay attention to both the grammatical change and the expressive versus descriptive mode of expression encoded in these two instantiations.
First, let us turn to the –to construction in (11). If the aware which we have seen so far were for the most part syntactic isolates and consequently could be said to have functioned as sentence or clause equivalents, meaning that they largely resisted incorporation into other syntactic formations, the interpretative report construction marked by –to, more commonly known as a quotation, inevitably overrides this kind of independence on the part of aware because it does not syntactically locate the referent and can take complements in whatever grammatical form they (originally) occur.\(^{67}\) This type of syntactic incorporation is the least marked of possible processes of reintegration because it requires no fundamental structural change or categorical reanalysis on the part of aware, yet is able to enter into new propositions with it. Its mode of expression, too, seems to have been affected, provided that although the aware presumably stands for the poet’s feelings at the time of its utterance, under this new construction, the focus of the poem has shifted and is no longer about some referent towards which the poet exclaims aware, but about the fact that he says it, whatever it may refer to. In this respect, there is a shift towards the descriptive. While we can infer this aware to relate the sadness of parting or the poet’s sentiments of missing his lover, I would like to point out that neither we nor the Man’yōshū’s premodern readers have this explicated in the heading in quite the same way as we have seen in the contextualization of other poems. In other words, while the referent of aware is still pragmatic, this new syntactic construction, which seems to defocalize the interjection somewhat, also suggests that the term might have been strengthening

\(^{67}\) Quinn contrasts this property of –to reports with the inferential –nari construction ("hearsay"), which typically comments or explains something about the referent by locating it, meaning that it requires a specific grammatical form such as the referential adnominal (連体形). He contrasts these types of interpretative reports as “placing things-as-they-are [inferential –n(i)ari] and placing things-as-one-has-got-them [quotative –to]” (1987: 139-40). The further implications of this contrast will be discussed again in Chapter Three.
semantically a little (perhaps by association with earlier literary examples) as to acquire a more stable sense of longing.

Once again, Meli further argues that this use of aware, like that we have seen earlier in (7) and (10), is based on the poet’s thoughts rather than sensory impressions and that any connection with the landscape mentioned is purely associative.68 This emphasis on the poet’s thoughts would logically flow with the と 言(ふ) construction discussed above as such construction of an interpretative report is inherently cognition-based.

The あはれ-と construction seen in (12) is slightly more complicated, depending on how we choose to parse it. On the one hand, we can interpret it in the same quotative way as we did (11), assuming that と言ふ is ellipsed, as it may well be grammatically: “秋山の黄葉あはれと (言ひて)うらぶれて入り…” [“She said ‘The yellow leaves of autumn mountains – aware,” fell into ruins and pass(ed) on…”]. In doing so, the aware could be seen as acting in the same interjective manner we saw since its early instantiations in the Kiki, with the interpretative report construction defocalizing it as we have seen in (11) and thus letting the poem concentrate on the fact that the wife has passed on and will not return to her husband, wait as he might.

Alternatively, the second – and arguably linguistically more progressive way69 – to read this construction would be as an adverb modifying what comes after it: “あはれとうらぶれて入り…” [“In aware, she fell into ruin and passed on…”]. I would argue that the first syntactic parsing is more salient because of a better syntactic integration with “秋山の黄葉,” although both are

68 Meli, p.116.

69 It has been previously suggested that the –ni and –to adjectives have developed from the inferential and quotative interpretative constructions, respectively. Cf. footnote 67.
technically possible. Meli actually uses the second adverbial construction to suggest that it describes the manner in which the wife “enters the mountains” so to speak, although I think that 入(る) is used here in a less figurative sense to mean “to pass on” as there is no locative construction to link this verb to “秋山の黄葉,” meaning that あはれと is likely only modifying what comes after it and that the initial noun compound then functions more like a quasi-epithet. In either case, while the new construction of aware thus shifts towards the descriptive and assumes a degree of weak semantization, the meaning of the adverb is still only accessible by direct association with the old interjective form, precluding lexicalization at this stage.

As for the interpretation of the poem and subsequently that of its aware, Meli remarks on a mixture of pre-existing feelings and sensuous perception of nature coming together, with the man’s thoughts of his wife conflating with the manner of her passing and of the aesthetic viewing of the autumn mountain leaves. He further notes that while it is difficult to pinpoint the exact emotions behind this experience, one must still refrain from seeing it as solely based on perception due to the fact that it is a eulogy and as such, the reading of aware must be closely linked to the man’s emotional state. To me, this lack of explicit pragmatic context is once again

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70 This may even be a purposeful syntactic vagueness, provided that one frequently encounters it with pivot words (though such techniques are more representative of the Heain era poetry). (Meli, p.119 footnote 35).

71 Ibid., p.118-9.

72 After all, “to pass away” is listed as the second of its denotata entries. 『全訳古語辞典』項目②「入る」（旺文社）

73 According to Yamazaki (and also quoted in Meli), autumn leaves were frequently associated with a yearning man in the Nara period (p. 27).

74 Meli, p. 120.
suggestive of a growing semantic import of *aware*, encoding for a sort of sorrowful longing, which seems to go hand-in-hand with the tighter syntactic integration of the term as we have seen in a similar construction in (11).

13. MYS#4089

... 昼暮らし 夜わたし聞けど 聞くごとに 心つこきて うち嘆

All day long, and all through the night he is heard, yet there is never a time, when upon hearing his cry, that I fail to sigh as my heart leaps, and I say, “Bird of *aware!*”

The last token from the *Man'yōshū* that we will turn to represents *aware*’s yet another new form, ostensibly that of a noun. The poem, which in its entirety is a *chōka* 長歌 by Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-785), opens with commendations directed at the emperor and the realm, but soon closes in on a bird with the superior voice: the *hototogisu*. Upon describing the splendid natural circumstances which background its singing, the poet remarks how it never fails to move him, or more specifically, never fails to make him sigh and exclaim “bird of *aware*!”

Morphologically, the form of *aware* is unchanged from that of an interjection, arguably making the syntactic reanalysis to a nominal easier. In keeping with the rules of preceding attribution in Japanese, moreover, the “bird” (鳥) is the head noun of “あはれの鳥,” where *aware* takes on the role of the qualifier; accordingly, “bird” carries the primary import of the compound and “*aware*” describes the attribute of this “bird.” Rather than emphasizing some pragmatic meaning behind *aware*, this construction consequently underscores the quality of the bird that makes one interject “*Aware!*” – or moves the poet – in the first place, in other words conveying that the *hototogisu* evokes an emotion, rather than what this emotion is.

That being said, however, we should not entirely discount *aware* as individually meaningless either – after all, the *Man'yōshū* helped to establish the image of the *hototogisu* as a
seasonal word (季語), most commonly associated with summer and the feelings of loneliness or longing on the account of its voice, and by linking the *hototogisu* and *aware* together, one may derivatively conclude that these are indeed the emotions compelling the poet’s exclamation. Provided that there is nothing in the poem itself to suggest such pragmatic sorrowful yearning otherwise, one must also wonder yet again whether this is an example of *aware* exhibiting the early makings of semantic import. Meli also notes this tinge of sadness captured by this instance of *aware*, but more prominently brings our attention to the fact that it reflects the poet’s projection of human feelings onto the bird, rather than being an inherent quality of the bird. Furthermore, since these are the emotions that are said to be stirred each time as occasioned by the cries, they must be tied to immediate sensuous impression rather than pre-existing feelings on the part of the speaker and hence his experience can be described as aesthetic.

### 2.4 Opening gates for linguistic change

Hopefully for anyone hitherto unfamiliar with the form of *aware* in the pre-*Genji* and pre-Norinaga context, the previous examples leave little to no doubt that the first attested manifestation of the term was indeed that of an interjection. As a succinct means of conveying expressive and relatively unmediated emotions of the speaker within the confined framework of what Ezra Pound would call the “imagistic” paratactical structures of Japanese poetry, which could be further said to highly value emotive expressivity, the appeal of a word like *aware* can be easily understood. For one, the lack of a lexical meaning and the heavy reliance on pragmatic

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75 Ibid., p. 121-3.

contexts affords aware a very broad range of practical application, and indeed even within the rather narrow body of textual evidence examined in this chapter, we see aware take on emotions ranging from joy, praise and affection to longing, sorrow and pity, and to even function aesthetically when so warranted by its setting.

There is no other way to account for such ubiquity of aware other than by the virtue of it being an interjection. The kind of naturalness and spontaneity inherent in interjections is simultaneously desirable for affective communication, but oftentimes also simply irreplicable via synonymy or paraphrase provided that their referential process is not fixed as it is with other lexical items and rather tends to be moment-specific for the speaker or an element in the external world.77 In the poems we have seen, many instances of aware may in fact be compared to the poets’ inability to verbalize their emotional state in any other way; while this observation may sound redundant provided everything we have said about interjections and the fact that aware happens to be one, this foundational understanding of aware as an interjection gives us one of the only coherent ways to account for its later behavior. After all, once we begin to encounter its new syntactic forms in likeness to poems (11-13) in the Man'yōshū, the only way that we can assign any meaning to these tokens is through association with the import that aware would have borne as an interjection under those contextual circumstances. Furthermore, although the fact aware diversifies in form and meaning that has been more or less taken for granted by the vast majority scholars, little attention has been paid to the sheer markedness of this development that cannot be explained other than by relation to aware’s origins as an interjection.

77 See Cruz (2009) for a more thorough discussion on the difficulty if not near-impossibility of rephrasing interjections (pp. 244-8).
It is no secret that language is dynamic and in a constant flux of various linguistic changes: just as new words are coined or otherwise regularly enter the lexicon, so do existing ones retire out of use, acquire new meanings, lose old ones, or even variously shift between functional classes or syntactic categories. These changes, however, are far less unrestricted than the above description lets on. Earlier, we have touched upon the secondary class of interjections which are formed as a result of grammaticalization or the main linguistic change responsible for the conversion of bound and inflectional elements into functional categories. Starting out as common phrases, secondary interjections can be said to undergo the process of subjectification and lose their lexicality and semanticity via bleaching, subsequently attaining morphological invariance and transitioning from a sentence constituent to a sentential equivalent. Although it is hard to tell from secondary interjections which, for the most part, continue to co-exist with their regular (lexical) forms, the vast majority of scholars agree that grammaticalization is unidirectional and irreversible. Although many different explanations have been put forth to account for this phenomenon, one common assertion is that as functional constructions become more reflexive and automated, they come to be processed unconsciously and thus escape deliberate linguistic manipulation reserved for fully lexical elements [perhaps reminiscent of Goffman’s (1991) gesture-based approach to interjections]. Since primary interjections can be said to start out as grammaticalized elements already, many linguists including Ameka conclude that they are “words that cannot be used in any other sense than as an interjection [and] these

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78 Put forward by Traugott (1989, 1995), the subjectification process is said to strip away the original literal meaning of words in favor of a subjective one, governed by pragmatics.

79 See, for example, Ameka (1992); Hopper & Traugott (1993); Cuenta (2000).

80 See, for example, Lehmann (1985 & 1991); Brinton (1988); Keller (1994); Perkins and Pagliuca (1994); Haspelmath (1999).
items are non-productive in the sense that they do not inflect and are not movable between word-
classes, because to do so would defy the unidirectionality of grammaticalization. And yet, the
behavior exhibited by aware in the Man'yōshū somehow appears to achieve precisely that.

Even within the very limited scope of the three poems (9, 12 & 13) found in the
Man’yōshū, aware seems to instantiate a process of de-grammaticalization so to speak as we see
it reanalyzed into proper sentential constituents and pick up a less pragmatic import, even if it is
still functionally tied to the interjection or better yet to the act of its utterance. In the recent years,
interjections have in fact received some attention cross-linguistically in regards to the manner in
which they challenge their traditional non-productive categorization. Although in some
respects they are not unlike particles which can also encode for emphatic and emotive elements,
in contrast to most other functional categories, interjections in fact do carry a meaning that could
be consciously processed and manipulated, with the only exception being that this meaning is
pragmatic rather than lexical. While the lack of a concrete meaning would make syntactic
reanalysis harder, considering that derivative word categories tend to be semantically linked with
the original instantiation, the process is nevertheless not impossible and could be bypassed with
content shift from the expressive to the descriptive that we have discussed earlier. Furthermore,
as pragmatic inferences become conventionalized for particular words in specific contexts, these
words have been shown to acquire new meanings, which could even explain the shift towards
the more longing and sadness-based readings of aware in the Man’yōshū as compared to the Kiki.
Nevertheless at the onset, we can attribute the unique property of interjections like aware to

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82 For example, see Li (2005); & Tayebi & Parvaresh (2011).

contextually convey meaning – which is all the more appealing on the account of its ubiquity and encoded spontaneity – as the enabling factor behind its reanalysis.
3.1 Aware in the Heian period

In the one hundred and fifty year span bridging our last encounter with the term in the Man'yōshū (759) and the early-to-mid 10th century tokens which we shall turn to next, aware diversifies. At least, that is the foregone conclusion anticipated by the preceding chapter and, on a larger scale, the assumption fueling this study. The last couple of tokens in the Man'yōshū, after all, had begun to show a more advanced level of syntactic integration via the quotative construction and the plausibly derivative adverbial form, in addition to its isolated nominal use. While its meaning had mostly remained pragmatic, compared to its expressive range seen in the Kiki, it also seems to have acquired a more stable sense of longing and melancholy, and had furthermore appeared in the context of an aesthetic experience.

In spite of the fact that fast forwarding into the early-mid Heian period (794-1185) has its advantages, considering that it coincides with the spell of a considerable literary boom which accompanied the introduction of the syllabic kana script (仮名) and also the standardization of poetry, as epitomized by the 10th century Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集 (or Kokinshū 古今集 for short), this leap is not entirely voluntary. As even the most cursory glance at the timeline of the major works leading up to this period reveals, not much was being written outside of the realm of Chinese-based government records or has, at minimum, survived to tell its tale until the present day. In his dissertation, Mark Meli ties the discussion of aware found in the Nara-period texts to the term’s new attested realizations in the poetry of the Kokinshū and I shall accordingly follow
suit by looking at this anthology first. Although Heian poetic practices had undergone much development since the songs characteristic of the Man'yō age, given that some continuity must nevertheless be present at least as far as the poetic form is concerned, the tokens in the *Kokinshū* provide a good starting point of comparison for the logical development of *aware* both syntactically and meaning-wise. Moreover, considering that the *Kokinshū* is said to have embraced the aesthetic principles of the Chinese *shih* 詩 from the Six Dynasties 六朝 (220–589), some attention must be given to the way in which the new aesthetic experience encoded in the *Kokinshū*’s tokens of *aware* may differ from or expand upon the budding traces of such expression seen in the *Man'yōshū*.

Discounting the fact that a poetic anthology like the *Kokinshū* provides a more immediate trace in linking the early 10th century manifestation of *aware* to their Nara-period predecessors on the account of similarity in their respective literary forms, I do not believe that we can garner the full understanding of the function of *aware* in this period unless we consider it within the context of the newly developing *kana*-based prose literature as well. Between expressivity and brevity inherent to poetry, as further constrained by a narrow structural form, and the tendency of prose to meander in a freer, more descriptive manner, we can at the very least assume a difference in their respective modes of expression. Prose, moreover, can structurally subsume poetry and introspect it narratologically, but the reverse is not quite true. We will return to this in Chapter Four when examine the emerging *monogatari* 物語 (fictional courtly romance) and *nikki* 日記 (literary diary) genres, which are both intrinsically tied to poetry by the virtue of having their prose revolve around poems that frequently act as the currency of exchange between friends.

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84 For a thorough discussion of the Chinese influences on the *Kokinshū*, see Konishi’s *The Genesis of the Kokinshū Style* 古今集的表現の成立 (1949), or McCullough’s (1978) translation thereof.
and lovers alike, as was the custom of the time, effectively supplementing if not replacing standard dialogue. We have already discussed the necessity of shifting aware’s mode of expression from the interjectionally expressive to quotatively and adjectivally descriptive (via the と construction) in order to talk about acts involving aware even within the context of poetry, and such a need may indeed seem even more pertinent to the medium of prose. The plausible motivation for linguistic broadening in both content and function of aware under such circumstances is therefore self-evident.

For the time being, however, we will entertain these prose prospects a little closer to home, namely in the three tokens of aware which appear within Tsurayuki’s kana Preface 仮名序, and which exhibit two previously unattested grammatical forms even as far as Kokinshū’s poetry is concerned. Surprisingly, these tokens received virtually no attention in scholarship (as far as I’m aware), in spite of the fact that they bear significant implication as to the linguistic diversification of aware even as far as its new developments in the Kokinshū are concerned.

Overall, my primary approach to the anthology in question will largely remain the same as in Chapter Two, namely focusing on the syntactic use and grammatical form of aware, as well as the manner in which it affects its import and any aesthetic implications. Continuing to posit the interjective form of aware as underlying, we must nevertheless be wary of the derivative forms it had already exhibited by the time of the Man’yōshū and consequently differentiate between any new constructions stemming from the interjection directly or its realizations once- or twice-removed. To some extent, my hope is also to show the necessity of attentiveness to aware’s apparent transference to prose and what it can reveal to us about its underlying changes even within the confines of a work that’s overwhelmingly poetic.
3.2 Aware in the Kokinshū Poems

As the very first in a series of twenty-one imperially-commissioned poetic anthologies (Nijūichidaishū 二十一代集), the Kokinshū is often considered to be the best, said to have set the form and standard for the Japanese poetic tradition for centuries to come. Compiled sometime between 905 and 920 at the order of Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (884-930; r. 897-930), the collection features two prefaces in the Chinese and Japanese languages and the latter one, penned by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (872-945), is commonly credited with marking the onset in the history of waka criticism. Explaining the emotive splendor of Japanese poetry as sourced deep within the human heart, the preface laments that, over the past century, "[n]othing but shallow poems and ephemeral words appeared, and poetry thus vanished except among lovers;" with such focalization on human feelings from the very beginning, the collection represented a tangible departure from the mythical and heroic didactic works of old. The 1,140 poems found in the Kokinshū are further divided into twenty volumes structured around specific themes and their internal linking organization, sometimes achieved through conspicuous means of progression like the changing seasons and yet subtle tonal shifts in dictum at others, is in turn the frequent subject in the discourse on aesthetics. In a true testament to the work’s prestige, moreover, the

85 The anthology is said to have been envisioned by Emperor Uda (867-931; r. 887-897), Emperor Daigo’s father. Its compilers included Ki no Tsurayuki (872-945), Ki no Tomonori (c. 850-904; died before the work’s completion), Ōshikōchi Mitsune (859-925) and Mibu no Tadamine (fl. 898-920). The manuscript’s present form is dated to around 920, although its latest poem is traced to 914.

86 The breakdown of the 20 volumes is as follows: spring (1&2); summer (3); (autumn (4-5); winter (6); felicitations (7); parting (8); travel (9); acrostic poems (10); love (11-15); laments (16); miscellaneous (17-18); miscellaneous forms (19); official compositions from Bureau of Song (20).

87 See, for example, Brower & Miner (1988).
majority of successive anthologies and even private house collections would appear in different-scaled variations of its meticulously designed format.

In many respects, the *Kokinshū* redefined poetic practice by not only inaugurating and regimenting anthologization, but also by helping to conventionalize and delineate the various practical changes that were happening at the time. According to Konishi (1978), although the *Man’yō* style continued to characterize poetics at the beginning of the Heian period, the overwhelming Chinese influence that pervaded the court during the reigns of Emperors Saga 嵯峨天皇 (r. 809-823) through Montoku 文徳天皇 (r. 850-858) brought about a dark age for *waka* that lasted well until the end of the 9th century. While there is no general consensus as to the exact cause of *waka*’s social reinstatement, by the time that it had regained favor, its stylistics and orientation were largely different from the Nara period practice. Among the notable changes was the fact that the syllabic *kana* script replaced the convoluted *Man’yō* writing system, marking a break from the style which by this point became unreadable even among the scholarly elite. Also, under the influence of the Six Dynasties 六朝 and early T’ang 唐朝 poetics that were in vogue during the period of *waka* stagnation, the manner of poetic expression became much more standardized. The natural objects or feelings were no longer presented as they were but rather reconceptualized, rationalized or analogized in intricate ways. As the direct representation of the connection between the natural world and the direct human involvement in

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88 Konishi, p. 64.

89 Kubota Utsubo (1964), for example, credits the rise of the Fujiwara hegemony as a probable cause behind the courtiers’ reoccupation with non-political endeavours and the reintroduction of the hereditary principle over merit-based advancement with the decline of Chinese literary prestige (p. 43).

90 Following the Chinese mid-8th century precedent, this came to be known as ‘the oblique style’ (Ch. *i’-pang* 倚傍), where in place of frank expression, the poet was to approach his topic/subject “from the side” (Konishi 1978: 71).
it disintegrated in general on the account of being too frank, the passage of time became an overarching concern and the tone came to artfully strive for elegance and sophistication.\textsuperscript{91}

Against the backdrop of these stylistic changes, aware also came to exhibit new functions. Of the 20 tokens present in the \textit{Kokinshū}, only two exhibit the formerly predominant interjective form:

14. KKS #1003
\textit{Miscellaneous forms; Tadamine.}
\ldots aware\textsuperscript{,} from times of old,
we are told of [Kakinomoto] Hitomaro,
and how happy to think of him…

15. KKS #984
\textit{Miscellaneous; anonymous.}
荒れにけり aware\textsuperscript{,} this house, here for how many years!
even the one who once lived here pays not a visit.

In both of these cases, the lack of syntactic integration is readily evident and once again we must look to the context for a purely pragmatic meaning:\textsuperscript{92} a sigh of praise or admiration mixed with nostalgia in recalling the poetic genius of Hitomaro (c.662-710), long since dead, in (14); and a sense of pity, sympathy and also nostalgia bemoaning the fate of the abandoned house in (15). Meli suggests that the interjective use of aware could have possibly diminished in the \textit{Kokinshū} because of its inherently direct emotive expression that, while characteristic of the forthright Nara-period texts, was largely incompatible with the new ‘oblique’ representational tastes typical of the 10\textsuperscript{th} century poetry.\textsuperscript{93} Accordingly, both of these poems seemingly

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 64.

\textsuperscript{92} Both poems display a use of aware that is closer to the \textit{Man’yōshū} in this sense (rather than to the \textit{Kiki}), provided that the tokens’ meaning can be deduced from the context within the poems rather than outside.

\textsuperscript{93} Meli, p. 129.
underscore their antiquated usage of aware by evoking the past in their subject matter. The exclamation in (14) furthermore relates to the poet’s pre-existing conceptions of Hitomaro while the poet in (15), similarly to the one commenting on the fallen traveller and his wife in Man’yōshū’s poem (6), projects his own feelings and conjectures onto the house and his would-be owner; in line with the majority of the early interjectional tokens of aware, therefore, neither hinges on an aesthetic reading.

16. KKS #943
Miscellaneous; anonymous.
世の中にいづらわが身のありてなしあはれとや言はむあな憂とや言はむ
Where in this world am I?
This body of mine – it is here, and yet it is not.
What then shall I say, “aware” or “oh, how awful?”

17. KKS #897
Miscellaneous; anonymous.
取りとむるものにしあらねば年月をあはれあな憂と過ぐしつるかな
As there is no way to stop the passing tide of these months and years,
I have merely passed them saying, “aware, how lamentable.”

The next two poems exhibit yet another familiar construction, one that is maximally close to the original interjection: the interpretative report or – to quotation. As we may recall from our discussion of (11) and possibly (12) in Chapter 1, since this construction has the ability to take complements in virtually any grammatical shape or form, it is capable of syntactically integrating the otherwise independent and sententially equivalent aware – and indeed, in both (16) and (17) if we take the incorporated tokens to be interjections, we would have no need to think of them in terms of a grammatical reanalysis. Since the poems in (16) exhibits parallel constructions and the element with which aware is being contrasted is syntactically an exclamatory phrase (あな憂), which would also have to be captured via the quotative construction, we gain additional credence to seeing this token as interjective. Furthermore, the と言ふ construction, which is overt in (16)
but implied via contraction in (17), is intrinsically tied to \textit{aware}’s original function as a vocalized utterance. The only difference, of course, is that the expressive immediacy of the original interjection has been defocalized with this construction towards the descriptive conceptual structure, i.e. the \textit{act} of saying \textit{aware}.

Despite its previously encountered syntactic realization, the meaning of \textit{aware} in these two poems presents a little bit of an unprecedented issue, provided that both relativize it with \textit{ushi} 眷 (“painful; bitter; lamentable”) albeit in different ways. In (16), while any overlap between them is not necessarily precluded,\footnote{That is, while not the most likely reading in this context, \textit{aware} could be roughly interpreted as “sadly moving” and \textit{ushi} as “depressingly sad,” where both meanings navigate the spectrum of “sadness.”} the two words are represented as being distinctive if not outright contrastive, since the poet is clearly musing as to which expression would seem more appropriate to describe the transience of life he observes. Due to the Buddhist overtones of the poem, this \textit{aware} is likely imbued with resignation bordering on melancholy, to offset the sheer deplorability encoded in \textit{ushi}, which is also not without its tinge of sadness. Yet no matter what we make of \textit{aware} in this poem, in order for the poet to have been able to carry out this contrast in the first place, he had to conceptualize \textit{aware} semantically at least as strongly as he did with \textit{ushi}. It is for this reason that the usage of \textit{aware} in (17) seems all the more curious, since in a similar observation directed at the inexorable passage of time, rather than being contrasted with \textit{ushi}, \textit{aware} seems to be intensifying or commenting on the extent to which the situation is ‘lamentable.’ Its meaning, accordingly, appears to be more in line with what we have seen in the \textit{Man’yōshū}, or directly tied to \textit{ushi} and pragmatic. The \textit{aware} in (16), by comparison, then seems like less of an interjection and more of an established lexical word. This notion of
aware becoming increasingly conceived of as a word rather than a simple exclamation, moreover, plays an even greater role in the next quite well-represented construction:

18. KKS #136  
Summer; Ki no Toshisada. Exclaimed upon seeing a cherry blossoming in the fourth month:  
あはれてふことをあまたにやらじとや春におくれてひとり吹くらむ  
Does this single cherry which blooms after the passing of spring do so to relate: “say ‘aware’ of none of the others?”

19. KKS #1002  
Miscellaneous forms, Tsurayuki.  
...年ごとに 時にけつつ 吾波礼てふ ことをいふつつ...  
...through the year, matching the passing of the seasons, with an exclamation of ‘aware’ come forth our songs...

20. KKS #939  
Miscellaneous; Ono no Komachi.  
あはれてふことこそうたて世の中を思ひはなれぬほだしいなりけり  
The word ‘aware’—itself a frustrating bondage, preventing separation from attachment to this world.

21. KKS #502  
Love; anonymous.  
あはれてふことだになくは何をかは恋の乱れのつかね緒にせむ  
Were we but to lack this one word, ‘aware,’ what then might be our cord with which to bind love’s disorder?

22. KKS #940  
Miscellaneous; anonymous.  
あはれてふ言の葉ごとに置く露は昔を恋ふる涙なりけり  
The dewdrops which rest upon each and every leaf of the word ‘aware’ are tears shed in longing for the past.

Stemming directly from the quotative construction seen in (16 & 17), the aware tokens in poems (19-22) redirect the と言ふ construction towards its more abstracted function in order to tackle the task of defining or explaining what is meant by aware or the situations in which it is used. In other words, the poems employ the あはれてふこと construction to literally discuss
aware as if to state “In saying aware…” or “The word called aware…” While it is clear that the poets are referring to the interjective uses of aware, ones that are exclaimed within the contexts outlined by their respective compositions, like with the example we saw in (16), aware seems to be treated as a word that has a specific meaning and a situationally-governed function. In spite of the fact that the complement-indiscriminatory nature of the –to report makes it impossible to determine whether the aware being integrated in these examples is a pure interjection or perhaps even a noun that simply evokes the interjection associatively – although the overarching connotation of it being something that’s said directly recalls its original form – the nominal head (こと) of the relative clause containing aware invariably draws it into a nominalizing construction anyway. This is important because lexically-speaking, nouns carry the most content weight (see, for example, Friederici et al. 2000) and while even at its peak aware would technically fall under the less-semantically charged abstract noun category, it still holds more concrete semantic potential than what we saw in the あはれの鳥 construction in (5). The fact that this metalinguistic, definition-like presentation of aware makes up one-fifth of all tokens appearing in the Kokinshū, a work which aimed to standardize the array of acceptable topics in the sphere of Japanese poetry, may additionally suggest that the compilers were cognizant of

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96 As compared to concrete nouns.

97 Asides from aware, the Kokinshū is said to have standardized a selection of some 2,000 words which was deemed suitable to poetry thereafter (Rodd & Henkenius 1984: 15-6).
the emerging emotive and aesthetic prospectives encoded in the term and desired to cement its function and expressive potential in poetry.\(^{98}\)

The way that the あはれてふこと construction appears in (18 & 19) is perhaps the least ‘definitional’ of the group and more about the actual saying of aware, in both cases occasioned by the passage of seasons. While there is no direct aesthetic experience being described between the poet and the natural world, a hypothetical and time-appropriate one is implied: exclaimed upon an ephemeral cherry tree, and a late-blooming one at that (18), or regarding such fleeting seasonal elements in general (19). In a speaker-projected manner of personification similar to Man’yōshū’s ‘guardian pine’ in (5), the poet of (18) imagines the cherry itself asking “say ‘aware’ of none of the others;” in spite of the presented experience being initiated by the speaker rather than the external world once again, here, the situation bears a more aesthetic import because the poet’s thought process is spontaneous and further envisions the tree as endeavouring to affect him aesthetically.

Poems in (20-22) then shift in focus towards worldly attachment, a theme we have already seen in (16 & 17). The image of binding is particularly overt in (20 & 21), although in different contexts: in the former case, Ono no Komachi talks of the word aware as tangible evidence of her inability to let go of this world, which by Buddhist conceptions is nothing but a source of pain; in the latter case, the cause of attachment is love, and aware is presented as an appropriate word to sum up the frustrations inherent in it. In both of these poems, aware alludes to the underlying experiences that would cause the poets to sigh it. Thus, there is a clear

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\(^{98}\) This aware te fu koto construction is marked in that it doesn’t appear much after the Kokinshū; though it does appear twice in the GSS, the fact that that poem belongs to Tsurayuki (the other being anonymous) suggests its earlier date, likely to the time of the KKS.
understanding of the pragmatic import of *aware* because the poet can be interpreted as counting on the audience’s ability to extrapolate as to the analogous real-world events (e.g. indecisiveness to take tonsure or the ups-and-downs of seeing an inconstant lover) that would accompany the less-specific situations presented in the poems for an added layer of extra-textual meaning. The poem (22) also plays on attachment, although this time tinged with nostalgia for what once was and without an overt concern for repercussions that this inability to let go may carry as in (20). While the poems (20 & 22) could likewise be interpreted as denoting attachment to the beautiful and passing things in this world, like the cherry tree in (19), such readings are only conjectural and there once again no direct aesthetic experience being depicted.

Building on the あはれ-と construction yet again, the next largest group of the *Kokinshū* poems containing *aware* exhibit this form in conjunction with the verbs 見る (to see) and 思ふ (to think/feel). Although their use of *aware* is tangibly adverbial, we must take care to see them as an analogue to あはれと言ふ exemplified in (16 & 17) and more abstractly in (18-22), as correlated through the particle と. This warrants a more detailed discussion of this construction than was previously offered for similar tokens in Chapter One. At its core, と has been almost universally recognized as a functionally relational particle with the basic meaning of “with,” which can ‘relate’ between two nouns (“X and Y”), a noun and predicator (“with a X….”), etc. Nonetheless, practically no studies have touched upon its structural and semantic similarity to the other functions of –to, such as the quotative, and most linguists have gone on to analyze the different constructions as if there were several different –to’s. Validly pointing out the implausibility of such an isolated development, Quinn (1987) argues for a more unifying approach which maintains a stable relation between と and its complement, but allows for
functional flexibility based on the predicator: with linguistic or cognitive verbs (like ‘to say;’ ‘to hear;’ ‘to think’), the complement becomes a quotation; with the designative verb *ari* 有・在り (“to be; to exist”), a location or characterization; with other verbs, the complement is best seen as manner adverbial. 99 This treatment is not only synchronically salient, but would also allow us to understand the development of the あはれ-と constructions as a result of functional expansion rather than zero derivation. Consequently, this new(er) form of *aware* seen in the *Kokinshū* should be best understood as a descriptive (and potentially semantic) functional broadening instead of a syntactic one. Yet to better quantify any implications this could have on *aware*’s import, let us first take a look at the manner adverbial construction あはれと見(ろ) (“to see with *aware*”):

23. KKS #867  
Miscellaneous; anonymous.  
紫のひともとゆえに武蔵野の草はみながらあはれとぞ見る  
For this single murasaki stem,  
I have come to view with *aware*  
all of the grasses of Musashi Plain.

24. KKS #37  
Spring: Priest Sosei.  
よそにのみあはれとぞ見し梅の花あかぬいろ香は祈りてなりけり  
Seen with *aware*, thought only from afar –  
until I broke off a stem I had not yet enough  
of the color and fragrance of the plums.

25. KKS #857  
Laments: *The princely Minister of Ceremonial (Atsuyoshi) had begun to live with the Kan’in Princess, but before long the princess died. The prince found a note tied to one of her curtain-dais streamers, took it down, and saw a poem in her handwriting:* 100  
かずかずに我をわすれぬものならば山のかすみをあはれとは見よ  
Be I not forgotten,  
but recalled often and fondly,

99 Quinn, pp. 130-8.

then look upon the mountain haze with *aware*.

26. KKS #602
Love; Tadamine.
Could I but change myself into the moonlight, 
might even the one so unfeeling towards me come to view me with *aware*?

The tokens of *aware* in (23-26) showcase a much stronger sense of aesthetic experience that we have seen so far with the other *Kokinshū* poems. With (23 & 24) especially, it is the immediate visual perception of the *murasaki* grass and the plum tree respectively, as understood from the predicator 見る “to see,” which moves the poet aesthetically. In the case of (23), the impression left by the single stem is so strong, that it in fact causes the poet to view all other Musashi grasses – regardless of what they may actually look like – in a similar vein. Meli points out that whereas the poet’s reaction to the focal *murasaki* is unforeseen and accordingly aesthetic, his outlook on the others is colored by his new-found feelings for the first plant and hence harbor traces of a self-initiated affection not unlike what we have seen in the Nara-period texts.¹⁰¹ In (24), the poet is admiring the blossoms from afar and yet their sight moves him aesthetically enough to approach closer and break off a branch, hereby gratifying his affect with their color and scent. This manner of ratiocination is characteristic of the *Kokinshū*’s new style. Unlike the *Man'yō* poems that simply commented on the aesthetic impression derived from nature, this rhetoric does not dwell on the source itself but draws it into a new proposition: “because *aware*, X.” Both Meli and Ikeda refer to this style as that of a conceptualization.¹⁰²

The notion of aesthetic impression elicited from a visual stimulus is taken one step further in (25 & 26), where the poets use the natural objects of haze and moonlight to symbolize

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¹⁰¹ Meli, p. 150-1.

¹⁰² Ikeda, p. 53-6; Meli, p. 148.
themselves and their addressees’ emotions captured by aware to stand for their feelings of love. This type of construction effectually combines two functions of aware. In accordance with its newer, immediate impression-based use, on the surface, the addressee is imagined to see the natural objects and be moved aesthetically to feel aware in a manner similar to how one would feel love. The inner reading, however, dictates an older use, where the visual cues are only meant to evoke the addressee’s thoughts involving the poets and cause them to exclaim aware on the account of their pre-existing (and non-aesthetic) affection. The poet’s entreaty in (25) to be remembered in association with the mountain haze in particular is reminiscent of the Man’yōshū poem (12), where the poet was provoked to think of his deceased wife by the autumn foliage. Both cases of aware are therefore tinged with a sense of longing. The mode of expression is further complicated, however, by the fact that these poems no longer relate the poets’ thoughts or perceptions, but invoke hypothetical situations involving the perceptual and cognitive acts on the part of the addressees. Therefore, while the syntactic form of the construction seen in (23-26) may not offer much in the way of evolution from the other uses of あはれと seen earlier within the Kokinshū and without, the conceptual propositions permitted both by the formerly unattested predicator and the new poetic style seem to have added even more in the way of descriptive distance from aware’s original function as an interjection, even if its pragmatic meaning still fluctuates between its older and newer uses.

In spite of the fact that the primary stimulus of aware in (23-26) was sight-based, either in a direct (23 & 24) or imagined (25 & 26) fashion, the latter two poems also encoded a clear

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103 If the basic function of the earlier あはれと constructions fundamentally evoked the act of saying aware, which can be read as associatively interjective, we are now seeing forms where this is more open to interpretation: to have one think of saying aware when necessitated by a particular occasion and derivatively conceptualizing the emotions it would conjure up is less likely than just mentally equating aware with a certain emotional response and accordingly skipping the thought process about aware’s vocalization.
ruminative element. This cognitive aspect is even more salient in the next あはれ-と construction, coupled with the verb 思ふ. As its gradating and context-based English translation (“to feel” vs. “to think”) may reveal, there is some difficulty in categorizing the function of the particle と with this verb, which leans towards the adverbial in the case of “to feel” and quotative in the case of “to think.” This is evident from the Kokinshū poems as well:

27. KKS #33  
Spring; anonymous.  
色よりも香こそあはれと思もほゆれたが袖ふれしやどの梅ぞも  
More than the color,  
it is the scent which has led me to feel aware—  
whose sleeve may have brushed the plum beside my house?

28. KKS #244  
Autumn; Priest Sosei: A poem from the Empress’ contest during the reign of the Kanpyo Emperor.  
われのみやあはれと思はむきりぎりす鳴く夕かげのやまとなでしこ  
Is it I alone who feels aware  
at the chirp of crickets beside the wild pinks  
here in these evening shadows?

29. KKS #805  
Love; anonymous.  
あはれとも憂しとも物を思時などか涙のいとなかるらむ  
Heavy on my heart  
things felt in aware or grief, why should it be  
that this threadlike string of tears should so unceasingly flow?

With poems (27 & 28), the あはれ-と construction seems adverbial and indicative of the poets’ feelings of aware, as evoked by their immediate surroundings, rather than their thoughts. Much like the situation seen in (24), the poet of (27) is aesthetically moved by the blossoming plum. Yet whereas the primary stimulus behind (24) was visual and only caused the poet to reflect on the scent and color in the aftermath of having plucked a branch, the poet in (27) openly declares the superiority of the olfactory sensation over the visual (color) one. At the same time,
in a manner desired by the speakers of poems (25 & 26), the occasion triggers a memory in the poet and makes him think of a lover whose sleeves were permeated with the same scent. This is again suggestive of the conceptual role of *aware* permitted by the new “because aware, X” stylistics of the *Kokinshū*, but its principal function is more adverbial than cognitive as it is prompted by the overall feel of the scenery before him: just because the scent left a stronger impression and moved him to reminiscence does not imply that the color did not affect him at all. The impact of the sum of all the surrounding stimuli is also as evident in (28), where in spite of the fact that the acoustic impression left by the chirping crickets is focalized, there is still a visual component (wild pinks, shadows) and potentially even an olfactory one (pinks are known for their sweet scent). Together, these elements culminate in an inclusive emotive experience for the poet rather than an occasion to contemplate. Based on the autumn season, which also foretells the impending death of the crickets, and the fact that the day is nearing its end, the feeling of *aware* stirred within the poet is likely one of melancholy – this is further enhanced by his deliberate rhetorical self-isolation “われのみや…” (“Is it I alone who…”). Though by comparison the emotion encoded in the *aware* of (27), if taken in association with the lover, would more likely be one of longing (as was also the case with 25 & 26), it is quite apparent that the majority of emotions in the *Kokinshū* connected with *aware* are negative. This is also apparent from (29), where once again we encounter a linking between *aware* and *ushi*. Since ‘grief’ is an emotion rather than a thought, we can assume the same of *aware* in this context, one that is just as likely to move one to tears. The negative emotional gradient, however, is just as prominent with the cognitive import of the verb:
30. KKS #873
Miscellaneous; the Kawara Minister of the Left (Minamoto Tōru):
*Composed on the morning after the Gosechi dances, when he had found a jewel from a hair ornament and had gone looking for the owner.*

I asked, but the pearl gave no answer. Unknowingly, shall I think of all of them with *aware*?

31. KKS #474
Love; Ariwara Motokata.

Returning again and again,
a white wave on the open sea, my heart goes out to you
though never have we touched or spoken – with *aware* I think of you.

32. KKS #904
Miscellaneous; anonymous.

Bridge guardian at Uji, frightful in authority,
still at your post through so many passing years –
the very thought of it, of you – is filled with *aware*.

There is a tangible sense of longing which permeates poems (30 & 31), and one of wary reverence in (32), none of them encode for positive emotions. All of these feelings furthermore seem to be cultivated by the poet for some time, without an immediate and previously uncontemplated stimulus, which underscores the cognitive element of these 思ふ constructions.

At the same time, none of these tokens can be read with quite the same sense of affection that we have seen previously, provided that the poet in (30) doesn’t even know who the jewel belongs to,

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105 The exact feeling conveyed by *aware* in (32) is somewhat unclear; McCullough translates it as “pity,” for which she is criticized by Meli, who reads it instead with a mournful and nostalgic tone as based on the poem’s reference to the passing years and the pillow word for Uji ‘chihayaburu,’ which frequently appears with the gods of antiquity (also denoting dignity, authority and frightfulness) (p. 162). In any case, all of these readings code for negative emotions.

106 Even in the case of the Gosechi maidens in (30), there was a temporal distance between the Minister’s sighting of their dance and his present recollection, giving him a plausible opportunity to ruminate on and cultivate his attachment.
the one in (31) admits to never having met his muse, and the guardian in (32) is simply not an entity the poet could encounter even if he believed in its existence. In the case of (30 & 31), Meli uses this fact to argue that the attraction felt by the poets towards the women in question must only be physical and the reading accordingly aesthetic.\(^\text{107}\) While this physical draw might have been initially true in the case of the Gosechi dancers in (30), in the case of (31), it is just as possible that the poet had never even seen his beloved to be able to think of her in this way and there is a strong element of retrospective contemplation rather than immediate perception that is involved; for both readings, I simply do not think that there is enough direct, addressee-initiated stimulus to conclusively determine an aesthetic experience.

Instead, I would argue that the important linguistic development of *aware* secured by the あはれと思ふ construction, as exemplified by tokens like (30-32), is one of semantic transitioning of the term from its interjection-based associations to that of a more widely accepted emotion. While we have certainly gotten a couple of glimpses of this understanding of *aware* from other constructions as well, such as those where it contrasted with another emotion like *ushi* (16, 17 & 29), it is in conjunction with と思ふ that あはれ is best understood in this capacity because it can no longer be treated as event-based in terms of its propositional eventuality but comes across instead as a defined state with no goal or other restriction of duration. In other words, *aware* seems to acquire the ability to affect one indefinitely rather than just culminate in an isolated utterance when prompted by a sensory cue or an overflow of other existing feelings. I will return to the significance of this development again in the Epilogue.

To briefly summarize the general evolution of *aware* as seen in the poetry of the *Kokinshū* then, we must understand it in terms of semantic innovation. While we have seen that

\(^{107}\) Meli, p. 155.
the original interjectional use of aware is still extant (14 & 15), it has diminished considerably and is in fact regarded as somewhat antiquated because of its directly expressive nature which no longer meshed with the prevalent oblique style of the Kokinshū. Otherwise, all of the remaining realizations of aware tie directly into the あはれ-と construction which, if we are to judge by surficial syntactic and grammatical form alone, seem more functional than syntactically derivational as dictated by the single relational particle と, analogously extended to other predicators. We will revisit this this point in a moment, however.

The principles behind Kokinshū’s compilation are of course another element directing the poetic development of aware. Konishi had identified nature and the passing of time as the two prevalent themes tying the word together and indeed, the former can be said to characterize at least eight poems (18, 23-28 & 31) and the latter six (15-19 & 32). Love is another common motif, affecting as many as six poems (21, 25-27, 30 & 31). Continuing the trend seen in the Man'yōshū, moreover, only the poems dealing with nature (23-28; indirectly 18) allow for a decidedly aesthetic reading of aware. Of these, visual stimuli plays a direct role in the aesthetic experience inscribed in five poems (18, 23-26) and a secondary one in the two others (27 & 28); smell is the main trigger in (27) but also appears in (24) and may be implied in (28); and finally sound, which figured in all aesthetic natural encounters of the Man'yōshū (8, 9 & 13), is only crucial to (28).

Since neither the grammatical nor the aesthetic possibilities afforded to aware by the Kokinshū seem particularly ground-breaking – at least on the surface – we must next turn to its meaning. I would argue that this is where the real overt development takes place. First and foremost, aware becomes conceived of as a real word, one with a time- or situation-appropriate practical application, as best seen from the ‘definitional’ poems involving aware (18-22). Visual
cues, particularly those drawn from nature (18), passage of seasons (18-19), attachment or frustrating love (20 & 21) and nostalgia (22) are all identified as the acceptable occasions to associate with *aware* and indeed, nearly all of the *Kokinshū* poems containing the term could be roughly classified using these themes. The understanding of *aware* specifically as an emotion is also tangibly felt, both using a side-by-side contrast with another emotion (*ushi*; 16, 17 & 29) and through the cognitive と思ふ construction which implies an indefinite affected state. In addition to this solidified lexical form, the semantic capacity of *aware* also seems more systematic. Even though the associated emotion was hard to discern with a few tokens involving a pure aesthetic experience (19, 23 & 24), in all others it could be divided between nostalgia or a dissatisfaction with the present state (16, 17, 20, 22, 28, 29 & 32) and longing (21, 25-27, 30 & 31). The only time that *aware* appeared with the positive connotation of praise involved its shrinking interjective form and pertained to the great poet of old, Hitomaro (14), although also not without a hint of nostalgia.

While the change affecting the meaning of *aware* may seem clear-cut, it is also significantly more problematic than first meets the eye. So far, we have continued to conceive of *aware* as an interjection which is simply incorporated syntactically into an adverbial or quotative construction; yet, if we are to recall from our discussion in the previous chapter, interjections do not hold any lexical or strong semantic import provided that they derive it pragmatically. The lexicalization trend exhibited by the *Kokinshū*, which is too uniform to be considered coincidental, subsequently seem to be not only removed from the interjectional *aware* functionally-speaking, but also violates a basic characteristic of this part of speech. This dictates a second look at あはれ as it appears in the あはれ-と construction.
Due to its complement-indiscriminatory nature, あはれ would not necessarily have to be an interjection, though judging from its morphological form, the only other category it could belong to would be that of a noun. The increased semantic weight of aware would indeed seem appropriate to a noun, and yet at the same time, its import differs significantly from what we have seen in the Man'yōshū poem (13), whose import directly evoked the earlier interjective use. Based on the available poetic evidence alone, there is simply no easy way to account for this problem.

3.3 Aware in the Kokinshū Preface

As was mentioned previously, in talking about aware in the Kokinshū, the majority of scholars have focused exclusively at locating the term among its 1,140 poems. Since most have attempted to show its continuity or break from the Nara-period texts, where it only appears in poetry, this is partially understandable. Yet in doing so, they also inevitably overlook the fact that out of the three tokens of aware found in Tsurayuki’s Japanese Preface, two occur in hitherto unattested forms (both within the Kokinshū and the texts we have looked at earlier). Accordingly, as exemplars of contemporary prose usage, I believe that they must be treated not unlike the tokens found in monogatari and niki. Part of their importance, after all, also lies in that they can tell us something about the Kokinshū poems, including those containing aware, since they are roughly contemporaneous and since the Preface sets out to describe and delineate the proper direction of waka in the first place.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ The Kokinshū attempt to define the usage of terms such as aware can also be plausibly gleaned from the fact that both Tsurayuki and Tadamine, the anthology’s compilers, have contributed poems to the collection containing aware [Tsurayuki 19 (KKS#1002); Tadamine 14 & 26 (KKS#1003 & 602, respectively)]. I would like to thank Stefania Burk for pointing this out.
The first token appears close to the very beginning of the Preface, where Tsurayuki declares the expressive power of poetry. Although we have not yet seen this adverbial form used together with a causative construction, the basic import is still very much the same as with the other examples using the と思ふ predicator found inside the anthology. Rather than playing on the cognitive sense of 思ふ, we find it here best approximated by the translation “to feel;” while it is not clear from the context (and a single token) whether the emotional experience caused by aware plays on positive or negative feelings, as an overall quality of poetry, it is definitely presented as a desirable and harmonizing one (bringing accord to human relations and even tumultuous hearts). As cumulated in an external and temporal stimulus, moreover, we may see this power of poetry to be an aesthetic one.

While the syntactic process of conversion into the verbal category is not uncommon, the vast majority of such cases deals with transitions between major word classes, and particularly
between nouns and verbs. A direct transition between an interjection and a verb, where the process of conversion cannot be attributed to a case of zero derivation, would be, to my knowledge, completely unprecedented linguistically and highly unlikely.\textsuperscript{112} Although we have seen \textit{aware} act as a noun once before in the \textit{Man'yōshū} (13), we have not seen it used nominally again in any of the \textit{Kokinshū} poems. Unless, that is, a number of the tokens which appeared within the あはれ-と construction were in fact nominals, masked by the complement-
indiscriminatory nature of the と particle. This deserves a second look. For one, we have noted a greater degree of semanticity and lexicality (more ‘contentful’ meaning) encoded in \textit{aware}, which is one characteristic of major class membership. We have even seen it directly contrasted with another lexical element, \textit{ushi}. Second, we have noted the trend of nominalization propagated by the definitional あはれてふこと. Even if we continued to loosely treat \textit{aware} as an interjection then, as was previously noted, it is just as possible to imagine that this construction was defining \textit{aware} as a noun denoting feeling or expression associatively captured by the interjection instead. Within the definitional construction, if we were to understand \textit{aware} as a noun, its meaning would represent something akin to “the verbalization of \textit{aware};” such dependency of meaning in fact supports the saliency of this proposed interjection-to-noun shift, as it fulfills the condition of predictability of meaning integral to the process of conversion.\textsuperscript{113} As a noun then, \textit{aware} would be freer to shift categories yet again into the verbal form and the sheer number of such nominal constructions which we can now find would furthermore make this shift likely. However, before committing to the likelihood of the syntactic development of

\textsuperscript{112} Even in cases where either zero derivation or reanalysis is applicable, as with the documented case of the English interjection \textit{wow}, the word was first reconceptualised as a different lexical category first.

\textsuperscript{113} Brinton & Traugott (2005), p. 97.
interjection-to-noun-to-verb, we must first closely examine the meaning of the verbal form in (34), provided that the noun-to-verb conversion is constrained by the semanticity and pragmatic uses of the parent noun.\(^{114}\)

One way to understand the difference this would entail for the noun-to-verb conversion is through the aforementioned condition of predictability of meaning. If we were to take *aware* as a noun to mean the “vocalization of *aware* in association with melancholy feelings,” the verbal form would denote “the act of vocalizing *aware* in association with melancholy feelings as a noun.” The implausibility of this meaning is readily apparent, provided that the speaker could simply use the original interjection of *aware* to communicate the exact same thing.

Alternatively, we could hypothesize the existence of a new and (poetry-wise) undocumented nominal form that would relate more strongly the associative import of the word with emotion, as we have come to understand it from some of the cognitive-based functions of the あはれ-と construction. Subsequently, if we were to understand the underlying nominal *aware* as “the emotion which causes one to interject *aware,*” our conversion would seem a lot more salient with the meaning of “to feel the emotion which causes one to interject *aware.*” In this particular case, the direct object of あはれぶ is haze 霞. We have seen *aware* appear in conjunction with haze once before in poem (25), where the poet desired to be remembered after her death in the same way that she imagines her lover to regard the mountain haze with *aware.* If, following our new nominal understanding of *aware,* we were to extend it here, the thought process behind this poem would have the lover see the haze, experience longing, and

\(^{114}\) Ibid., 39.

For example, in English, “to bottle” (as derived from the noun ‘bottle’) involves putting something in a bottle, citing its use-based characteristic (see, for example, Clark & Clark 1977). Bringing pragmatic factors into the equation, Quirk et al. (1985) further notes that new derivative words maintain our world knowledge and familiarity of use, which is why “to paper a wall” is typically understood as “putting *wallpaper* on the wall,” rather than covering walls with newspaper, articles or other papers than don’t usually belong there (p. 1528).
subsequently feel *aware*. A similar melancholy reading, tinged with affectionate yearning, could be well imagined for あはれぶ in (34), given the contextual continuity it would hold with the following line, 露をかなしぶ (literally, either “to regret the dew” or “to hold the dew dear”). If seen in this light, this seldom-talked about verbal form could explain some of the semantic changes we have noted in the *Kokinshū* by presuming the existence of a hidden, emotion-based noun. But where would this noun have come from? Is it the nominal form seen in (13) that that simply shifted semantically? Or are there two nominal forms, both derived from the interjection? Also, at which point in our discussion of the development observed with the あはれ-と construction would it have entered into the observed syntactic agreement? While this second nominal theory is not entirely impossible in the face of the one hundred and fifty year gap of undocumented *aware* development separating the *Man’yōshū* and the *Kokinshū*, this theory would be really difficult to motivate in the absence of further evidence.

35. 小野小町はいにしえの衣通姫の流なり あはれなるやうにて強からずい はばよき女の悩めるところあるに似たり 強からぬ女の歌なればなるべし
   Ono no Komachi is a modern Princess Sotōri.115 She is *aware*-like but weak. Her poetry is like a noble lady who is suffering from a sickness, but the weakness is natural to a woman’s poetry.116

The third token of *aware* found in the Preface presents us with yet another new form. To be exact, what we see here is a ‘descriptive verb’ 形容動詞, which is at times also referred to as

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115 Princess Sotōri was a concubine of Emperor Ingyō (r. 437-454), known for the beauty of her skin which was believed to glow even from underneath her robes. She was later linked with the deity of Wakanoura, Tamatsushima Myojin, and revered as one of the three gods of poetry, with the other two being Kakimoto no Hitomaro and Yamabe no Akahito (Marra 1993: 102). This comparison serves as a nod to Ono no Komachi’s beauty and reputation as a poet.

116 McCullough (1985), p. 45. The translation of あはれなるようにて as “full of sentiment” has been replaced with “*aware*-like.”
a ‘nominal adjective’ or an ‘adjectival noun.’ Part of the naming confusion with this construction stems from the somewhat peculiar behavior and semantic/syntactic property which it exhibits. Decompositionally, ‘descriptive verbs’ consist of a noun bound to a designative predicator –nari, with the semantic content being dictated by the noun and the inflectional paradigm of the designative determined by the stative verb *ari* 有・在り from which it originates [-n(i)+ari]. Functionally, they ascribe a quality – typically one of stative effect or feeling – to the referent under all realizations of a designative predicator, namely prenominally, adverbially, hypotactically and even as a clause matrix predicate. The fact that the construction calls for a noun stems historically from the locative に which binds the complement and the stative *ari* together and, unlike the locative particle と which we saw earlier, specifically calls for a complement in the nominal form. In conjunction with *aware*, this construction consequently further motivates my earlier assertion that within the confines of the *Kokinshū*, *aware* existed as a noun. What’s more, some scholars have previously called for a separate classification of nouns found with the descriptive verbs on the account that they do not always occur in a standalone form [e.g. *shizuka* of 静なり (‘is quiet; tranquil’) or *akiraka* of 明かなり (‘is clear; clearly visible)], meaning that they form a distinct group of bound nouns. In the context of *aware*, this could actually explain away our earlier problem as to why we have not seen a single example of its free nominal form, provided that the と construction is also known for working with bound nouns, and some of these bound nouns can actually occur with both constructions. Logically-

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117 Either a noun or other nominalized construction, such as a verb in the attributive form 连体形.

118 Quinn, p. 65-7.

119 Ibid.: 69-75.
speaking then, we are likely dealing with a case of a quotative あはれと，where the interjective aware was reanalysed as a bound noun which was then functionally reinterpreted and borrowed to form the descriptive verb あはれなり. Meaning-wise, the aware of the descriptive verb is the same as the one in the と constructions, denoting “an emotion which causes one to interject aware.” The fact that the two forms co-occur, however, implies that the constructions differ in spite of relying on the same bound noun for semantic import.

Yamada (1922) was the first to point out the contrastive difference between the X と and X なり constructions, citing the inherent distinction in the locative particles と and に at its core, which allowed the former to express an ‘internal’ 内面的 quality of the referent and the latter an ‘external’ 外貌的 one. Relying on Quinn’s (1987) analysis once again, which more functionally boils the difference down to the basic meaning of these particles, namely “in/at” and “with/alongside of,” and extends them to the type of predication they offer, that is “things-as-they-are” versus “things-as-one-has-got-them,” I think the easiest way to the discern between the two is to take at face value the existential verb arī at the heart of the descriptive verb construction and read it as an inference as to the intrinsic nature of the referent (based on one’s general knowledge of the world, tastes, etc.), and then to take the –to construction as a comment based on some evidential cue specifically determined by its superordinate predicate. This is why –to constructions, unlike the descriptive verbs, can occur with many different predicator verbs

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120 Hypothetically, the converse is also possible (a bound noun from a descriptive verb reinterpreted with と), however we would have a harder time accounting for the shift from the interjection to the bound nominal form.

121 Yamada (1922), p. 115.

122 Quinn, p. 139.
that determine its functional range from manner adverbials to quotations. We will see this distinction more clearly as we encounter more examples of あはれなり.

Turning to the exact token at hand, the descriptive verb is found in its attributive form 连体形 as to enter into a grammatical agreement with ようなり, an auxiliary denoting the “likeness” or “manner” of something. Tsurayuki seems to be making a comment as to Ono no Komachi’s nature, one that evokes the emotional denotation of あはれ (“aware-like”). While the ようなり construction can generally take nominal complements, since あはれ as a noun expressing emotion did not seem to exist in its stand-alone form at this time, having the descriptive verb in its attributive or nominalizing form provides an effectual workaround to this problem. Based on the description, Ono no Komachi is noted for her beauty and poetic skill (through the comparison to Princess Sotōri), but her poetry is also described as prone to weakness like that of a court lady with a malady. Contrary to the modern associations that such an image could conjure, the appearance that women acquired in sickness was viewed with a certain charm in this time period; consequently, the emotional charge that we could read in this token of aware is one of moving or endearing pitifulness.

Although the three prose tokens of aware found in the Kokinshū’s kana Preface have been largely ignored by scholars, I hope that as my brief discussion thereof has shown, we cannot acquire the full picture of how aware was used in the anthology unless we examine both the poetry and prose together. Although singular exemplars of aware in the verbal and descriptive verbal constructions may not be enough to make any overarching generalizations as to their precise meaning or contextual use, they were nevertheless capable of providing us with

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123 There are numerous precedents for this in literature; in the Genji, for one, it is this frailty which attracts the eponymous hero to women such as Yūgao.
enough insight to determine that the surficially ambiguous constructions of *aware* with the particle と were in fact concealing the syntactic development of a new bound nominal form of *aware* whose semantic properties specifically encoded for emotion. Contrary to our prior assumption that *aware* only diversified in terms of its meaning and function, therefore, we can now safely say that its transitioning from the Nara to the Heian periods was also accompanied by a syntactic change. In order to see just how pervasive this change was, we must now turn to other near-contemporary texts.
Chapter Four - Aware in the Early to Mid-Tenth Century Prose

Winning Battle for Linguistic Innovation

4.1 The inquiry necessitated by the Kokinshū Preface

We have concluded the preceding chapter with the unearthing of two previously unattested tokens of aware within the prose confines of Tsurayuki’s kana preface. What’s more, these tokens have implicitly revealed the existence of a bound nominal form of aware, which coincidently helps to shed some light on the tangible semantization of the term as seen even in the Kokinshū’s poems. Notwithstanding the fact that the poetic content of an anthology such as the Kokinshū may seem to offer a better continuity with the Nara-period manifestations of aware due to their shared literary forms, the case of the Preface tokens not only reveals the diffusion of the term into prose but also raises the question whether the exhibited grammatical productivity is somehow prose-bound. If that is the case, we would have to consider the specific functions afforded by these grammatical realizations that would somehow make them better suited to the prose modes of expressions; moreover, we would similarly have to entertain the reverse possibility of some tokens being poetry-specific. Yet as was evident even from our prior discussion of these tokens, at only two exemplars each, positing a convincing characterization in both meaning and function is not quite possible and warrants further evidence from preferably contemporary or earlier prose works, such as the vernacular kana-based monogatari or nikki. The problem, however, once again comes back to textual availability and simply finding appropriate materials within which aware could be located.
To my knowledge, no extant exemplar of such vernacular literature predates the 10th century. The earliest attested monogatari, the Taketori monogatari ("Tale of the Bamboo Cutter"), is roughly placed at around 901 and we do not see a single surviving kana diary written before the Tosa nikki of c. 935, which was coincidentally also penned by Tsurayuki. Although not ideal, these two works do loosely overlap with the assumed compilational window attributed to the Kokinshū and could consequently offer us a glance at the roughly contemporary uses of aware. They contain six tokens each. In addition, I believe that this discussion could be further supplemented with a quick look at the fifteen tokens of aware found within The Ise Stories, an uta monogatari or “poem tale” which coincidentally constitutes one of the three most important works in the Japanese classical literary cannon together with the Kokinshū and Genji monogatari. Based around the amorous exploits of a man commonly identified as the historical figure of Ariwara no Narihira (825-880), Ise is believed to contain a number of his original poems in spite of being compositionally dated to around 930;\footnote{According to the widely-accepted three-stage theory of Ise’s development put forward by Katagiri Yōichi, the compilation process of the work took several centuries to complete, starting with a core set of episodes dating to Narihira’s lifetime and stretching as late as 1200s. The majority of the work is believed to have been completed by the mid-10th century (for more information, see Mostow & Tyler 2010: 3-5).} as such, this work holds the potential to illuminate both the pre-Kokinshū and later uses of aware. All of these three prose texts, being generically-related to poetry, should offer some insight into both literary media.

Unlike with the previous chapter which treated the interjective form of aware as underlying, we must now be wary of the derivative forms that it had begun to exhibit, such as that of the bound nominal, and must consequently differentiate between any new constructions stemming from the interjection directly and those realizations which are once- or twice-removed.

\footnote{According to the widely-accepted three-stage theory of Ise’s development put forward by Katagiri Yōichi, the compilation process of the work took several centuries to complete, starting with a core set of episodes dating to Narihira’s lifetime and stretching as late as 1200s. The majority of the work is believed to have been completed by the mid-10th century (for more information, see Mostow & Tyler 2010: 3-5).}
In the case of the monogatari and nikki, special consideration will be given to discriminating between the tokens found in poetry and prose, with additional attention paid to any reciprocal influences between the two. My hope for this chapter, therefore, is to provide a better cross-generic characterization of aware on an all-around semiotic level to account for the often neglected period in its history which, nevertheless, effectually connected its earliest and isolated interjective instantiations with the omnipresent and varied realizations in the wake of the 11th century.

4.2 Aware in Taketori monogatari

Frequently labelled as the “the ancestor of all romances” and dating to the turn of the 10th century, the Taketori monogatari relates a fairy-tale (伝奇物語) about the moon maiden, Kaguya-hime, sent to earth to bide time for an unspecified transgression. Raised by the Old Man Bamboo Cutter who found her inside of a bamboo stalk at only three inches tall, Kaguya-hime soon grows up into an extraordinary beauty and becomes the object of desire of five local noblemen and even the Emperor of Japan. Forbidden from marrying a mortal by celestial powers, however, she sends the first five suitors on impossible quests for legendary objects, using their failure to expose them for their disingenuousness, avarice and stupidity. Although she still refuses to serve the Emperor on the account of the same prohibition, their relationship seems to develop into a genuine one and upon her inevitable return to the moon, she leaves him

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125 This is the title (物語の出で来はじめの祖なる竹取の翁) which is used to allude to the story in the Tale of Genji (Chapter 17 “A Picture Contest” 絵合わせ).

126 The tale exhibits a couple of universal folkloristic elements and also a number of oral narrative conventions, exhibited by phrases like “Such is the story that has been handed down...” とぞ言い伝えたる (McCullough 1990: 28).
behind an elixir of immortality as a memento. Nevertheless he, unwilling to live eternally without love, has it destroyed at Mt. Fuji’s peak.\footnote{Shirane (2007) notes the undercurrents of Buddhist thought in the tale, drawing between the idyllic moon realm inhabited by immortal beings, free from binding emotions such as love (c.f. Western Paradise \(\text{浄土}\)), and the transient human world of suffering and attachment (p. 170).}

The tale, which spans some seventy pages in its standard Iwanami Shoten (1929) edition, contains six separate tokens of \textit{aware} in four distinct realizations: the adverbial form あはれと見る (1) and あはれと思ふ (2), the descriptive verbal form あはれなり (1) and the as-of-yet unattested verbal form あはれがる (2). Of these, only one (adverbial) token appears within a poem:

\begin{quote}
36. Right before returning to her home on the moon, and donning the feather robe that would make her forget her stay on earth, Kaguya-hime wrote to the Emperor, affixing her letter with the elixir of immortality.\footnote{The original Japanese text based on the Iwanami Shoten (1929) version.}

\begin{center}
今はとて天の羽衣著るをりぞ君を哀れと思ひ出でぬる
\end{center}

With \textit{aware}, I think of His Majesty/ as now I put on/ the heavenly feathered robe,/ saying, “The time has come.”\footnote{Translation by McCullough (1990: 37); “with \textit{aware}” put in place of “with sad emotion.”}
\end{quote}

The usage of \textit{aware} in this poem is quite reminiscent of what we had encountered in the \textit{Kokinshū} (30-32), though unlike the speakers of those poems, Kaguya-hime here can be said to have an actual relationship with the Emperor and the use of 思ひ出づ is appropriately more retrospective than that of the related 思ふ. This manifestation of \textit{aware} is also tangibly laden with affection and longing in connotation with a concrete emotion rather than an emotive utterance, hence betraying the import derived from the bound nominal form of \textit{aware}. By
playing off from her pre-existing feelings, moreover, the experience should not be read as aesthetic.

37. Having had the jeweled branch meticulously crafted, Prince Kuromochi came to Kaguya-hime’s residence, claiming he had returned from an arduous journey to retrieve it, and had asked of the Old Man Bamboo Cutter to present it to Kaguya-hime with a note attached.

この玉の枝に文をぞ附けたりける。
従らに身はなしつとも玉の枝を手折らで更に歸らざらまし
これをも哀れと見て居るに、竹取の翁走り入りていはく... .

To this jeweled branch, a note was indeed attached.

Never would I/ have returned empty-handed/ without plucking/ the branch adorned with jewels - / not though it cost me my life.

As she also saw this with aware and just continued to sit there, the Old Man Bamboo Cutter came inside and said...

38. Having failed to retrieve the cowrie shell for Kaguya-hime, the Middle Councillor Isonokami no Marotari was fearful of having become a laughing stock in society and became very weak. When Kaguya-hime wrote to console him, gathering his last strength, he replied:

かひは斯くありけるものを侘び果てて死ぬる命を救ひやはせぬ
と書き果つると絶え入り給ひぬ。これを聞きて、赫映姫少し
哀れと思しけり。

Even though my bones/ were broken for a cowrie shell,/ it was all a waste./ If you asked me now to die,/ I could only be relieved.

He expired just as he finished writing. Having heard of this, Kaguya-hime thought of him with a little aware.

The next two poems also make use of the あはれ-と construction, albeit in a prose context. In (37), Kaguya-hime sees Kuromochi’s poems with aware, which actually allows for two contextual readings: either she reads the poem with a quotative sigh of aware in its more original interjective sense, or she feels aware in line with the later adverbial connotation while

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130 Poem translation by McCullough (1990: 30).

reading it. Since having the Prince seemingly succeed in his task signals an unfavorable turn of events for Kaguya-hime, the emotion associated with aware is evidently one of lament. In the case of (38), it is a lot more evident that the construction encodes for aware’s import derived from the bound nominal form. Since it is contextually clear that she feels sorry for the Middle Councillor, there is a sense of pity denoted by this use. As neither situation moves Kaguya-hime in a sensory manner, however, again, neither token seems aesthetic.

39. As the time of her departure from earth drew near, when inquired about watching the moon intensely and her melancholy mood:

赫映姫、「月を見れば、世の中心細く哀れに侍り…」といふ。

Kaguya-hime said: “When I look at the moon, the world seems forlorn and in aware…”

Next, we encounter the descriptive verbal form of aware, first seen in the Kokinshū Preface. This time, the referent whose nature is being postulated in relation to aware is the world at large and Kaguya-hime’s attitude towards it is one of dejection. As we know from the story’s context, she had grown fond of her life and the people on earth, creating an attachment which rendered the moon – a standard stimulus of aesthetic impression – into a subjective and bitter reminder of her impending departure. Her understanding of the world, accordingly, is one which stirs the emotions of longing and despondency and is reflected in her use of aware.

40. As the time for her return to her celestial home drew nigh, Kaguya-hime would sit on the veranda, look at the moon and weep bitterly, much to the concern of those around her.

近く使はるゝ人々、竹 取の翁に告げていはく、「赫映姫例も月を哀れがり給ひけれども、この比となりては、たゝ事にも侍らざめり。

Her close attendants reported to the Old Man: “Although just as before Kaguya-hime seems moved to aware by the moon, recently, it seems to have grown more serious.”
41. **When the Emperor received Kaguya-hime’s final letter and the elixir of immortality.**

When he unfolded the letter and saw it [the immortality potion], he was extremely moved to **aware** and would no longer eat anything.

It is in the next two examples (40-41) where we see a novel use of **aware** in conjunction with the verbal suffix –がる. Commonly appearing with adjectival stems or nouns, the primary function of this construction is to describe a third party’s apparent emotional state or manner of behavior as a verb. We must consequently understand that the underlying form of **aware** being verbalized here is once again that of the bound nominal, logically denoting **aware** as an emotion, but structured in a way to talk about someone in the third person, which seems especially useful in the context of descriptive prose. Accordingly, in (40), we see the form used by the Old Man to talk about Kaguya-hime’s feelings, and what’s more, this verbal construction appears to take a direct object (the moon) to functionally isolate their cause; in (41), while the direct object is ellipsed, it is implicitly understood that it is the letter which stirs the Emperor to feel **aware**. The precise import of **aware** is a little difficult to gauge from these two examples alone. On the one hand, we may wonder whether the Old Man’s comprehension of Kaguya-hime’s response to the moon is initially aesthetic, as is that of the Emperor upon reading Kaguya-hime’s poem we saw earlier in (36). On the other hand, the Old Man does show concern for the extent to which she seems affected, and the Emperor is likewise said to have alarmingly ceased eating, which would instead betray depression, severe heartsickness or longing.

Although a slightly clearer and more uniform picture of the way in which the bound nominal seems to have functioned emerges from the above examples, with still but a handful of tokens to speak of, I will refrain from making any sweeping statements about the pragmatic and
semantic properties of aware in this construction for now and will rather return to this point after we have seen even more of this grammatical form. The important point to take away from this discussion of Taketori monogatari, however, which likely preceded the compilation of the Kokinshū by no more than a decade, is the pervasiveness of this new bound nominal form which, so far, shows not only a great degree of productivity but comes across at its strongest in prose contexts.

4.3 Aware in Ise monogatari

Ascribing date and authorship to The Ise Stories 伊勢物語 is no easy task, in spite of the fact that at the first glance, the work may appear as a semi-biographical account of Ariwara no Narihira’s (825-880) life. Certainly, many of the poems and perhaps even smaller episodes which appear in the Ise have been attributed to Narihira, placing them somewhere before his death in 880, and yet it is generally understood that that a number of writers have contributed to the collection’s significant expansion in the tenth century and possibly even beyond.132 Structurally, the Ise is composed of 125 episodes in its standard edition, mostly featuring at least one poem (though usually more, for a grand total of 209), bound by brief prose contexts. There is very little if any narratological continuity between the isolated anecdotes which impedes any significant character development, and the recurrent narrative focus on Narihira is instead frequently maintained by the famous but also ambiguous opening line “Back then there was a man” (昔、男ありけり). Linking the identity of this mostly anonymous man and Narihira was

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132 See, for example, Mostow & Tyler (2010), pp. 1-5.
actually at least partially reaffirmed by the inclusion of thirty shared poems in the *Kokinshū*, where they are found under similar headnotes and are explicitly attributed to Narihira.

There are fifteen tokens of *aware* which appear throughout the *Ise*, with only two hailing from poems. The predominant form of *aware* in the collection is that of the adverbial in conjunction with the と思ふ predicator at seven tokens, followed by the verbal –がる at four. Next we find two cases of the descriptive verbal form and finally two interjections, both of which are found in poems. Since none of the tokens exhibit syntactic structure unlike what we have encountered before, I will instead primarily limit my observations to the pragmatic and semantic meaning encoded in each instance of *aware*, together with any aesthetic implications. My primary goal, in turn, will be to shed some light on the general functional and meaning-governed distribution of these tokens in prose. First, however, let us take a look at the two interjective tokens found in poetry:

42. ISE#58

>The man, having built a house in Nagaoka, found himself fleeing and hiding from the forward and rustic women in service to the princess next door. Following after him, they crowded into his home and recited:

>あれにけりあはれいく世のやどなれやすみけむ人のをとづれもせぬ。

Why, it’s abandoned!/ *Aware*! How many years/ can the place have stood/ while its sometime resident/ failed ever to return?

43. ISE#39

>At the funeral procession for the Imperial Princess Takaiko (Sōshi), the man’s amorous rival Minamoto no Itaru let a firefly into his carriage in order to catch a glimpse of the woman riding with him. Extinguishing it, the man offered a poem comparing the extinguishing of the princess’ life with the light of the firefly.

Itaru replied:

>いとあはれなくぞきこゆるともしひちきゆる物とも我はしらずな

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Very aware/ and, yes, I hear their cries/ now the light is gone/ I cannot help wondering/ whether it is really out.

For the greatest rake in all the land this was rather a feeble effort… His poem had nothing to do with the Princess.\textsuperscript{134}

The poem in (42) is essentially identical to the \textit{Kokinshū} one we have seen in (15), where it anonymously appeared in the volume on miscellany. As was previously discussed, the interj ective use of \textit{aware} in poetry seems to have been falling out of use in the 10\textsuperscript{th} century in favor of the Chinese-inspired oblique mode of representation, and even within the \textit{Kokinshū} this poem was considered old-fashioned. Its appearance in the Ise, considering what we know of the work’s tiered composition, actually somewhat confirms this observation, as it is perfectly conceivable for this poem to date to Narihira’s actual lifetime and thus reflect an older poetic function of \textit{aware}, albeit reinterpreted within a new prose context. Pragmatically-speaking, we are still looking at a sense of nostalgia embedded in \textit{aware} as we did with the uncontextualized version in (15), however the emotive impact brought on by the house in this narrative adaptation of the older poem is also significantly reduced, provided that we can tell from this episode that the women in question are in fact aware of Narihira’s presence in the house and their words are accordingly sarcastic.

While the poem in (43) can be hypothetically traced back to the recorded event that took place in 848 and the real historical figure of Minamoto no Itaru (fl. 851-886), the trivialization of the Imperial Princess Takaiko’s death in the poem is likely indicative of a later and also sarcastic usage of \textit{aware} rather than an older interjective one.\textsuperscript{135} While the token indeed appears to function in an interjective manner not unlike what we have seen before, syntactically, there is the

\textsuperscript{134} Translation Mostow and Tyler p. 94

\textsuperscript{135} I am very grateful to Joshua S. Mostow for pointing this out to me.
slight complication of having the adverbial いと (“very”) modify あはれ as if it were used adjectivally. The problem, however, rests in that this detached form of aware does not fall under any adjectival paradigm of classical Japanese and, from this form alone, could only be reinterpreted as a noun, which would also produce a highly marked construction if used together with いと. One other way to account for this anomaly would be by analogy with the adverbial いとあはれと construction, which appears three times in the Ise, meaning that we would no longer be looking at a primary interjection but a secondary one. Since this is a rather unique example of such usage, I think the important point is to simply note that aware’s form here still seems to be that of an interjection, even if it is used somewhat artificially and with an old-fashioned flair for a sarcastic effect. In the narratorial note which follows, Itaru is critiqued for failing to adequately address the deceased Princess, implying that his poem touched more generically on the Buddhist notion of the extinguishing of the flame (life), in line with the extinguished firefly. This aware subsequently seems to entail some degree of lament (even if sardonically so), but is understandably not comparable to the overflow of feelings characteristic of the Nara-period texts [c.f. Princess Kage’s lament in (3)]. Because of these narrative considerations, therefore, neither of the two interjections in the Ise is as emotionally expressive as the earliest examples we have seen, in spite of also being found in poetry.

44. ISE#14

At a time when a woman from the Michinoku province sent him a letter:

うたさへぞひなびたりける。さすがにあはれとやおもひけむ、いきて
ねにけり。

Indeed, even her letter was rustic. Still, as expected – was it because he thought of her with aware? – he went and slept with her.
45. ISE#90

Back then, since he was trying to think up of anything he could for a woman who wouldn’t respond, perhaps because she indeed came to think of him with *aware*, she said “let it be so, but with a curtain between us or something.”

46. ISE#96

Back then there was this man. He’d been after a woman for months, and she, being neither stock nor stone, must have felt for him, because by and by she came to think of him with *aware*.

47. ISE#16

When the man’s wife, with whom he long since ceased to be intimate, was leaving to stay with her sister, although he greatly thought of her with *aware* (イトあはれと思けれど), he was too poor to do anything for her. So he wrote about this to his friend and since he also thought of the situation greatly with *aware* (イトあはれとおもひて), he sent him clothing, bedding, etc.

48. ISE#46

Back then this man had a very dear friend. They thought the world of each other and were always together, but then, though they thought of it with great *aware*, the friend left for another province and they were parted.

In the above examples, the adverbial usage of *aware* with the と思うふ predicator seems to be intrinsically tied to the feelings of pity, which can be occasioned by either romantic compassion or situational sympathy. In (44), the man is clearly not impressed by the woman’s letter or the poem found therein, which are far too rustic for his tastes, but in line with the sympathetic trait of his character, seems to take mercy on her and visits her anyway. In a similar

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137 Ibid., p. 107.
vein, the women in (45 & 46) do not seem particularly receptive to the man’s advances at first, but eventually prove themselves tender-hearted to his persistence and relent. In all of these scenarios, it is not a specific action or performance on the part of the hapless lovers that stirs their apathetic objects of affection and causes them to re-evaluate them in a new light; instead, there is a cognitive process of rumination which appeals to their sympathetic nature and moves them to take pity. The stimulus behind this feeling of aware, in others words, is very much internal.

Although the underlying emotions are less romantic in the next three examples, they can be understood in a similar way: in (47), the man feels sorry for his wife’s departure and particularly for his inability to do anything for her, which compels him to write to his friend who, by extension of feeling sorry for the man, sympathises and sends him material support; the men in (48) are not quite as lucky, since in spite of regarding their separation with pity, like the man in (47) they are powerless to prevent it (but unlike him, have no one who could help). The emotions running through the men in (47-48) are tangibly much deeper and more affection-based than what we had seen in (44-46), however they are also best thought of as internal or self-initiated.

49. ISE#22

After a brief affair, a woman could not forget the man and enticed him to visit her again. When in response to his pivot-word poem in the morning she replied with a witty variation of her own, "perhaps because he found her in aware, he visited her even more frequently than before" (いにしえよりもあれにてなむかよひける).

50. ISE#65

When the Emperor learned of an ongoing affair between the man and his favorite lady, he had the man exiled while his mother locked the lady away in a storehouse. Still, the man continued coming around the storehouse:

このおところは、人のくにより夜ごとにきつゝ、ふえをいとおもしろくふきて、こゑはおかしうてぞあれにうたひける。
This man kept on coming night after night from his faraway province, played his flute extremely beautifully and, indeed with a lovely voice in aware sang for her.

In the next two examples (49 & 50), we once again encounter aware in the descriptive verbal form. Referring to the woman and the man’s voice, respectively, the term effectually denotes their intrinsic property of being able to move someone to aware, as understood by the man in the case of (49) and the lady (and plausibly the narrator) in the case of (50). The focus of aware, placed on the nature of the woman and the voice, demonstrates the obvious functional difference from the adverbial construction, which would have qualified the man’s thoughts of the woman or the singing instead. There is an implicit understanding, however, that by the virtue of embodying aware, the qualities and talents exhibited by its referents would be aware-like by association: this is why the man in (49) is touched deeply by the woman’s poem, or why the woman in (50) feels so despondent at hearing the man’s singing from inside her confinement.

51. ISE#66
When the man composed a particularly excellent poem on a trip to Naniwa, “moved by it to aware, the others had returned [without making any poems of their own]” (これをあはれがりて、人々かへりにけり).

52. ISE#77
At the time of passing of the Tamura Emperor’s consort Takakiko, the aging Right Chief Equerry offered a poem. The episode then closes with the final comment that, although the poem may seem no good to the modern reader, “perhaps since in those days it seemed indeed excellent, the others were moved to aware (そのかみはこれやまさりけむ、あはれがりけり).

53. ISE#85
While visiting his former patron who took the tonsure for a New Year’s celebration, the man composed a poem on the theme “Snowed in,” expressing his joy at the situation of being snowed in and hence not having to leave the Prince’s side. “The Prince, very deeply moved to aware, removed his robe and gave it to him” (みこいといたうあはれがりたまうて、御ぞぬぎてたまへりけり).
The next three episodes (51-53) seem to exhibit a very uniform function of the あはれがる construction, specifically to denote the emotional response of a third party to an external and arguably aesthetic stimulus, which in all of these three cases happens to be a very fine poem. The fact that this stimulus needs to be acknowledged as affirmatively provoking is perhaps best understood from example (52) where the narrator, not finding the poem in question particularly remarkable, feels the need to justify the response of its immediate audience by relating its celebration to the poetic norms of the time. By locating the locus of emotive power within an external factor, this construction is functionally contrastive with the あはれと思ふ seen in (44-48), where the emotional shift was determined by the subject’s internal natural proclivity to sympathy and compassion instead. This is further reaffirmed by the fact that the response of あはれがる appears to be immediate and unforeseen, since its experiencers could not have anticipated the poems or contemplated their feelings about them before having heard them for the first time. We can see this difference of use in the following example, where the two constructions appear close to one another:

54. ISE#63

When the son of an aged woman longing for love approached the man with his mother’s story, “moved to aware, he came and slept with her (あはれかりて、きてねにけり). Later, having caught her spying on him when he failed to visit again, the man followed her back to her home and overheard her reciting a poem bemoaning her predicament. “The man, thinking of what she had composed with aware, slept with her that night” (とよみけるを、とこあはれと思いて、そのよはねにけり).

When Narihira first hears the story of the aged mother, who originally told her sons of her amorous desires as if they were a dream, he is touched by it and goes to the woman without any extensive thought. While the exact reason as to why he finds the story so endearing is open to interpretation, and may rest in the way that the son had spun it or even in the very fact that he
showed such concern for his mother, his response to it is immediate and unaffected in the sense that he did not know of or contemplate the woman before. Comparatively, by the time he deigns to sleep with her again, he had both witnessed her pathetic attempt to spy on him and also her flight home, as she got caught up and cut by bushes and thorns, creating a very doleful picture; it is therefore not so much her poem that eventually tugs at his heartstrings, but his feelings of pity for her overall predicament stemming from his sympathetic nature. We saw a similar use of the cognitive adverbial construction before in (38) on the occasion when Kaguya-hime came to feel pity for the Middle Councillor not on the account of the poem he had sent her, but because she felt sorry for his pathetic demise.

Within this frame of interpretation, this rather semantically solidified import of aware in the あはれと思ふ construction may also shed some light on the token in (33) of the Kokinshū, reading Tsurayuki’s declaration of the emotive power of aware as conducive to causing the “ferocious gods” (鬼神) to feel compassion in a manner analogous to calming the hearts of the fierce warriors. In regards to the Kokinshū poetry, however, the connection becomes less clear. In (28) for example, the speaker could be imagined as pitying the crickets that will inevitably die with the coming of winter; the speaker in (32) as feeling a little sorry for the Uji guardian, stuck at his post since time immemorial; even in (27), one could – by vague association with the pattern seen in (44-46) – possibly imagine the plum tree as appealing to the speaker’s innermost feelings causing him to show some sympathy for a neglected lover. Yet ultimately, all of these readings seem a little farfetched and such understanding of あはれと思ふ would seem simply inappropriate in cases like (30 & 31). What seems to be a rather consistent interpretation of the construction in the prose context, therefore, does not necessarily apply to poetry. We will have to return to this issue a little later. The important point to take
away for now is that at least as far as the tokens of aware found in the Ise are concerned, their function and import seem to be consistent both within the work itself and the other prose examples we had seen. Its poetry-bound tokens, moreover, seem consistent with the prior interjective forms.

4.4 Aware in the Tosa Nikki

Dating to around 935, The Tosa Diary 土佐日記 is the latest of the texts rounding off our selection for this chapter, but also the earliest of the extant exemplars of the memoir genre. The work is believed to have been written by Ki no Tsurayuki – the same man responsible for the compilation and the kana Preface of the Kokinshū – in connection with his return trip from Tosa in Shikoku, where he had spent five years (c. 925-30) serving as a provincial governor. Although the diary is narrated from the persona of a woman in the entourage of an anonymous Governor, perhaps in connection with the notion that it was more apposite for men to write in Chinese, rhetorical conventions appropriate to Tsurayuki’s own gender seep through his ruse rather transparently and the work as a whole has been often perceived as his attempt to raise the status of Japanese prose to rival with Chinese. McCullough (1990) notes that the diary should be seen as the extension of Tsurayuki’s propagation of the poetic style he helped to established in the Kokinshū, and that the prose is primarily just a framing device to contextualize the sixty or so poems it contains.\footnote{McCullough (1990), pp. 70-1.}

As far as Tosa’s usage of aware is concerned, we find a total of six tokens: two interjections, one adverbial that is clearly derived from an interjection, one third-person verbal
form, one descriptive verbal form, and finally one noun. Only the adverbial form appears in a poem. The nominal form is particularly worthy of attention not only because it no longer appears to be bound, but also because it epitomizes the first attested usage of *aware* as part of the *mono no aware* compound, further inscribed in the idiomatic phrase もののあはれを知る. First, however, let us consider the more familiar forms:

55. [Day 16] *Once the party had finally returned to the capital, they had found the Governor’s house in a dismal state, despite the neighbours’ promises to look after it.*

おほかたの、みなあれにたれば、「あはれ。」とぞひとびとといふ。139 Since everything had completely fallen into ruin, indeed, all the people exclaimed “*aware.*”

56. [Day 29] *At one point, the boat approached a beautiful spot someone identified as the Tosa Harbour.*

むかしとさといひけるところにすみけるをんな、このふねにまじれりけり。そがいひけらく、「むかし、ゝばしありしところのなくひにぞあなる。あはれ。」といひてよめるうた、

年頃を住みしところの浪しおへばきよるなみをもあはれとぞ見るとぞいへる。

A woman who had long ago lived in place called Tosa was among the passengers on this boat. To this, she said: “Indeed, it has the same name as a place I knew for a short while in the past. *Aware.*” Saying this, she composed:

It bears the same name/ as the place in which I lived/ while the years went by,/ and thus with *aware* I see/ even its approaching waves.140

The *aware* seen in (55) and appearing as the first token of (56) clearly exhibits the original interjective function of the term, acting as an emotionally-charged, exclamatory utterance. In the latter case in particular, the interjection is syntactically independent from the rest of the quoted element and in reminiscence of the tokens seen in the early histories, comes

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140 Poem translation by McCullough (1990: 92). The verse “...and thus I feel affection/ even for its approaching waves” has been modified to closer reflect the original use of *aware.*
at the end of the phrase. This familiar behavior is important as it is the first time that we see *aware* used in this grammatical capacity in a prose context, so far entailing no particular distinction between the two media. In both (55 & 56), the meaning behind the utterance is furthermore only determinable contextually, and in both instances this pragmatic context encodes for a negative emotion, in likeness to the demoralized vexation in (55) and nostalgic longing in (56), which is also not out of line with its earlier uses. The adverbial form seen later on in the poem of (56) then provides us with a curious insight into the quotative appropriation of the interjection, where for once we need not try to piece together the underlying grammatical form of *aware*: we know from the earlier line that *aware* was indeed sighed as an utterance in its original interjective sense, regardless of the fact that the predicator verb of this construction happens to be “to see” 見る. Its meaning is further clearly retrievable from that same context. Rather than observing the sentimental landscape with an abstracted and conceptual feeling of *aware* that would need to be rationalized, therefore, the woman’s poem is literally describing her act of seeing the waves accompanied by a physical sigh.

57. [Day 7] On the occasion of rising waves, one man had lunch boxes brought over and talked a good deal about composing a poem on the topic. At last, he produced:

ゆくさきに立つ白波のこゑよりもおくれてなかんわれやまさらんとぞよめる。いとおほごゑなるべし。もてきたるものよりは、うたはいかゞあらん。このうたをこれかれあはれがれども、ひとりもかへし

Exceeding the sound/ of white billows rising/ where you are to go -/ even so will be my wails/ when you have left me behind.  

He thus composed. He ought to have had a very loud voice! Now how was this poem compared to the things he brought? Although the people there were moved to *aware*, no one produced a reply.  

58. [Day 21 (2)] On a serene day at sea, a child, who had come alone asking to be taken into service, sung a boat song:

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なほこそくのにのかたはみやらるれ、わがちゝはゝありとしおもへば。かへらばや。
とうたふぞあはれなる。

And still, and still,/ I can’t help looking far into the distance/ Toward my homeland/ When I think that there my father lives,/ There my mother lives. 142

What he had sung was indeed in aware.

While the adverbial form in (56) did not reveal an underlying bound nominal that we have identified in some あはれ-と constructions elsewhere, its presence in Tosa is nevertheless felt through the verbal tokens seen in (57 & 58) above. As usual, the あはれなる form in (57) appears in the context of the listeners’ (third-party) response to a given poem; unlike the situations which we had seen previously, however, the one at hand entails a poem that is not as perfect as one might expect. As we can deduce from the narrator’s mention of the man’s boisterous behavior beforehand and her snide comment about the purported loudness of his voice (in reference to his poetic claims of it outshouting the roar of waves), the poem had left something to be desired. Still, since it addressed the topic at hand and seemed to express the man’s sincere sentiments, it functioned in the manner appropriate to poetry and hence moved those around him, just not enough to compose a reply. In this regard, there is also contrast with poem (51) where the lack of a response implied that no one felt that they could match such a peerless poem.

The あはれなり construction in (58), in spite of operating in a similar context to (57) by also qualifying a poetic composition (or more specifically a song), once again supports the functional difference between the descriptive and third person adverbials. If in (57), aware was most closely concerned with the poem’s ability to move the audience, invariably reflecting on

142 Song translation by McCullough (1990), p. 88.
the poet’s skill, the descriptive verb here specifically comments on the generally understood intrinsic property of the song [うたふ(こと)ぞあはれなる, where the ellipsed こと is understood from the nominalized attributative form 連体形 of the verb]. Since the song was not composed by the child, there is nothing it could really reveal about his natural traits and there is nothing further said of the child’s performance; this is why in this case, the focus of the construction is clearly explaining the aware in the song itself. Just like (57), however, it further perpetuates a sense of intrinsic association between aware in its emotive, nominal form and the literary arts.

59. [Day 27] When the time had come for the travelers to part from the Governor and the other people who warmly received them at a place called the Cape of Kago, touching farewell poems were exchanged. かぢとりものゝあはれもしらで、おのれしさけをくらひつければゝやくいなんとて、「しほみちぬ。かぜもふきぬべし。」

Since the steerman, who did not know mono no aware, has had his fair share of sake, he hurried everyone along saying, “The tide has risen. The wind must be blowing, too!”

The example in (59) above is perhaps best known today for being the very first extant instantiation of aware in its more idiomatic mono no aware form that Norinaga would later posit at the heart of his literary and aesthetic theory. More pertinently to our immediate discussion, however, this is also the first documented case of the new nominal aware in its morphologically unbound form, provided that its relation to the qualifying もの (“things”) via the conjunctive の is entirely syntactic. This unbounding of aware would have neither required derivation or reanalysis but a mere stripping of the usual affixes -なり or -がる, making for a fairly easy functional conversion. There are two main features which furthermore set this nominal token apart from the one we’ve seen in Man'yōshū’s “あはれの鳥” in (13). First, in accordance with
the Japanese rule of preceding attribution, *aware* is now the head noun of the compound and determines its principal meaning. Second, this meaning is no longer pragmatic or directly related to *aware*’s earlier interjective forms, but rather carries the emotional semantic weight we have earlier identified with its bound nominal instantiations. While this semanticity is not as pronounced as that of a concrete noun in likeness to the “bird” in (13), in the context of this compound, it nevertheless outweighs the meaning of its qualifier *mono*, which not only denotes things in the world at large but may also carry a pragmatic connection to the scene in question as well as the various elements of which it comprises.

Speaking of the context at hand, the situation takes place at a farewell banquet held for the Governor’s entourage by the courtiers in Otsu. The passage containing this new use of *aware* follows an exchange of four poems, two of which lament the death of one of the children in Tosa and the other two which bemoan the sorrows of parting between of one of the travelers and one of the members of the party who had come to see them off. The steerman, understood to be a man of lower status, insensitively rushes the farewells along, remaining untouched by either the death of the child or the poignancy of the latter poems which skillfully reference the Tang poet Li Bai (701-762); his own needs have been satiated with just the wine. In this respect, he is accordingly chastised for being someone who does not know ‘the *aware* of things,’ provided that his timing and interruption betray his inability to be moved by the socio-cultural and emotional overtones of the scene in spite of their tangible embodiment of *aware*. It is also here that we start to notice a degree of aesthetic codification that *aware* seems to have undergone, as the initial situational affect underlying the *aware* experience seems to be no longer private or spontaneous, but is rather understood as something collective and learned on the part of the cultured individuals. In other words, while it is perfectly conceivable for the steerman to feel or see *aware*
in something else, he is nevertheless perceived as vulgar for not having found the aesthetic value of the specific situation at hand. Thus, one must wonder as to the emergence of established correct and incorrect occasions that could be described as *aware*.

### 4.5 Prose trends of *aware*

Although I spoke of *aware* as an ‘experience’ in reference of the *Tosa* episode involving the steerman above, this statement is in a need of further clarification. While we have seen that the constructions involving the (bound) nominal form thus far indeed suggest a solidified semantic import of the term, signifying a concrete emotional state that could be conceived of at least as strongly as one would conceive of ‘grief’ (憂し) and without an immediate association with its original interjective form, we must not forget that the use of the various grammatical realizations of *aware* is not completely unrestricted. In fact, the one thing which comes across quite clearly from the predominantly prose-bound tokens analyzed in this chapter is that whereas before it was the context which dictated pragmatic meaning of the interjective *aware*, it is now the set lexical meaning of *aware* in the various grammatical forms which dictates its contextual usage.

The あはれなり construction, for example, systematically appears in reference of individuals or things which either embody *aware* by the virtue of being an aesthetic stimulus themselves [eg. the moon and the world in (39); a song/voice in (50 & 58)] or are capable of producing other aesthetic stimuli like poetry [eg. the poetically-skilled woman in (49)]. While the quality of being あはれなり originates within the object, its recognition rests on the subject, in spite of the assumption that such perception should be more or less universal. The あはれが
る construction, in turn, quite consistently appears in denotation of a third-party’s response to an immediate, external and plausibly aesthetic stimulus, such as the moon (39), a touching story (54) and most prominently a poetic composition (41, 51-53, 57). For the most part, these stimuli could likely be described as あはれなり, which possibly explains why the narrator in (52) feels the need to justify the use of あはれがる in regards to an outdated poem. In spite of the fact that the subject of this construction is largely determined by the ～がる morpheme, the consistent selection of the object seems specific to this lexical form of aware. By contrast, the prose use of あはれと思ふ seems reserved for the contemplative and internal feelings of the subject, having more to do with his or her compassionate nature than with any specific quality of the object, which then get cognitively projected onto this object as an emotion that can be most closely identified as pity. This is true for all of the prose aware tokens in this formation that we have encountered (38, 44-48, 54), with all of them incidentally referencing human objects. In four cases (38, 44, 47, 54), there is a poetic or written exchange which contextually takes place between the subject and the object, and while あはれと思ふ never appears to judge the skill or aesthetic value of the composition itself, the exchange may be understood to contribute further evidence to suggest that the object indeed deserves to be pitied. In summary, there appears to be a somewhat strict division of labor between the three dominant grammatical realizations of aware, where あはれなり indicates an inherent property of something, あはれがる designates a third party’s response to something that is あはれなり, and finally あはれと思ふ is used by the subject to project aware onto an object that either intrinsically or situationally fails to command the あはれがる response on its own.
What comes across quite vividly from the tokens covered in this chapter is that the functional and semantic diversification of *aware* appears to have been strongly connected with its transference from poetry to prose, and that its accompanying grammatical broadening had in fact developed within prose to functionally facilitate the descriptive evaluation of poetry as well as of individuals and objects of aesthetic, poetic or otherwise literary merit. This is partially reaffirmed by the fact that both あはれなり and あはれがる have not (yet) appeared in poetry, and the prose あはれと思うふ exhibits a much more restricted functional scope than its poetic counterparts in the *Kokinshū*. While the original interjective form of *aware* can still be seen, it only covers four out of the twenty-four tokens found throughout *Taketori*, *Ise* and *Tosa*. What’s more, two of the four occur in poetry in reminiscence of its earlier use that Meli had labeled as antiquated by *Kokinshū*’s standards, evoking a deeply nostalgic feeling first for the dilapidated house in its heyday (42) and second for the deceased Princess (43); the other two interjective tokens that come from prose relate similar sentiments, being evoked by the memories of a now-neglected estate (55) and likewise the namesake of a former residence (56).

Speaking of *aware* in poetry, however, in addition to the two aforementioned interjections, there appear only two other tokens, both in the あはれ-と form. In the case of あはれと見る in (56), *aware* is quite evidently suggestive of the interjective あはれ that was exclaimed by the poet just a moment prior, implying a quotative element. In (36), the *aware* of あはれと思ひ出づ can also be seen as quotative, suggesting a physical sigh on the part of Kaguya-hime in recollection of the Emperor, nostalgic or signifying a degree of pity for him in likeness to the prose あはれと思うふ convention, though her palpable fondness for him makes

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143 As was mentioned earlier, based on their subject matter, these two *Ise* poems may actually date to Narihira’s time, in which case they would in fact be exemplars of the pre-‘oblique’ *Kokinshū* style.
this less likely. Overall, regardless of whether the comparatively reduced distribution of *aware* in poetry resulted from its incompatibility with the new ‘oblique’ style introduced by (or in the case of *Taketori* and some *Ise* poems anticipated) the *Kokinshū*, functionally-speaking, the grammatical and semantic broadening of *aware* seems to have been pioneered proseally. If the generic transference of *aware* from cited speech to poetry resulted in a quotative construction in likeness to what we have seen in (56), the directionality from poetry to prose necessitated the formation of a semantically-heavier and grammatically-flexible form, which was achieved via reanalysis as a bound nominal which was then morphologically affixed to produce new syntactic and otherwise semiotic relations. The standalone nominal seen in (59) was subsequently derived from these new grammatical forms and as an expression もののあはれを知(る) logically subsumed their combined functions. This is why it may stand to reason to say that the *Tosa* steerman was critiqued on his failure in the *aware* experience, provided that he did not recognize the *aware* value of the situation (あはれなる) and did not respond to it accordingly (あはれがり).

Since we have no way of knowing the exact time, circumstances or sources which had surrounded the first appearance of the standalone nominal form of *aware* – or its any other grammatical realization for that matter – we cannot discount the possibility that it was first coined by *Tsurayuki*. As a person of esteemed literary regard, he certainly occupied a position where many of his proposed linguistic innovations could have been promulgated and adopted by numerous high-ranking individuals at court. The conscious decision on the part of *Tsurayuki* and possibly other compilers of the *Kokinshū* to include the definitional poems involving *aware* lends some credence in support of the term’s growing importance in poetry; at the same time, the fact that its poetic frequency is notably overshadowed by its descriptive grammatical
instantiations in prose also suggests that it was becoming more of an ideal that one’s literary and artistic tastes and endeavours were to be evaluated by, rather than a topic to be manifested overtly. *Aware* was, in other words, evidentially developing into an important literary and possibly aesthetic term where the emergence of its new grammatical realizations, especially those which could gage its conceptual semantic value descriptively, could be functionally motivated.
5.1 A quick glance at aware at the turn of the 11th century

In just a couple of decades following Tsurayuki’s Tosa nikki, the literary usage of aware expanded significantly, at least as far as its prose instantiation is concerned. Contrary to being somehow proliferated by Genji monogatari, this burgeoning had quite evidently begun in the years leading up to Murasaki Shikibu’s masterpiece and the term’s frequency of appearance is in fact for the most part proportionate to the length of each individual work in which it is found; the Genji just happens to be the longest. The Table 5.1 below recounts the number of times that aware appears in some of the major works that precede or are roughly contemporaneous with the Genji:144

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Prose</th>
<th>Poetry</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Poetic form(s)</th>
<th>Interjections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Yamato monogatari</em></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-- to (2)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(大和物語 (ca. 951))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kagerō nikki</em></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>as an interjection (4)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(蜻蛉日記 (after 974))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-- nari (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ochikubo monogatari</em></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>as a noun (1)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(落窪物語 (ca. 989))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Makura no sōshi</em></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>-- nari (1)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>枕草子 (1002)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Izumi Shikibu nikki</em></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>as an interjection (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(和泉式部日記 (after 1004))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>as a noun (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Murasaki Shikibu nikki</em></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-- to (1)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>紫式部日記 (ca. 1008-10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Genji monogatari</em></td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1044</td>
<td>as an interjection (1)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(源氏物語 (ca. 1008))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>as a noun (13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-- nari (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-- to (11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Tokens of aware in major mid-Heian works

144 Although aware also appears in a couple of poems and headnotes of the Gosen wakashū 後撰和歌集 (“A Later Selection of Japanese Poetry,” 951) and the Shūi wakashū 拾遺和歌集 (“Collection of Gleanings,” 1005), which would also correspond to the represented time period, I have decided against including them in the table on the account that many of the poems are not only anonymous and even roughly undatable, but that the collections in general exhibit a selection from a wider timespan and are therefore not representative of any specific time period.
Continuing with the trend noted in Chapter Four, the majority of the aware tokens has remained prose-bound while the sum of poetic realizations has continued to vacillate in much lower quantities. Even in the context of the Genji, the twenty-six poems containing aware amount to no more than roughly 3% of the 795 poems spanning the work as a whole. The interjective use of the term also seems largely confined to prose quotations. The standalone nominal form, on the other hand, seems to have gained some momentum, being represented in each case by at least one through a handful of instantiations. The あはれなり form, however, has seen the most literary growth, appearing as the dominant realization in every single one of the listed works.

As part of the もののあはれ expression we have seen earlier, aware appears on a number of occasions, often times conveying an evaluative judgment or description as to one’s aptitude in the aware experience, similar to the situation in Tosa nikki. The excerpt below, taken from Murasaki Shikibu’s Diary 紫式部日記 (c.1008-10) is one such example:

Murasaki Shikibu nikki

辨清少納言こそ、したり顔にいみじう侍りける人。さばかり賢しだち、眞字書き散らして侍るほども、よく見れば、まだいと堪へぬこと多かり。かく人に異ならんと思ひ好める人は、必ず見おとりし、行く末うたてのみ侍れば、艶になりぬる人は、いとすござすずろなる折も、もののあはれにすゝみな、かしきことも見過ごさぬ程に、おのづからさるまじく、あだなる様にもなるに侍るべし。そのあだになりぬる人はて、いかでかはよく侍らん。

Indeed, Sei Shōnagon was a terribly self-absorbed person. She thought herself clever to such an extent that she scrawled Chinese characters all over her writings, although if one looked at them closely, there were still many places that were quite intolerable. Such people who like to think of themselves as exceptional from everyone else surely seem inferior, and will in the end only go from bad to worse. People who put on airs of elegance and even on the most desolate and dull occasions carry on as if things were full of aware, to the point where they cannot overlook a single moment of interest, do not in the least bit appear natural and begin to look superficial. How could such insincere people end well?

145 In the case of the four interjective tokens of aware found in the poetry of the Kagerō nikki, three appear within a single long poem 長歌, of which two are furthermore aligned side-by-side for an emphatic effect (あはれあはれと).
Evidently, a degree of naturalness also played a role in the *aware* experience and one’s forced overextension thereof was perceived as unfavorably as not having ‘known’ it in the first place.

Although grammatically-speaking, the existing forms of *aware* have also continued to diversify in this time period to encompass new forms such as the descriptive verb あはれげなり and the new nominal あはれさ, the foreknowledge of the bound and standalone forms of *aware* we have noted earlier grants these new instantiations a rather predictable derivational origin, analogous to that which contributed to あはれがる and あはれなり. In other words, while a closer investigation of each new grammatical instantiation is warranted before a proper conclusion can be made, none of them seem as functionally significant (as far as linguistic productivity is concerned) as the advent of the bound nominal that took place a hundred to a hundred and fifty years prior and gave rise to the majority of the mid-Heian forms of *aware* in turn.

We must also take note of the fact that the linguistic innovation had once again taken place in prose rather than poetry. The two grammatical forms of *aware* newly attested in poetry, namely あはれなり and the standalone nominal, have already appeared in prose before and were likely adopted retrospectively. The figure below summarizes the grammatical forms of *aware* in respect to each media, along with the proposed directionality of their cross-generic influence and causal development:
Functionally-speaking, it would stand to reason that the instantiations of *aware* would be more constrained in the poetic form both on the account of its stricter stylistic requirement introduced by the *Kokinshū* that was discussed earlier, and in the interests of avoiding descriptive reflexivity. If あはれなり could operate within poetry by the virtue of being evocative of topics that serve as the emotional stimuli behind individual poems, for example, あはれがる would not, provided that it typically denotes a response to and an evaluation of an aesthetic object or literary art, which would in turn impair its applicable use, given that poems did not take other poems as their subject.
5.2 Language, *aware* and aesthetics

In my discussion of *aware*’s syntactic and semantic diversification, I have once again posited functionality as the primary motivation fueling any linguistic changes that we have seen. Indeed, while theoretically any given word can undergo this process, the probability that it would do so without a functional need on the part of the relevant community of speakers to both innovate and propagate the new variations is highly unlikely. While the initial appropriation of the original interjective *aware* into overtly quotative constructions had arguably more to do with the linguistic and more generally human propensity for weaving previously stated words (either our own or those of others) into new propositions as directly as possible,\(^{146}\) the term’s incremental broadening into over half a dozen distinct grammatical realizations within the time period of some two hundred and fifty years strongly suggests that this was far from accidental. Taking into account what we know about *aware*’s origins in the songs/poems of the early 8\(^{th}\) century chronicles, its transition through the highly esteemed poetic sources such as the *Kokinshū*, and finally its linguistic diversification within the generically-related prose works that enabled it to talk about literary arts and other things relevant to them, one can confidently guess that the evolution of *aware* had something to do with its importance to the poetry and arts-oriented socio-cultural sphere of the Heian court. For a great number of scholars, including Norinaga, this ‘something’ would be aesthetics.

Throughout this thesis, wherever relevant, I have tried to gauge the basic aesthetic merit of individual tokens of *aware* that were discussed, particularly taking care to separate between their respective emotive responses that could be described as personally-affected (and hence

unaesthetic) and those that were more universal (and therefore aesthetic). While my aesthetic observations were more surficial on the account of being peripheral to my primary concern with linguistic diversification, I hope to have shown quite clearly that aware’s aesthetic bearing does not remain constant throughout the covered timespan. Having begun as a simple, immediately-expressive interjection, aware did not show much proclivity for aesthetic reading until it became drawn into cognitively contemplative linguistic constructions and had shifted towards the descriptive mode of expression; from there, it expanded to the nominal construction which in turn allowed it to reach its peak of semanticity and spawn new grammatical and functionally-diverse realizations. At the heart of the resultant aware experience collectively mapped out by its various instantiations from the mid-10th century onwards, which we can perhaps loosely label as “knowing mono no aware” (もののあはれを知る), there is certainly an evaluative element that could be labeled as aesthetic. Beyond the examples eliciting the あはれがる response that we had looked at earlier, this comes across quite clearly from other passages and situations depicting judgments of sentiment or taste such as the famous picture contest 絵合せ in the Genji:

The Genji, Chapter 17 “The Picture Contest”

草の手に仮名の所々に書きまして、まほの詳しき日記にはあらず、あはれなる歌などもまじれる、たぐひゆかし。誰もこと事思ほさず、さまざまの御絵の興、これに皆移り果てて、あはれにおもしろし。よろづ皆おしぐりて、左、勝つになりぬ。

In various places, there were hiragana characters written in in the cursive hand and this was not your traditionally detailed Chinese-style diary; poems full of aware and the like were also blended in, which incited the others to see them. No one even thought about the [scrolls presented by the right side] as their interests were entirely pulled by these various pictures which were splendid in aware. Everyone was drawn to them and as such, the left side had come to claim victory.

In the episode above, a picture contest is held between two rival factions at court to please the Emperor, with Genji representing the left side and Tō no Chūjo the right. Both sides commission
extensive artwork, pitting their respective collections against one another, and while the right side takes the preliminary lead, Genji earns the ultimate victory for his side by entering the picture diary he kept during his exile in Suma. Although the scroll presented by Tō no Chūjo is said to be of superior quality as far as its execution is concerned, it could not surpass the deeply emotive power of Genji’s work, which literally reduced everyone to tears. It would appear that in the context of the Heian court, therefore, the partiality towards the artistic expression of aware displaces the importance placed on one’s skill level alone. The question, however, remains if this quality of aware can be indeed aesthetic and if so, what it is exactly that it entails.

As a criterion of judgment, aware certainly denotes a positive value of the object at hand, one that can emotionally stir its audience and even win a competition. Yet as we have seen from the tokens discussed in previous chapters, not every instance of aware is aesthetic. Even with the picture contest above, while it is true that the other courtiers could not have fully anticipated the emotive power of Genji’s diary and their response was immediate and thus best described as aesthetic, we cannot rule out that the strength of their affectedness was predisposed on the account of their personal relations with Genji. For one, when Genji had for the first time shared the diary with Murasaki in preparation for the contest, her emotional reaction was significantly marked by the painful memories of their separation during that time. This situation is further complicated by the fact that aware has come to hold associations with pitifulness, as we have seen from the あはれと思ふ construction in particular, and there are certain cases where we simply cannot tell for certain whether we are presented with a pitiful or commendable situation. In Makura no sōshi, for example, Sei Shōnagon offers two lists concerning aware which showcase this problem. The first one, titled “things full of aware” (あはれなるもの), mentions the kind of inspiring or moving examples we would expect, such as a filial child, the cries of a
deer or the son of a high-ranking noble devoted to his studies. The second list, on the other hand, is comprised of “things that have the face of knowing aware” (物のあはれ知らせがほなるもの) and includes one’s voice when their nose will not stop running, as well as the plucking of one’s eyebrows; McKinney translates this section as “Things that create the appearance of deep emotion,”147 but in the absence of other precedents describing these activities in the contemporaneous literature, it is quite difficult to gauge whether Sei acclaims them as exemplars of aware or criticizes them on the account of creating false impression thereof. Perhaps counterintuitively, however, it is this inability of the modern audience to fully grasp the value of aware in certain contexts that reaffirms its aesthetic status.

In many respects, it is not possible to talk about aesthetics without mentioning linguistic enculturation. Looking at aesthetics from a cognitive perspective, we must first recognize that aesthetic judgments, as compared to regular propositions, differ in their expression of truth-conditionality in the sense that they do not describe the concrete world that is independent from the human experience. In other words, an aesthetic property of any given thing cannot be perceived as directly as its physical quality that would hold true (or ‘exist’) regardless of who observes it, which is indeed why some scholars have struggled to accept aesthetic statements as cognitive beliefs at all.148 Yet as Kant validly points out in his Critique of the Power of Judgment (2000), aesthetic judgments cannot be written off as entirely subjective either because the statement that something is “beautiful” is substantially different from one that simply asserts that


148 This position, commonly referred to as aesthetic non-cognitivism, questions the existence of unaffected aesthetic beliefs that could be used in cognitive operations. While non-cognitivists do no reject the idea that aesthetic statements can cognitively affect speakers, they claim that they do so on the account of non-cognitive attitudes such as approval or desire and have no cognitive content of their own (see Rorty 1987; Croom 2012).
something is “agreeable (to me).” As Croom (2012) explains, aesthetic statements cannot be taken as merely emotive or evaluative but must be also associated with enough descriptive content as to entertain the truth-conditionality of the proposition in which they are found. This subsequently builds on McDowell’s (1981) assertion that while the descriptive content picks out some universal features of the referent, the evaluative criterion stems from an acquired form of rationalization that could not be necessarily conceived of outside of a certain community of speakers. In the absence of specific physical characteristics, that is, learners must foster a degree of sensitivity and sensibility in discerning the certain aesthetic criteria by focusing on some features at the expense of others, which is a process developed through the experience of following the example of other speakers, commonly accompanied by some form of direct or indirect linguistic instruction.

Learning the aesthetic merit of worldly objects is not just limited to discerning their certain descriptive features, however, and generally entails the adoption of shared attitudes towards the object that would typically classify it as good or bad, praiseworthy or condemnable.

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150 That is to say that aesthetic statements must at least partially “represent how the world is—such that they can be implemented in inferences about the world and in thoughts that yield a truth-conditional representation of how the world is” (Croom 2011: 94). Burton (1992) further notes that a word such as ‘delicate,’ for example, represents a genuine concept in the sense that it generally applies to objects with consistent characteristics, including small size, subdued colors or fragility. At the same time, not all objects that fit this criteria would be considered ‘delicate’: while it would yield a perfectly acceptable association with fresh flowers or a youthful lover, it would be considered unfit for describing a piece of rotting flesh, which could nevertheless be small, pale and fragile (p. 30).

151 McDowell (1981), p. 144. He further avers that evaluation and aesthetics cannot be entirely disentangled because that would entail that the speakers could master aesthetic extensions of words without comprehending the evaluative judgments characteristic of a given speaking community.

152 A number of empirical studies have conclusively shown the key role that linguistics development plays in perceptual learning (for a good summary of recent publications, see Schnupp et al. 2011). This can be both aesthetic and generally cognitive. While everyone is born with the same biological capacity for perceptual learning, experiential input that invariably differs from culture to culture and is encoded linguistically fosters different sensitivities in communities of speakers.
Over the years of repeated enculturation, this results in an aesthetic perspective which the various members of the linguistic community in question can generally pick out consistently and unanimously. Camp (2009) labels this perspective “an intuitive, holistic principle for organizing our thoughts about some topic.”153 As such, aesthetic judgments regarding specific objects come to hold cognitive truth-conditionality for the community in question, even if it does not exist for anyone other than its members.

In the case of aware, the community of speakers bound by its aesthetic recognition is inevitably linked to the literary and artistic spheres of the court. While we have no means of establishing its concrete origins and must assume that it existed in some capacity in the times leading up to its earliest extant tokens in the Kojiki, we cannot fail to notice that its linguistic diversification was closely correlated to its progressively increasing number of appearances in poetry and later in prose. One’s familiarity with the prior works where aware appeared, in turn, contributed to one’s experience and enculturation in aware. Even after the term’s overt poetic usage declined that is, this link was maintained by the fact that the majority of tokens of aware was in one way or another directed at poetry, poets or common poetic topics, all of which also bore a close connection to the other arts, and nurtured one’s evaluative perspectives thereof. This is not to say that the linguistic changes that aware went through helped to establish its aesthetic value; however, the fact that it was linked to the cultural sphere that was gaining social prominence in the Heian period in a way functionally necessitated its diversification.

Tracing the development of aware as a word in a diachronic manner similar to what this thesis attempts (albeit within a limited scope) is conducive to the discussion of aesthetics

because the systematic treatment of individual tokens invariably compounds our understanding of the different contexts in which the term was used and to some extent recreates the experience of aesthetic and literature-based enculturation in *aware* that most Heian-period aristocrats would have gone through. At the same time, we must have no illusions that we can fully divorce ourselves from our present perspectives in trying to make sense of what the individual tokens signify and examples such as Sei Shōnagon’s “things that have the face of knowing *aware*” are always here to remind us that the significant behind some cases will always remain a mystery to the modern reader. The fact that *aware* points to no concrete property that exists in the world and yet encompasses an evaluative judgment that seemed very much truth-conditional from the Heian writers’ perspective indeed supports the generally-undisputed claim that it denotes an aesthetic concept of some kind, but at the same time the only thing that we can assert for certain is the general condition that aesthetization promotes linguistic change rather than what this change signifies.

5.3 Shortcomings of this thesis and trajectories for future research

As may have become apparent from the earlier discussion, my thesis raises more questions than provides answers. As is the case with virtually all of the preceding studies dealing with *aware*, the primary limitation of the study at hand is its scope; indeed, it does not even attempt to tackle the *Genji*, the single work with which it is most closely associated and which arguably secured its present-day relevance in the first place. While a much more comprehensive treatment of the term would of course be highly desirable, its ubiquity beyond the 950s would render this a very daunting task, one that would likely take a lifetime to complete. Since the primary motivation behind my inquiry rested on finding the linguistic impetus which had
allowed for *aware* to diversify in the first place, I felt comfortable ending my quest with the *Tosa nikki*, a work at the cusp of its subsequent literary boom, provided that no linguistic innovation that followed the advent of the bound nominal form had trumped the functional possibilities that it afforded. However, that is not to say that the later grammatical instantiations of *aware* are somehow less significant to the overall understanding of the *aware* experience, particularly since we have already seen the functional division of labor exhibited by some of the earlier realizations such as あはれなり, あはれがる and あはれと思ふ; each and every variant token of *aware*, subsequently, is deserving of individual address, particularly if we are to make sense of them consistently and systematically in the context of the Heian-period literature.

Going beyond that, perhaps the implied and yet heavily felt absence throughout the present discussion is its relevance to Norinaga’s theory of *mono no aware* もののあはれ論, the very foundation of most *aware* studies to date. Norinaga’s hermeneutic approach is not unlike my own in the sense that it treats the term historically and tackles the words structurally and contextually, in spite of the fact that his examples are chosen selectively rather than systematically. Regardless of whether one rejects the ideological reading which he imposes onto the verses of the classics, therefore, it is impossible to fully deny the relevance of all of his observations and it would be of interest to see just how well they compare with the likewise historically-grounded but generally impartial understanding of the same tokens in question.

The strength behind Norinaga’s argumentative power furthermore rests heavily on the effectiveness of his rhetoric that takes over the subjective voice of a given text’s author and uses the processes of linguistic aesthetization to imbue it with a new level of interpersonal meaning. This interpersonal meaning, in turn, resonated well with 18th-century audiences on account of counterbalancing their identity-bound anxiety brought on by the approaching modernity with the
illusion of a unified Japanese self, reaffirmed by the collective knowledge of aware, tracing back as far as the nostalgic Golden Age. As my own investigation revealed, however, the very form, meaning and function of aware fluctuated considerably within the span of just a couple of centuries, yielding questions as to how well the theory of mono no aware responds to diachronic linguistic change.

5.4 Concluding remarks

At a single glance, the transformation that aware has underwent within the period of just some two hundred and fifty years seems rather remarkable: the simple interjection that once sparsely graced the span of the Kojiki somehow took on new meanings and expanded into a multiplicity of grammatical realizations, appearing on nearly every page of a voluminous work such as the Genji. Aware has by no stretch of the imagination been neglected in academia and yet, very little attention has been paid to its unlikely linguistic development. Largely overshadowed by the overarching literary and nationalist inferences asserted by Motoori Norinaga’s theory, much of the scholarship concerning aware has been preoccupied with affirming or denying its greater socio-cultural implications and while its linguistic expansion has been at times handled descriptively, it has also been taken as a matter-of-fact.

The failure to link aware’s grammatical and semantic expansion with its underlying and interconnected causes is problematic on several accounts. In spite of the fact that it was the term’s pervasiveness in the context of the Genji that lent it much literary and social credence, it should not be ignored that as a word, aware had an independent and developing existence leading up to that point as well and that in many ways the multiplicity of its Heian-period
instantiations is a consequence of everything that came before it. To ignore this history may seem advantageous in the context of asserting the constancy of the aware experience and its subsequent connection to the unbroken lineage of the Japanese cultural identity, traceable since the time immemorial; yet it would also be highly counterfactual, provided that aware’s instantiations in the early histories are those of a simple interjection, a linguistically peripheral element that lacked both syntactic integration and non-pragmatic semantic content. Compared to its socially and situationally-conditioned usage in the Heian period, this interjective instantiation could have been evoked by virtually any external or internal stimulus and most certainly did not hold any aesthetic valence that could be evaluated truth-conditionally. Any attempt to bridge the gap between this relatively primitive linguistic form and its ensuing ubiquity characteristic of Genji monogatari subsequently cannot be achieved without addressing why this change seemed necessary, assuming that no linguistic change is unmotivated, but also how it was made possible, granted that linguistic change is not entirely arbitrary and an extreme or illogical refashioning of any given term is less likely than the formation of an entirely new word (or word set).

In this thesis, I have attempted to approach these two questions from a speaker-based, functionally-driven perspective. The historical unavailability of other resources has inevitably limited my body of evidence to the textual media of poetry and prose, which has nevertheless proven itself to be most insightful provided that aware’s development seems intricately tied to premodern Japanese literary practices and the evolving cultural and aesthetic status of poetry in particular. Although the majority of analyses dealing with aware have been in fact poetry-bound, partly in homage to its earliest extant instantiations and partly under the influence of Norinaga’s positing of Japanese poetry as the more transcendentental form of communication, the findings of my thesis have revealed a rather different connection between aware and poetry, one that is
actually co-dependent on prose. While poetry, poetic subjects and poets remain central to the *aware* experience, it is in fact in prose that we see the linguistic innovation take place and subsequently reflect back on poetry (and other literary arts) descriptively. As literary arts gained more social prominence, the demand for *aware*’s evaluative functionality had also increased and subsequently inspired linguistic diversification.

Having empirically confirmed *aware*’s initial interjective status in the early histories through a close analysis of its grammatical, syntactic and semantic aspects, I have argued that without *aware*’s initial (interjective) literary usefulness to the economic expression of poetry, made possible by its lack of a concrete semantic import, the term would likely not have inspired grammatical integration and later diversification to better conform to the syntactic structure of the surrounding clauses. In doing so, that is, *aware* violates the directionality of grammatical change provided that it does not bear enough semantic content to inspire new instantiations that could logically derive their meaning from it; its own features as an interjection, moreover, largely preclude it from entering into new syntactic arrangements with other elements.

Nevertheless, I have strived to show that by relying on the complement-indiscriminatory nature of the quotative – と construction, *aware* was able to overcome its syntactic handicap at the cost of changing its modes of expression from the expressive to the descriptive, which in turn marked the first step in its road to semantization. This was largely contingent on that fact that in the absence of a semantic meaning, the resultant grammatical constructions had to extrapolate on the circumstantially plausible meaning that *aware* would have been born pragmatically under those conditions. All of the new instantiations of *aware*, however, were associatively linked to its original interjective function.
By the time of the *Kokinshū*, commissioned nearly a hundred and fifty years after the early histories and the *Man'yōshū*, aware’s direct link to its original interjective form appears to inexplicably diminish. Its overtly strengthening lexical and semantic import indeed no longer seems appropriate to the pragmatic specificity of interjections, particularly in cases of contrast with analogous structures that do seem to be interjection-based, and yet from the form of the poetic tokens alone, there seems to be no rational way to account for this discrepancy. It is consequently on the basis of the prose evidence of aware found in the *Kokinshū*’s preface that I have posited the emergence of a bound nominal token, derived via reanalysis from the adverbial quotative construction あはれ-と, as the founding linguistic transformation responsible for aware’s subsequent diversification. The additional evidence found in the near-contemporary texts supported this conclusion, and furthermore revealed a descriptive prose directionality of aware’s development.

Throughout this thesis, I have hoped to show that far from being sporadic and random, the evolution of aware was a gradual and interconnected process hinged on aware’s initial semantic and syntactic indeterminateness which was nevertheless poetically useful on the account of its immediate expressivity. It was this usefulness which gradually inspired higher syntactic integration and eventually resulted in a grammatical reanalysis into a nominal, which necessitated semantization; from there, the grammatical broadening of the resultant noun was driven by functional specialization. As individuals separated from the Nara and Heian writers by a cultural, spatial and temporal gap of over a thousand years, it is indeed near impossible for us to access their linguistic and aesthetic consciousness in an attempt to fully decode their use of aware. For as long as we can remain cognizant of the semiotic interconnectedness of the various aspects governing linguistic change, however, we should be able to clearly trace its syntactic
development and note any fluctuations in meaning and aesthetic aspirations through contextual inferences, building up a corpus of textual evidence akin to a recreated experience of *aware*. 
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