ON THE ATTRIBUTIVE AND FINAL PREDICATE FORMS

IN EASTERN OLD JAPANESE

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List of Abbreviations

General Abbreviations:

EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
COJ	Central Old Japanese
RD	*Rentaidome*
ID	*Izendome*
KM	*Kakari Musubi*

Abbreviations used in Morphological Analysis:

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjectivizer
ADJNML	adjective-nominalizer
AEATTR	EOJ adjectival attributive {-ke}
ALL	allative
ATTR	attributive
CL	classifier
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
CONC	concessive gerund
CON	conjunctive gerund
COND	conditional gerund
CONJ	conjectural
COOR	coordinative gerund
DAT	dative
DEB	debitive
DES	desiderative
DESIMP	desiderative-imperative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive
DV	defective verb
ECOMP	EOJ comparative {-nosu}
EDIM	EOJ diminutive {-rö, -na}
EIMP	EOJ imperative {-rö}
ELOC	EOJ locative {-na}
ENEG	EOJ negative(-iterative) {-anap-}
EPROG	EOJ progressive {-ar-}
ETENT	EOJ tentative {-unam-}
FIN	final
GEN	genitive
GENLOC	genitive-locative
GER	adjectival gerund

HAPAX	*hapax legomenon*
HON	honorific
HUM	humiliatory
INF	infinitive
IMP	imperative
INT	intensifier
KPT	*kakari* particle
LOC	locative
MK	*makura kotoba*
NEG	negative
NEGDEB	negative-debitive
NEGDES	negative-desiderative
NEGIMP	negative-imperative
NEGPOT	negative-potential
NEGTENT	negative-tentative
NML	nominalizer
ONO	onomatopoeia
PASS	passive
PAST	past
PERF	perfective
PLUR	pluralizer
PN	place name
POSS	possessive
PREF	prefix
PROG	progressive
PT	particle
RETR	retrospective
SUB	subordinative gerund
SUBJ	subjunctive
SUF	suffix
TENT	tentative
TERM	terminative
TOP	topic marker
UNCLEAR	morphologically unclear
VEATTR	EOJ verbal attributive {-ô}

Chapter 1
Introduction

The main purpose of this thesis is to analyze and describe the final and attributive predicate forms of Eastern Old Japanese. The term "Eastern Old Japanese" refers to a dialect continuum that existed in eastern Japan – the so-called 'Azuma' region – contemporaneously in the late seventh and the eighth centuries with the central dialect that is known today as Western or Central Old Japanese, and which is the language of the bulk of the extant Old Japanese corpus. The area in which Eastern Old Japanese was spoken was centered on the Musashi Plain and extended at least from the provinces of Shimotsuke (modern Ibaraki) in the northeast to Tōtōmi (western Shizuoka) in the southwest, and across this length it extended south all the way to the coast, including the Bōsō and Izu peninsulas.

The corpus of Eastern Old Japanese that remains to us is remarkably small, and contains no prose texts. Most of this corpus is found in the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 anthology; Book XIV of the *Man'yōshū* contains approximately 238 anonymous 'Eastern Poems' or *Azuma-Uta* 東歌, most likely recorded by scribes or scholars from the central districts who were traveling through or living in the east – all of these poems are in the *tanka* 短歌 form, that is, "short poems" of usually thirty-one syllables. Book XX contains 224 poems, of which ninety-three are said to be actual songs composed by *sakimori* 防人, 'Border Guards' – men originally from eastern Japan but conscripted to posts in northern Kyūshū or on islands between Kyūshū and the Korean peninsula. One of these poems is a *chōka* 長歌, or 'long poem' of ninety-one syllables; the remainder are all *tanka*. Five additional verses said to be composed by *sakimori* are contained in Book Fourteen. Outside of the *Man'yōshū*, the remainder of the Eastern Old Japanese corpus provisionally includes only nine poems found in the *Hitachi Fudoki* 常陸風土記, an imperial gazetteer. Of the poems in Book XIV, roughly ninety can be attributed to specific provinces within the Eastern Old Japanese dialect continuum, and these, combined with eighty-four poems in Book XX, provide our only direct means to study linguistic variation within the dialects of eastern Japan during the eighth century. In each of these sources, there are many poems that contain no known dialect features; the cause of this is unknown – these poems may have been edited, or they may have been originally composed in Central Old Japanese (by easterners, or by speakers of the Central dialect posing, for literary effect, as easterners) – but either way, they do not appear to reflect Eastern Old Japanese.

In general, Eastern Old Japanese has been comparatively well studied within the Japanese philological tradition. There have been several monograph studies of Eastern Old Japanese published since the 1960's, first by Fukuda Yoshisuke (1965) and shortly thereafter by Hōjō Tadao (1966); more recently, Mizushima Yoshiharu has published a number of volumes devoted specifically to the poems found in *Man'yōshū* Books XIV and XX, including verse commentaries and philological analyses (1972, 1983a, 1983b).

Other studies of Old Japanese have generally focused on the Central dialect spoken in the capital of Nara. This tradition can be traced to Yamada Yoshio's original 1913 volume, *Nara-chō Bunpō Shi* (which actually mixes data from both the Eastern and

Central dialects), and extends back ultimately into the *Kokugaku* 国学 or 'National Learning' tradition of the Edo period, and the eighteenth century work of scholars like Motoori Norinaga, Kamo-no Mabuchi, and their disciples. Since Yamada's grammar, this field has been augmented by shorter works: first, Saeki Umetomo's 'handbook,' *Nara Jidai no Kokugo* (1950) – which again mixes both Eastern and Central Old Japanese data; and then Shirafuji Noriyuki's book of the same title (1987), which does a better job of keeping the dialects separate, but which is still oriented primarily towards the language of the capital. All of these works feature single chapters dedicated to Eastern Old Japanese, though there is an almost total overlap in their treatment of the linguistic features of these dialects.

In Western languages, there are of course fewer resources, none of which are devoted especially to Eastern Old Japanese; first is Nikolai Syromiatnikov's 1972 book, *Drevneiaponskii iazyk*, translated into English in 1981 as *Ancient Japanese Language*. The most seminal work in this field is Samuel E. Martin's *The Japanese Language Through Time* (1987), which contains a wealth of data and analyses for all periods and many dialects of Japanese, including reconstructions of the Proto-Japonic forms of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Alexander Vovin's two-volume *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese* is still being written (volume one was published in 2005), and is of course devoted to the Central dialect of Old Japanese, but includes a great deal of comparative data on Eastern Old Japanese. Similarly, John Bentley's *A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose* (2001) is based entirely on central dialect source texts. Old Japanese phonology, even more than its grammar, has been studied extensively both in Japan and in the West; among the many articles and monograph works in the field, Marc Hideo Miyake's *Old Japanese: A Phonetic Reconstruction* (2003) is the most recent and is very comprehensive in its review of previous studies; however, this book too, like so many of the works mentioned above, is intended wholly as a study of Western Old Japanese, and includes no analyses of Eastern dialects, although Miyake hints in his conclusion that he is now in a position to begin reconstructing Eastern Old Japanese phonology.

This thesis will be specifically devoted to an examination of the grammar of Eastern Old Japanese, with three issues taking center-stage: (1) the allomorphy of the attributive form (called in the Japanese tradition *rentaikei* 連体形); (2) the distribution of the attributive and the final (*shūshikei* 終止形) forms of verbs and adjectives in various types of predicating environments; and (3) two grammatical phenomena which directly condition the occurrence of these forms in a text, namely *kakari musubi* 係り結び (the appearance of the attributive or evidential forms in a predicate following certain particles) and *rentaidome* 連体止 (ending a sentence or line of poetry with a predicate in the attributive form, in the absence of a *kakari* particle).

Apart from these central analyses, I will also examine the evidence for dialect divisions in Eastern Old Japanese. The recent work of Hino Sukenari (2003) provides evidence for drawing dialect boundaries on the basis of shared retentions of certain vowel qualities; he found that poems from the eastern-most provinces are more likely to show pre-vowel raising qualities (i.e., /ô/ and /e/), while those nearest to the central provinces show only post-raising forms (/u/ and /î/). I will expand this analysis by looking into the geographical distribution of other vowel and consonant alternations.

Chapter Two contains an overview of the area of Japan in which Eastern Old Japanese was spoken, a description of the dialect continuum and the basic variety found therein, and a review of the textual sources that constitute the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese, including speculation on their origins, composition, organization, and manuscript traditions.

Chapter Three is a literature review in which I discuss all of the secondary literature on Eastern and Central Old Japanese that was consulted in the production of this thesis. Japanese-language and English-language works are discussed separately.

In Chapter Four I provide an outline of Eastern Old Japanese orthography and phonology, and examine in detail several specific phenomena: namely, I provide an exhaustive list of semantograms, and a study of all the regularly attested consonant and vowel alternations found in Eastern Old Japanese. I will argue that the unique Eastern diminutive *-na* is cognate to Central Old Japanese *-ra*, and will present a new dialect-division for Eastern Old Japanese based on shared phonological alternations.

Chapter Five contains an analysis of several metrical phenomena; I will show that hypercatalexis (the occurrence of metrically overlong lines) is extremely rare in Eastern Old Japanese, with only two unambiguous examples in a corpus consisting of approximately 1,730 lines of verse. I will also present evidence regarding vowel adjacency and contraction, and demonstrate that there is a complementary relationship between these: contraction of adjacent vowels almost always took place in odd numbered lines, while in even numbered lines, adjacent vowels were permitted.

In Chapter Six, I will examine the allomorphy of the attributive form in Eastern Old Japanese, describing the phonological shape, orthographic representation, and syntactic distribution of the various allomorphs. I will also speculate as to their historical origins, and propose that the Eastern Old Japanese dialects possessed a unique attributive allomorph *-a* that has not been discussed in the existing literature.

Chapter Seven contains a brief overview of the allomorphy of the final form, and examines the functions and distribution of the attributive and final forms in various predicating environments; *rentaidome* and the adnominal use of the final form are discussed here, and I submit evidence that the perfective marker *-n-* had pure consonant-stem morphology in Eastern Old Japanese, because of the many 'unusual' functional applications it performs in both the final and attributive forms.

Chapter Eight concludes my thesis with a study of the phenomenon of *kakari musubi* in Eastern Old Japanese, where I find that in most instances, *kakari* particles function in the same way in these dialects as in Central Old Japanese; however, the development of the particle *kösö* appears to be very advanced in Eastern Old Japanese, as the vast majority of examples produce a *musubi* in the evidential form, though this pattern of agreement is usually associated with Middle Japanese, and does not occur with such perfect regularity in the Central dialect of Old Japanese.

The conclusion in Chapter Nine summarizes the major findings presented in this thesis. Eight appendices (numbered "A" through "H") follow the body of the thesis and contain the raw data that are the foundations of my discussions.

Chapter 2
Region and Texts

The following chapter includes an introduction to the region of Japan where the various Eastern Old Japanese dialects were spoken, and the texts in which they were recorded.

2.1 THE KANTŌ REGION IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY C.E.

The dialects that constitute Eastern Old Japanese were natively spoken over a comparatively large area in eastern Japan, centering around the curve of Honshū at the Bōsō Peninsula, and corresponding roughly to the modern Kantō region and those mountainous prefectures that border it on the west. During the Nara period (710-784) in which all of the relevant texts were composed, this region comprised thirteen provinces (*kuni* 国): Shinano 信濃, Tōtōmi 遠江, Suruga 駿河, and Izu 伊豆 in the west and southwest, corresponding to modern Nagano, Yamanashi, and Shizuoka prefectures; and then extending eastward across the Kantō plain to the Pacific, over Kamitsuke 上毛野 (later Kōzuke) and Shimotsuke[1] 下毛野 – together known as 'Keno' – Kai 甲斐, Musashi 武蔵, Sagamu 相模 (later Sagami), Hitachi 常陸, Shimotufusa 下総 and Kamitsufusa 上総 (later Shimōsa and Kazusa, the 'Fusa' provinces), and Awa 安房. In other words, covering an area roughly equal to that stretching presently from Shizuoka in the southwest, north to Nagano, eastward through Gunma and Tochigi to Ibaraki, and everything southward to the sea. The provinces of Kai and Awa are not officially represented in the corpus, and Izu is represented by one poem only.

One of our principal sources, Book XIV of the *Man'yōshū*, also includes four poems attributed to "Michinoku", which is a generic way of referring to those areas lying in the northeastern part of the island of Honshū. These poems do exhibit some of the same dialect features found in poems from the more southerly provinces, and (if we trust that the compilers recorded songs of actual speakers from the area) this evidence

[1] The ancient reading of these province names is in some doubt; Ōno lists Kamitsukeno in his dictionary (1983: 330), and believes that Shimotsuke is an abbreviation of Shimotsukeno (641). The personal name 上毛野牛甘 appears in the *Man'yōshū* (20:4404); the reading glosses in the Nishi Honganji manuscript gloss this as "Kamitukeno Usikapi." The personal name glosses in this manuscript are highly variable: sometimes a *katakana* "no" is inserted after the *uji*, other times it is not written; however, I am not aware of any instances where the character 野 is found in the middle of a person's name as a phonetic for the genitive case marker *-nö*. Mizushima interprets this name as "Kamitukeno-no Usikapi" (1996: 227). On the other hand, Mizushima reads the characters 上野国 from the introductory pages of *Man'yōshū* Book XIV as "Kamituke-no Kuni," and gives similar treatment to 下野国, "Shimotuke-no Kuni" (85), and Vovin has suggested the same to me (2006, p.c.). "Kamitukeno" is spelled out with phonograms thirteen times in the Azuma Uta, including three times with the character 野 'plain'; only once is this "no" spelled with a Type-B vowel. "Shimotukeno" appears twice in the same source in phonographic spelling, both times with a Type-A vowel for "no." I have not observed any (other) instances in the entire corpus of the genitive maker *-nö* being spelled with a Type-A vowel, and so I assume "no" is part of the place name. While I suppose it is possible that "Kamitsukeno" and "Shimotsukeno" were the names of specific plains within the provinces of "Kamitsuke" and "Shimotsuke," respectively, I think it is more likely that some sort of reanalysis was at work in speakers' minds.

indicates that the southeastern parts of "Michinoku" probably fell into the same dialect continuum, perhaps similar to the dialect or dialects spoken in Hitachi.

2.1.1 DIALECT SUB-REGIONS AND THE DIALECT CONTINUUM

As mentioned several times already, 'Eastern Old Japanese' is a blanket term used to refer to a dialect continuum: a series of related and presumably mutually intelligible dialects spoken over a broad geographic region. The exact degree of mutual intelligibility cannot be recovered from the evidence we have, which likely obscures many of the differences that existed in speech; so, whether speakers from Tōtōmi could have understood speakers from Hitachi is unclear – but certainly there would have been a continuous chain of mutual intelligibility, i.e., each village would have understood the dialect of the villages to the north, south, east, and west, in a net that extended across the region. It is, however, possible to make broad divisions into dialect sub-regions.

Using data from Eastern Old Japanese texts, several scholars have attempted work in dialect division for this region: the most notable attempts are those by Fukuda Yoshisuke (1965: 290-331) and Hino Sukenari (2003); Mizushima Yoshiharu has also produced a single effective map showing that the easternmost provinces exhibit a greater number of Type-A/Type-B alternations (1996: 50). However, only Hino has really followed the data all the way through to a sturdy conclusion: he looked at the occurrence of pre-raising vowel forms (discussed in detail in Chapter Four), and from the patterns he saw he divided the dialect continuum into three major areas sharing a similar feature: the westernmost area (Region C), comprising Shinano and Tōtōmi, evidenced no pre-raising vowel forms; in contrast, the most strongly marked area (Region A) showed *only* pre-raising forms – the three provinces of Shimotsuke, Kamitsufusa, and by default Awa, are included in Region A. The remaining provinces of the middle region, B, exhibit both forms, and probably included a comparatively large number of distinct albeit related dialects. Hino next used this dialect division information and the data he collected to promote a six-vowel theory for Proto-Japonic, but that theory – while important and impressive – need not concern us here.

These divisions correspond nicely with geographic facts: Region C, besides being closest to the capital at Nara, was partially isolated by mountains from the main body of the Azuma dialects on the Kantō plain. The most marked dialect area, Region A, is broken into two distinct parts: the province of Shimotsuke in the north, and Kamitsufusa (and Awa) to the south. The southern half is located wholly on the Bōsō Peninsula, and as such is quite isolated, though certainly continuity would have existed with Shimotsufusa to the north. There does not appear to be any geographical motivation for the isolation of Shimotsuke from the bulk of the Kantō Plain, especially if the surrounding provinces – and the more easterly province of Hitachi – are lumped together in Region B; nonetheless, this is the division indicated by the data. I have tentatively accepted Hino's dialect divisions, though I will propose further refinements at the end of Chapter Four.

Yet it may be merely coincidental that the poems attributed to Shimotsuke exhibit, proportionally, so many pre-raising vowels. Unfortunately, the content and size limitations of the extant corpus of Eastern Old Japanese frustrate many of our attempts to

understand the features of these dialects. To establish a reliable 'norm' for Eastern Old Japanese, against which the specific features of the various 'provincial' dialects could be compared, we would wish to have a corpus five or ten times as large as what has come down to us. While there is a certain linguistic consistency across the corpus, allowing us to describe at least some of the most common features of Eastern Old Japanese, it is difficult to extend the analysis into dialect division: the evidence is very scanty and therefore too easily skewed by a couple of lucky coincidences. For example, many poems attributed to various provinces – especially among the Azuma Uta – do not in fact contain any unique dialect features (the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki* are also surprisingly lacking in features); similarly, many of the most feature-rich poems are not attributed to any province, making them useless for dialect division work.

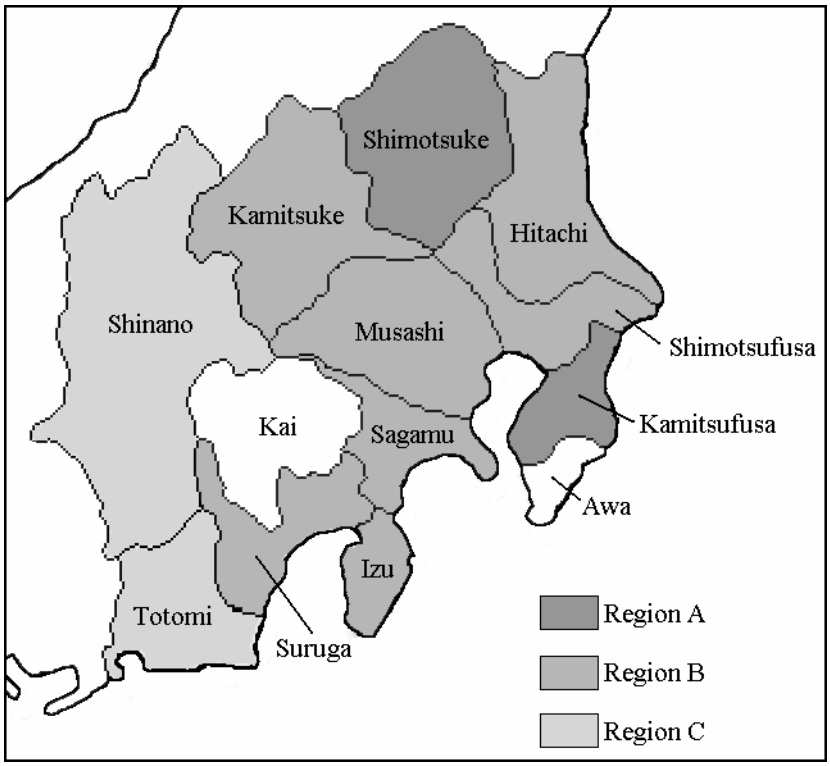


Figure 2.1 Map of the Azuma Region, Showing Hino's Dialect Divisions

Thus, although the dialect division method employed by Hino, Fukuda, and Mizushima (i.e., simply looking for the presence or lack of a feature in a region, then comparing the number of examples illustrating that feature across different regions) has its place, I think a more secure method is to do a proportional analysis, whereby the number of instantiations of a feature is cited as a proportion of the volume of poetry attributed to a given region. Since some provinces are represented by a comparatively large amount of verse, and others by only a handful of poems, this method is better able to avoid skewing the quantitative data that is pulled out of the corpus, though there is still much room for skepticism in the results, given the difficulties mentioned above: small corpus size and inclusion of apparently non-dialect poems among the provincial selections.

2.2 SOURCES OF EASTERN OLD JAPANESE

There are three primary sources for Eastern Old Japanese: the Azuma Uta, which constitute Book XIV of the *Man'yōshū* anthology, the Sakimori Uta found in Book XX of the same, and nine poems from the *Hitachi Fudoki*, a sort of almanac or gazetteer produced under imperial decree. The *Man'yōshū* – the 'collection of ten-thousand leaves' – is the earliest extant anthology of poetry written in Japanese, and actually includes 4,516 poems in various forms; the exact details of its method of collection and manufacture are not known, although the last dated poem in the anthology is from the first day of the lunar new year in 759 C.E. The author of this poem, Ōtomo-no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (717?-785), is sometimes held to be the editor of the whole anthology; he was almost certainly the editor (or at least compiler) of the last four books, XVII-XX, which are made up mostly of his own poems, or poems presented to him or otherwise collected by him. Since the only portions of the *Man'yōshū* of interest in this paper are Books XIV and XX, I will henceforward limit my discussion to these.

Table 2.1. Numbers of Poems and Lines of Verse by Province and Region

Province	Book XIV		Book XX	
Shinano	5 (25)	8 (40)	3 (15)	10 (50)
Tōtōmi	3 (15)		7 (35)	
Region C Total	18 (90)			
Suruga	6+2.1 (41)	77+5.10 (420)	10 (50)	49+0.15 (260)
Izu	1+0.4 (9)			
Sagamu	15+1.3 (83)		3 (15)	
Kamitsuke	25+1 (130)		4 (20)	
Michinoku	4 (20)			
Musashi	9+1 (50)		12 (60)	
Shimotsufusa	5 (25)		11 (55)	
Hitachi	12+0.2 (62)		9+0.15 (60)	
Region B Total	126+5.25 (680)			
Shimotsuke	2 (10)	5 (25)	11 (55)	24 (120)
Kamitsufusa (and Awa)	3 (15)		13 (65)	
Region A Total	29 (145)			
Combined Regional Totals	90+5.10 (485)		83 + 0.15 (430)	
	173+5.25 (915)			
Unknown	140+3.9 (724)		9 (45)	
	149+3.9 (769)			
Totals	230+8.19 (1209)		92+0.15 (475)	
	322+8.34 (1684)			

Table 2.1 gives at a glance an overview of the dialect contents of these two *Man'yōshū* books, arranged according to provincial origin and the three primary dialect areas described above. The first number given for each province is the number of *tanka* poems attributed to it; the number in parentheses is the number of lines of poetry contained in the given number of poems (no distinction is made between five- and seven-syllable

lines). In some cases, especially in Book XIV, the situation is more complex, because alternative versions of many poems are provided, sometimes in full, sometimes only in one or two lines. These are given after the number of poems attributed to the region, preceded by a plus sign. The number to the left of the period is the number of alternative full *tanka*; the number to the right (which is not a decimal) is the number of additional alternative *lines*. For example, in Book XIV, the province of Sagamu is represented by fifteen full poems; there is one full alternative (i.e., an alternative version of one of the fifteen principal poems, cited in full five-line form), and three additional lines of verse (used to cite alternative forms of certain lines of the principal fifteen), for a total of eighty-three lines (= 15x5 + 1x5 + 3). Regional totals are computed in the same way. The number of poems of unknown origin is computed at the bottom of the table. Throughout this thesis, I will use the number of lines of verse contained in the source texts or attributed to specific provinces as a reference value against which to compare the frequency of certain linguistic features. Using this tool, I can make comparisons between the Azuma Uta and the Sakimori Uta, to see if a certain feature is *proportionally* more common in one or the other; or by making similar comparisons across provincial lines, I can see if a feature is attested *proportionally* more often in one province than another. This is far more valuable than to say, for example, that a feature occurs ten times in Kamitsuke province but only twice in Shimotsuke, when the data for Kamitsuke comprise thirty poems and that for Shimotsuke but thirteen. Moreover, between the scattered fragments of poems found in Book XIV and Book XX's *chōka*, simply counting the number of poems would not be suitable, as it would not accurately represent the *volume* of raw language data contained in the sources. As such, the line counts may be taken simply as an abstract indication of the volume of data available for analysis in a given text and attributed to a given province.

On the other hand, I believe that the division of *tanka* into five lines is also legitimate, at least in terms of the linguistic behavior manifested in this corpus. As I will demonstrate in Chapter Five, data on vowel adjacency and hypercatalexis[2] in Eastern Old Japanese can only be accounted for with a line-by-line analysis – simply breaking the poems into two parts (a *kami-no ku* 上の句 of seventeen syllables, and a *shimo-no ku* 下の句 of fourteen) will not do. Adjacent vowels in Eastern Old Japanese poems are distributed unevenly; for example, the majority of instances of adjacent vowel pairs are found in hypercatalectic odd-numbered lines and in acatalectic even-numbered lines. Thus, if the five-line division did not apply to these poems, we would expect that line-initial vowels would be found far more frequently in first lines and fourth lines (the beginning of the *kami-no ku* and *shimo-no ku*, respectively), and only rarely in second, third and fifth lines (where they would have produced adjacent pairs). However, my study of the Azuma Uta does not bear this out (Table 2.2). I found that line-initial vowels are most common in fifth lines, followed closely by first

Table 2.2. Frequency of Line-Initial Vowels

Line	Number
1	85 (24.2%)
2	47 (13.4%)
3	59 (16.8%)
4	71 (20.2%)
5	89 (25.4%)
Total	351 (100%)

[2] Hypercatalexis, i.e., hypermetricality, the occurrence in poetry of lines longer than the formal norm. Three terms from classical scansion are used in this thesis: catalexis/catalectic, referring to short lines; acatalexis/acatalectic, referring to normal lines; and hypercatalexis/hypercatalectic, for long lines.

lines. Of the remaining three, line-initial vowels are indeed most common in fourth lines, and rarest in second lines. These data, interpreted in the light of what I present in Chapter Five, make a strong case for treating each line of the *tanka* as semi-independent, prosodically speaking. It may be that caesurae were observed at the end of each line, not only at the break between the *kami-no ku* and the *shimo-no ku*. If there is any notable trend in the data for lines to group together, it is first lines with second lines, due to the small number of line-initial vowels seen in second lines.

2.2.1 MAN'YŌSHŪ BOOK XIV – THE AZUMA UTA

The so-called "Azuma Uta", the songs of the east, are an interesting set of verses, quite diverse in topic and quality, though very regular in form – so regular that it one is forced to assume that some or all of the poems were heavily edited at some point. What form they may have had originally – were they portions of folk ballads? love chants recited at fertility festivals? or genuine short-lyric compositions by part-time poets? – cannot be known from the surviving evidence. The Azuma Uta as such are all written in the *tanka* form, and apart from a rather high occurrence of *apparent* hypercatalexis, they are typical of that form's conventions. Almost nothing is known for sure about who composed them ('compose' may not even be the right word in many cases), when or how they were collected, or how they came to be in the present arrangement.

All of the Azuma Uta are found in Book XIV of the *Man'yōshū*. In total, there are 230 principal poems, eight full variants, and nineteen odd lines, for a total of 1,209 lines of verse. The entire content of the book is held to be composed in Eastern Old Japanese, although many poems apparently do not exhibit any dialect features; in such cases, the authenticity of the 'Eastern' origin of the poems must be questioned. All the poems are anonymous, and apart from the text of the poems and, in some cases, *katakana* reading glosses, no other information is provided in the manuscripts besides provincial divisions and a handful of typographical emendations (I discuss manuscript evidence in greater detail in section 2.3 below). Of the 230 principal poems, only ninety are attributed to specific provinces; the remaining 140 are of unknown origin. The wording used to describe these latter poems is interesting; written in *kanbun*, it says:

> 以前歌詞未得勘知國土山川之名也
> 'As for the preceding lyrics, they are ones for which the names of the provinces, mountains, and rivers cannot yet be ascertained.'

Of course it is unclear whether this comment existed in the earliest versions of the *Man'yōshū*, which are no longer extant, or if it was added in later manuscript copies. Still, it seems to hint something about the editorial method employed: it is possible that the regional origins of the poems in Book XIV were not recorded at the same time as the poems were collected, and that they were grouped into the present categories by later editors on the basis of recognizable place names. The content of the poems does appear to confirm this hypothesis: place names are rare in the unsorted poems, and those that do appear are usually singular, and therefore likely unusual – it is reasonable to assume that editors in the capital at Nara, or editors working several hundred years after the initial

anthologizing, would be unable to recognize some of the local place names, and so be unable to sort the poems. Those poems which lack any geographic reference would be impossible to place unless they had been sorted as they were collected. While it is possible that an initially well-organized collection became disorganized in time, I think it is more likely that the poems were never sorted by province until long after their initial recording. Given these doubts, it would be wise to treat the provincial attributions in Book XIV with skepticism – they were likely added by a later hand, and not by the man or men responsible for the initial collection; or if they were done by the same man, we can assume at least that the provincial origins were not recorded at the same time as the poems, and that the editor was working from memory or from knowledge of place names.

As can be seen in Table 2.1, the distribution of poems by province is very uneven – Izu, for example, is represented by one poem (one verse from Suruga also contains the place name Izu), and Shimotsuke by two, while Sagamu is represented by fifteen and Kamitsuke by a whopping twenty-five verses. Hino's regions A and C are very poorly represented in this text, with only five and eight verses respectively. This unequal treatment, coupled with the problems listed above, makes it especially difficult to use Book XIV as a primary source for dialect division work.

There are further issues surrounding the origins and design of the Azuma Uta text. As Book XIV, it is placed after some of the other major 'anonymous' sections of the *Man'yōshū*, Books X, XI, XII, and XIII, although these books are written largely with semantograms, while Book XIV is written mostly with phonograms. This orthographic convention may merely be a result of its 'dialectal' nature – a desire to preserve as much of its phonetic color as possible given the limitations of the writing system – or it may indicate that a different editorial hand worked on the book, or that a different tradition of manuscript copying is responsible for the surviving text. The compiler is unknown, and cannot be guessed with any certainly, though several theories have been put forward: Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is a likely candidate – he served as a governor of Etchū Province for five years, which would have brought him far enough east, perhaps, to have been able to collect the poems through various proxies, and he was apparently very interested in the Eastern dialect songs of the *sakimori* (discussed below). On the other hand, why didn't Yakamochi collect any dialect poems from Etchū, where he was actually living? Was the dialect insufficiently distinct from Central Old Japanese to attract his attention? Or was it already typical in the eighth century to treat the residents of the Kantō Region as a distinct sub-culture, something that he would have seen as especially interesting or worthy of preservation?

Takahashi-no Mushimaro (early to mid eighth century?), a rather mysterious – almost unknown – figure, is also often credited with editorship, owing to the fact that he had served in some minor capacity in the government of the province of Hitachi, and apparently had a great affection for local folklore traditions – many legends and colorful stories are attached to his poems. Several other theories are mentioned by Mizushima (1996: 8-9), but they are just as impossible to prove as the Mushimaro and Yakamochi theories, and are perhaps less likely.

How the poems were collected is also a mystery. Whoever the mastermind may have been, he was almost certainly assisted by many minor scribes and other sorts of go-betweens. Ideally for us, their method would have been to send a scribe to the various

local festivals to make records of the songs as they were recited, or to visit the local poets and receive their verses; this is, alas, very unlikely to have been the case. A more probable method would have been to gather poems from a handful of sources, most likely officials in the provincial or district governments, or, somewhat better, from a few comparatively uneducated local sources. Even this may have happened only in certain cases, while most other poems could have been recorded on the basis of hearsay or otherwise gathered second- and third-hand. Such methods could even have been employed from within the capital or its environs: poems could have been reported by officials returning from provincial appointments, or could have been elicited from travelers heading west out of Azuma (thus, *sakimori* – the most periodically predictable mass of eastern travelers, two-thousand of whom would have passed through the port of Naniwa each year – might have been the source of most of the Azuma Uta).

When the Azuma Uta were first recorded is almost as mysterious, though one of the poems (3399) seems to be datable: in a verse attributed to Shinano province, a girl encourages her husband or lover to put on boots before he departs, to protect his feet from the stumps and ruts left in the 'newly opened' road of Shinano, which is known to have been under construction from 702 to 713 (Mizushima 1996: 108). Whether these dates are representative of the whole of Book XIV is unknown, and is perhaps unlikely. These years certainly preceded Yakamochi's time as governor of Etchū, though of course the poem could have been recorded earlier and finally presented to him, or the verse may have become part of a folk song and survived in recitation for several decades before finally being recorded – or the reference to the "road of Shinano" may be entirely spurious, an alteration introduced by a latter editor.

Book XIV is arranged primarily by genre, secondly by province, and then further divided by imagery, though the major bifurcation of the text is into poems of known provenance and poems of for which no provincial origins were known. The first ninety poems are those which were attributed to specific provinces; they are organized first by genre, and then within each genre by province: three genres are represented, *zōka* (public poems; in the present case, these are mostly on the topics of travel and nature, although many loves poems are also included), *sōmonka* (erotic and love poetry), and *hiyuka* (similes and analogical poems). Of these, *sōmonka* are the most common: seventy-six are found here, with only five *zōka* and nine *hiyuka*. The proportions are the same with the poems of unknown province; all together these comprise seventeen *zōka*, one-hundred and twelve *sōmonka*, five *hiyuka*, one *banka* (elegiac verse), plus five other poems identified as *sakimori-uta* (two of these are further identified as constituting a *mondō* (question-and-answer) exchange between a husband and wife). These five *sakimori* poems certainly fit the conventions for that genre, though it is impossible to know if they were composed by actual *sakimori* or not.

The third-tier division by metaphor or poetic image is hard to notice, since the first two levels of the organization are for the most part sufficient; however, in the case of the one-hundred and twelve *sōmonka* of unknown province, a distinct pattern can be seen, comparable to that found in other books of the *Man'yōshū*:

3455 – 3480: Miscellaneous topics (26)
(secret trysts, fear of rumors, worry over absent lovers, etc.)

3481 – 3484: Robes and sashes (4)
(more 'attire' poems are found in the preceding miscellaneous section)
3485 – 3487, 3489 – 3490: Swords and bows (5)
(3488)
3491 – 3495: Trees (5)
(3496)
3497 – 3509: Herbs, Vines, Grasses, Reeds, and plant products (13)
3510 – 3520: Clouds and mountain peaks (11)
3521 – 3528: Birds (8)
3529 – 3531: Wild animals (3)
3532 – 3542: Horses (11)
3543 – 3549: Rivers and marshes (7)
3550 – 3554: Waves, tides, and other sorts of moving water (5)
3555 – 3559: Boats and ships (5)
3560 – 3561: Dirt, fields, etc. (2)
3562 – 3563: Seaweed (2)
3564 – 3566: Miscellaneous topics (3)

Poems 3488 and 3496 appear to be out of order, since they have no similarity of content or imagery with any of the poems that precede or follow; but pardoning these two exceptions, the pattern is quite clear and rather typical of its time.

To reiterate, basically nothing is known of the scribe(s), selector(s) and editor(s) of the Azuma Uta, and we can only speculate about their (I will use only the plural pronoun for convenience) motives and methods based on the surviving evidence of Book XIV. How they collected the poems, how they recorded them at the time, and how they selected them for inclusion are a mystery. Many more songs were probably rejected, and probably many that we have were edited both for content and for meter. Nonetheless, many poems survived the editors' brushes with at least some of their unique dialect features intact: were these that remain, then, wholly intelligible to the educated classes in Nara? were they considered to impart a suitably rustic tone? Why would the editors leave some features intact but revise others? At the same time, while speculating about the editor's motives, we should consider to what degree the editors or compilers were even aware of their work: many 'minor,' mutually-intelligible dialect features may have been brushed away unawares, as the scribe or scribes recorded the poems for the first time. If any poems or songs were submitted by native Easterners, what would they have been like? – would they have shown more or fewer dialect features? Did the compilers of these poems seek out, like a modern dialectologist, the least educated classes, women, and older speakers? or were their primary sources all men who worked in the provincial government offices? There are a these and a thousand questions more that want answers, that will likely never get them.

The full texts of the 230 Azuma Uta, with variants, are provided in Appendix A.

2.2.2 MAN'YŌSHŪ BOOK XX – THE SAKIMORI UTA

The second major source of Eastern Old Japanese is also found in the *Man'yōshū* anthology, in the final piece of that work, Book XX. The entire book contains 224 poems, but of these, only ninety-three are attributed to actual *sakimori*, soldiers who in the eighth century were all conscripts from the Azuma region, serving to guard the northern face of Kyūshū and Tsushima against possible foreign incursions.[3] Apart from these, the majority of the poems in Book XX were composed by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi, many in the genre of *sakimori-uta*, though the manuscripts clearly indicate the poems were composed by Yakamochi. Since only the ninety-three 'authentic' Sakimori Uta are of interest to me in this paper, I will limit my discussion to these.

In contrast to the Azuma Uta, the Sakimori Uta appear to be far more rigidly organized. Although it is merely a poetic convention, all these poems are considered to belong to a single category, the *sakimori-uta*, which contains two basic thematic classes: (1) poems of sadness at parting from parents, lovers, and in a few cases, children; (2) poems about military action, or of pride to be summoned by imperial command. Verses of the first class are far more common. Within Book XX, the Sakimori Uta are organized simply by province, and all the poems attributed to a given province are recorded together – unlike in Book XIV, where the primary organization by genre interrupts the continuity of the regional groupings.

The vast majority of the Sakimori Uta (eighty-four out of ninety-three) are attributed to specific named authors; in many cases, an indication of the author's rank or official status is also provided. The organizational apparatus goes further: many of the *sakimori* are said to be from specific districts (*köpori* 郡) within their respective provinces; if we trust this report, it provides even more valuable evidence for placing the poems within quite specific geographical areas. For example, two of the poems associated with *sakimori* from Kamitsufusa province actually cite districts that were in Awa prefecture, which lies immediately to the south of Kamitsufusa, and which is otherwise unrepresented in the corpus – though occasional bureaucratic reshuffling of the districts may also be responsible for their placement in this text.

The nine anonymous poems included in Book XX are attributed to "*sakimori* of bygone years"; how much older these poems may have been is unclear, but since one-third of the standing contingent of three-thousand men was cycled out of service every year, to be replaced by fresh recruits, these verses may be no older than the non-anonymous poems, practically – or linguistically – speaking. Three of them appear to have been composed by women, or more likely by men writing in the guise of women. There are also a handful of poems that are formally attributed to relatives of *sakimori*: in one case to a father (4347, from Kamitsufusa), and among the poems of Musashi province are several unique verses, six of which are recorded as wives' poems to their husbands. In these six cases, both the *sakimori*'s names and names of their wives are recorded. In the Hitachi section, there are three *sakimori* for whom two poems apiece are recorded: these are the only explicit examples in the corpus of multiple poems coming from a single creative source.

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[3] According to the *Nihon Shoki*, *sakimori* were first recruited in 562 C.E., after the Federation of Kaya (Mimana) on the Korean Peninsula was annexed by Silla. After 795, the *sakimori* system was eliminated by the central government (Kitamura 1983: 2).

Dating of the Sakimori Uta does not appear to be at all problematic, especially in comparison to the temporal anonymity of the Azuma Uta. All of the poems are said to have been collected "in the Second Month of the Seventh Year of Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝," which corresponds to 755 C.E. in the Western calendar. Each provincial group of poems is further recorded as having been submitted on a specific day of that second month, allowing us to date each of the Sakimori Uta to the day, though of course one should exercise doubt in these matters: to a thoroughgoing skeptic, the dates could be as imaginary as the *sakimori* poets. There is, however, no particular reason to doubt the year date, and the specific days of submission are unimportant to linguistic analysis.

A more important kind of skepticism is in regard to authorship and authenticity. As mentioned above, Ōtomo-no Yakamochi composed many poems in the genre of *sakimori-uta*, and it is possible that he or others may have produced some or all of the 'authentic' Sakimori Uta as well, using many pseudonyms for the sake of the charade. Nonetheless, the frequency of dialect features is strong evidence that most of the Sakimori Uta were composed by speakers of Eastern Old Japanese, though as with the Azuma Uta, there is still much that is not clear in their manufacture. For example, how and where the Sakimori Uta were initially recorded is still unknown; the text of the manuscripts says all the poems of a given province were "submitted" en masse by an officer of that province, suggesting that the poems had already been written down at that time, perhaps by the officers, or more likely by some scribes in the employ of the Office of the Guard (*Sakimori-no Tsukasa* 防人官) in Dazaifu, or by other government scribes or officials, if the poems were recorded at Naniwa or somewhere near the capital. I believe the latter possibility is more likely: Yakamochi was posted in the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Hyōbushō* 兵部省) at Naniwa in 755, and would have had the opportunity for direct contact with the two groups of *sakimori* being sent in and out of Kyūshū each year as the troops were transported by ship from the port at Naniwa to Dazaifu and back. The fact that dialect features appear more frequently, proportionally speaking, among the Sakimori Uta than among the Azuma Uta suggests that the former were subjected to fewer revisions, and possibly that fewer stages of transmission separate between the initial recording and the earliest surviving manuscripts.

There is further indication in the manuscripts of the editorial method employed for the Sakimori Uta: for each province, the total number of poems that were submitted is recorded, and sometimes also the number that were rejected. In no case did the editor(s) accept every poem that was submitted from a province, and some provinces obviously had far more of their total submission accepted. Mizushima Yoshiharu has produced a convenient table showing the number of accepted and rejected poems by province, and their respective acceptance rates (1996: 39). Interestingly, the two westernmost provinces of Shinano and Tōtōmi had comparatively low acceptance rates – Shinano's was the lowest of all, only 25%, and Tōtōmi was the fourth lowest, at 38.9%. In contrast, the two Region A provinces had the highest rates: 68.4% for Kamitsufusa, and 61.1% for Shimotsuke. I cannot say whether this is merely coincidence or a sign that Yakamochi or other (presumably early) editors were most interested in poems from that region; it may be that most of the poems from the western provinces were written in Central Old Japanese and that, when compared against the standards of the capital, they were found wanting, while the poems from the eastern provinces – composed in Eastern Old

Japanese – were held to a different standard, or were even sought out for their linguistic oddity, read quaintness. Again, the higher density of Eastern dialect features among the Sakimori Uta may indicate that they were selected with a bias *towards* dialect.

The full texts of the ninety-three Sakimori Uta are provided in Appendix B.

2.2.3 HITACHI FUDOKI

The third and last major source of Eastern Old Japanese is the *Hitachi Fudoki*, a "gazetteer" containing a variety of information about the province: its inhabitants, places of economic or scenic interest, religious and other festivals, etymologies of place names, personal lineages, and associated myths and other stories. According to the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (797 C.E.), the imperial government at Nara decreed in 713 that all provincial governments produce such records, which later came to be called *Fudoki* (Aoki 1997: 1-2). Of the documents produced under this command, only five survive in more than fragments: the *Izumo Fudoki*, which was submitted in 733, survives in full; the *Harima Fudoki* and *Hitachi Fudoki* are missing major portions of the text, and the *Bungo Fudoki* and *Hizen Fudoki* are even more abbreviated. In the case of the *Hitachi Fudoki* – the only one of interest in this paper – descriptions of entire districts are missing, and many of those that exist are truncated at various points. The oldest surviving *Hitachi Fudoki* manuscript itself contains notes telling where material was abbreviated or completely removed, indicating that the text we have was a reduced version likely copied for some special purpose.

As is to be expected of a formal government document, the *Hitachi Fudoki* was composed mainly in Classical Chinese; Japanese was used only for writing place and personal names, and for recording a handful of traditional songs. Since I am primarily interested in syntactic and morphological features of Eastern Old Japanese, rather than in orthography or phonology, I have elected to examine for this paper only the poems, not the transcriptions of proper names. Specifically, the extant portions of *Hitachi Fudoki* contain nine poems and their associated stories, related to four districts. Of these, five appear to be perfect *tanka* (poems 1, 4, 5, 7, 8); another is perfect save for an apparently catalectic third line of three syllables (poem 6). Two poems from the district of Tsukuba are written in an odd meter: one of them (number 3) works perfectly as a six-line poem of 5-4-5-7-3-5 (Aoki reads it as five lines 5-4-5-7-9, conflating the last two lines[4]), though its partner (number 2) is difficult – Akimoto Kichirō reads it in the same way as poem 3, six lines of 5-4-5-7-3-5 (Akimoto 1958: 42-43), while Vovin, presumably following Tsuchihashi, reads the poem as five lines 5-4-5-8-7 (2005: 297, and personal communication). Both readings seem problematic to me, though the latter works better with the text as it now stands. Either way, the text of poem 2 and perhaps also poem 3 appears to be partially corrupt. Poem 9 of *Hitachi Fudoki* is highly corrupt and very

[4] She has also increased the syllable count by taking the character 也 as a phonogram that is to be read as the last syllable of the poem. She adopts this reading in poems 2 and 8 as well. Although 也 is written with a small character in the manuscript (used throughout for transcribing Japanese words), I believe this is a Chinese word representing the Old Japanese copula *nari*. As such, it should not be read as part of the poem, but as a device for offsetting the poem from the main text, e.g., 'and the song goes…' albeit – following the norm for Japanese grammar – it comes *after* the poem rather than before.

likely abbreviated, as the text at present is nearly indecipherable. Most authors break it into five lines of 5-6-6-7-3, though such a meter is, I think, unprecedented – of course, it is very likely that one or more lines are missing from the end of the poem.

All of the 'poems' recorded in *Hitachi Fudoki* are essentially folksongs, likely passed down in an oral tradition for perhaps many decades or even centuries. This tradition of recitation or singing may account for the unusual meters found here, and the age of the verses may also be a factor. Two of the poems were said to have been composed at a boating party, and may be more recent than the others. Four poems appear to be connected with *utagaki*, courtship festivals where men and women would, ostensibly, exchange verses and sometimes vows, and have various sexual encounters on the mountainside. Three others are connected to myths or otherwise have a ritual significance.

As described above, the linguistic evidence contained in *Hitachi Fudoki* is very problematic. Although I have included its nine poems in my corpus, I use the data reluctantly. A complete English version of the extant portions of *Hitachi Fudoki*, including the poems, is available in Michiko Aoki's translation of the five old Fudoki (1997). The full texts of the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki* can be found in Appendix C.

2.3 MANUSCRIPT CONSIDERATIONS

Since the 1980's, scholars of Eastern Old Japanese have been blessed by the remarkably thorough manuscript studies of Mizushima Yoshiharu (1983b). Although covering only Book XIV of the *Man'yōshū*, his book *Man'yōshū Azuma-Uta Honbun Kenkyū narabi ni Sōsakuin* (see Chapter Three for a complete description of this work) supplies in one place photographic reproductions of all the early manuscript evidence for the Azuma Uta, and an analysis that brings to light every orthographic and editorial variation that is to be found in these sources. Until electronic graphics of the manuscripts are made available, and an electronic concordance built, this work will remain the defining manuscript study in Eastern Old Japanese, and the first resource for any subsequent work in the field.

2.3.1 MAN'YŌSHŪ

The oldest surviving manuscripts of any *Man'yōshū* materials date from the mid Heian period (794–1185); however, these very early manuscripts do not contain any materials from either Books XIV or XX. The first extant manuscript to provide evidence for Eastern Old Japanese is the Genryaku Kōhon 元暦校本, believed to have been completed in the first year of Genryaku, 1184, during the reign of emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽 (1180-1239, r. 1183-1198). The text remaining to us is incomplete; fifteen books, including Book XIV and Book XX, are substantially represented. Since it is labeled as a '*kōhon* 校本,' or 'collated copy,' we presume the Genryaku manuscript is a collation of earlier manuscripts, now lost – though of course the same is likely true of all the *Man'yōshū* manuscripts discussed here. There are several other late Heian manuscripts for which only a handful of poems remain; of these, the Tenji-Bon 天治本 is the only one to give us any additional Eastern Old Japanese evidence: namely, a handful of poems from Book

XIV. Dating from about the same period or slightly later, the Ruijū Koshū 類聚古集 includes the full text of Book XIV, though Book XX is incomplete.

The next of the old manuscripts, the Nishi Honganji-Bon 西本願寺本, dates from the late Kamakura period (1185-1333). The entire text has survived, albeit copied by two distinct hands. Books XIV and XX are whole, and were copied by the same scribe. The Nishi Honganji manuscript, then, is the main source for most research in Eastern Old Japanese, including the present study. It is the most thoroughly researched manuscript, at least with respect to the Eastern Old Japanese portions, and is readily available in reproductions (in addition to Mizushima's books, there is the nearly folio-sized color reprint edition of 1933, supervised by Sasaki Nobutsuna and Takeda Yūkichi). The texts I used in my studies (provided in Appendices A and B) are based entirely on the text of the Nishi Honganji manuscript, and reproduce its occasional faults, though I have in all cases noted instances of apparent miscopying, mistaken character order, and so on.

One other old manuscript, the Kishū-Bon 紀州本, usually referred to as the Kanda-Bon 神田本, is also complete, though the two halves of the work were done at different times: Books I through X in the late Kamakura, and XI through XX sometime in the Muromachi period (1392-1573). This text, along with the relevant intact portions of the Ruijū Koshū and the Genryaku manuscript, provide the main comparative materials against which the Nishi Honganji manuscript can be tested for accuracy in copying. Almost all of the accepted modern emendations to the Nishi Honganji version of the texts of Book XIV and Book XX are based on one or more of these three sources.

There are many later manuscripts and woodblock prints of all or portions of the *Man'yōshū* dating from the Muromachi, the Azuchi-Momoyama (1573-1598) and the Edo periods (1600-1867). Some of these are straight copies of the earlier manuscripts, some are collations, and many record the text of the poems entirely in *kana*, making them next to worthless for proper study of the Old Japanese language. Since the earlier manuscripts are generally in agreement, orthographically, there is rarely a need to consult these later manuscripts and prints.

2.3.2 HITACHI FUDOKI

Among the five old Fudoki that survive in large portions, the *Hitachi Fudoki* manuscripts are some of the most difficult to date. The earliest copy of *Harima Fudoki* has been dated to the late Heian period, and *Hizen Fudoki* is believed to date from the period of the northern and southern courts (1336-1392). Manuscripts of both the *Izumo Fudoki* and *Bungo Fudoki* survive from 1297, the date borne in their colophons (Aoki 1997: 25-27). The oldest manuscript of *Hitachi Fudoki*, the Kaga-Bon, dates from sometime before the seventeenth century. It was copied twice in the Edo period (in 1678 and 1693), and these two copies are the foundation of the modern critical edition of *Hitachi Fudoki* produced by Akimoto Kichirō in 1958 (volume two of the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* 日本古典文学大系). Lacking any access to manuscript reproductions, I have relied on Akimoto's text of the poems in my study.

Chapter 3
Literature Review

3.1 WORKS WRITTEN IN JAPANESE

The tradition of historical Japanese language study in Japan is strong, and has produced numerous works in both the native style of philological investigation (i.e., *kokugogaku* 国語学), and in linguistics. Although it is typical of many grammars and dictionaries to mix data and examples from Old and Middle (that is, Classical) Japanese together, there are several important works on Old Japanese that avoid this tendency, being devoted more or less exclusively to the study and description of the language of the Nara period and earlier. Several of these are described below. Of reference books in this category, the most useful is the volume on Old Japanese in the *Jidai-betsu Kokugo Daijiten* 時代別国語大辞典 series, edited by Omodaka Hisataka et al., and published in 1967. This is a dictionary devoted specially to Old Japanese, and as such, it includes several features often wanting in dictionaries of Classical Japanese, such as showing vowel-type in the headword, and limiting definitions to usages that are known to have been current before the Heian period; many entries also include philological and etymological discussion.

3.1.1 GRAMMARS OF OLD JAPANESE

The first 'modern' grammar to properly distinguish Old from Middle Japanese is by Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄, *Nara-chō Bunpō Shi* 奈良朝文法史 (History of the Grammar of the Nara Period), first published in 1913 and reissued with revisions in 1954. Yamada's treatment of features is generally even throughout, with particularly thorough coverage for verbs and various types of auxiliary words. Yamada does note the distinction between Central and Eastern Old Japanese, and includes a chapter presenting some of the unique morphological properties of the eastern dialects. The largest part of his discussion of these dialects is concerned with the unique negative marker *-anap-* and the "negative-locative" compound *-na-na*; he also presents examples of the unique Eastern Old Japanese verbal attributive suffix *-o* and adjectival attributive suffix *-ke*. Little discussion accompanies his examples. Because the first edition of *Nara-chō Bunpō Shi* was published before Hashimoto Shinkichi's "rediscovery" of the Type-A/Type-B vowel distinctions in 1917, Yamada does not make mention of the frequent misspelling observed in the Eastern Old Japanese texts, and he mentions only a couple of the many consonant and vowel alternations.

Throughout the text, Yamada frequently uses examples from the Azuma Uta and Sakimori Uta, and even from the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki*, to exemplify features of Central Old Japanese. (Although he cites *Hitachi Fudoki* in the main body of his grammar, he does not mention it at all in the chapter devoted to Eastern Old Japanese.) This habit of mixing data from heterogeneous dialect sources is seen, albeit with lesser frequency, in all later Old Japanese grammars, including Shirafuji's recent book (1987). Yamada evidently believed that he could distinguish when Eastern Old Japanese texts

were reflecting features shared with Central Old Japanese, and when they were evincing unique attributes, for he wrote in his first chapter (1954: 21; my translation):

> The Azuma Uta and Sakimori Uta are found in Books XIV and XX of the *Man'yōshū*. It appears that they use elements of an eastern dialect from the Kantō Region of that time. Parts of the poems are in the standard language [i.e., Central Old Japanese], and other parts are in dialect. The standard portions are presented in the main body of the text, while the dialect elements are given separately at the end [in a special chapter].

But I think this practice is scholastically dangerous. It is difficult to prove that apparently similar or identical features are in fact cognate, and even if they are, that should only be taken as evidence of shared ancestry. One would still have to prove that the cognate forms are fulfilling exactly identical roles in the two dialects, and the data to do so would have to be gathered independently from their various sources and only *then* compared. Being distinct dialects, I do not believe that Eastern Old Japanese texts should be cited as exemplifying linguistic features of Central Old Japanese, though such comparisons may be very useful when studying the historical variety of Old Japanese, or for tracing back certain forms or constructions through history and into prehistory.

Old Japanese grammar received more attention in 1950 with the publication of a book titled *Nara Jidai no Kokugo* 奈良時代の国語 (The Japanese Language of the Nara Period), written by Saeki Umetomo 佐伯梅友. In some respects, this is more of a "handbook" than a full grammar, as it is very short and therefore rather abbreviated in many parts. Nonetheless, in its treatment of Eastern Old Japanese, it is a substantial improvement over Yamada's work. Although verses from *Man'yōshū* Books XIV and XX are still cited throughout to exemplify 'Old Japanese' features, they are far fewer than in Yamada. Like that earlier book, a separate chapter is set aside to discuss Eastern Old Japanese, but Saeki's handling of the dialect features is more balanced: he spends far more space discussing consonant and vowel alternations, and phonology in general. Oddly enough, however (for a book published in 1950) Saeki does not mention even once the frequent Type-A/Type-B misspellings found in the Eastern corpus. His discussion of the unique features of Eastern morphology directly follows Yamada, though Saeki also presents examples of the Eastern progressive verbal marker *-ar-*, which the former did not include. Outside of his discussion of Eastern Old Japanese, Saeki's handling of predicating words is much shorter than Yamada; on the other hand, his contribution to the elucidation of the Old Japanese lexicon is more impressive, and he devotes whole chapters to "Foreign Loanwords" and "Honorifics."

The most recent Old Japanese grammar of note is also titled *Nara Jidai no Kokugo* 奈良時代の国語. Written by Shirafuji Noriyuki 白藤禮幸, it was published in 1987 as the second volume in a series of historical studies of grammar, orthography, and language usage, titled *Kokugogaku Sōsho* 国語学叢書 (Works in Japanese Philology). Like Saeki's earlier grammar, this is a small book with comparatively less citation of data than is found in Yamada. After a brief overview of the history of the Nara period, Shirafuji includes chapters on textual sources, orthography, phonology, grammar, and the lexicon; besides these, he also discusses the literary styles or conventional means of

expression that are employed in certain Old Japanese texts, and concludes with a brief chapter on dialects that unfortunately adds little to the work of Saeki and Yamada, to say nothing of the more dedicated studies addressed below. Nonetheless, in this chapter, Shirafuji becomes the first scholar to mention in a general grammar the dialect material contained in *Hitachi Fudoki*. His presentation of Eastern Old Japanese grammar and morphology is even more limited that Saeki's, and adds nothing to the field. His treatment of phonology is more thorough, and roughly half the chapter is taken up by a list of vowel and consonant alternations, though again no mention is made of Type-A/Type-B misspellings. The entire book suffers from a reliance on *kana* spelling in its examples, in contrast to the older grammars that presented their examples in *man'yōgana*.

3.1.2 WORKS DEVOTED TO EASTERN OLD JAPANESE

The most active scholar working in the field of Eastern Old Japanese is Mizushima Yoshiharu 水島義治, who over the last thirty years has produced numerous articles and several books all dedicated to the study of the eastern dialects. His *magnum opus* is the *Man'yōshū Azuma Uta no Kokugogaku-teki Kenkyū* 万葉集東歌の国語学的研究 (Philological Studies of the Azuma Uta in the *Man'yōshū*), published in 1983. Included in its pages are some of the most valuable materials available anywhere for research into Eastern Old Japanese, though of course, all is data is gathered from Book XIV only. Mizushima's studies here are divided into four parts: (1) orthography; (2) grammar and usage; (3) dialectological problems, relating primarily to how data should be organized and what exactly it evinces; and (4) a rather shorter section, comprising speculations on the sources and formation of the eastern dialects. Mizushima attempts to treat each issue more or less exhaustively, so naturally there is much overlap in the presentation of data between this and his previous, as well as later, works, including several tables that are reproduced verbatim from Mizushima 1972; the author is so fond of presenting data in tabular form – and tables play an especially prominent role in this book – that they are found on nearly every other page. For example, of the chapter of most interest to the present study, that on grammar, roughly seventy-percent of its pages are tables, including exhaustive word lists, divided up according to part of speech, and then further subdivided according to form – for example, verbs and adjectives are cited according to the traditional 'six-bases' long used in *Kokugogaku*-style investigations. Such tables and other indices are of inestimable value to scholarship, though of course they may soon be superceded by cheaper and more accessible electronic resources, including online lexica and concordances.

Published a month later as a sister volume to the above is Mizushima's *Man'yōshū Azuma Uta Honbun Kenkyū narabi ni Sōsakuin* 万葉集東歌本文研究並びに総索引 (A Study of the Source Texts of the Azuma Uta, with accompanying General Indices). It is a remarkably exhaustive investigation of the historical manuscripts, printed editions, and more recent critical studies and commentaries of Book XIV (it contains no materials relating to Book XX). Roughly half the bulk of the work is the textual study, which includes for each poem (1) photographic reproductions of the key *man'yōgana*-based historical manuscripts and printed sources, (2) typeset copies of the text of other anthologies or editions of historical note – such as the *Kokin Waka Rokujō* 古今和歌六

帖 and Sengaku's 仙覚 (1203~1272) *Man'yōshū Chūshaku* 万葉集注釈 – and, as the centerpiece of the study, (3) tables comparing every orthographic distinction (in both the *man'yōgana* spelling and in the reading glosses) found in the source texts, and every variant reading found in the various twentieth century commentaries and standard editions. Such exhaustive treatment has produced a work of tremendous value both for the elucidation of the poems themselves, and for the study of manuscript copying traditions and sources.

The second half of the book comprises various reference materials, indices and tables. The principal components are: (1) a *man'yōgana*-based reading text with glosses, and a separate *kunbun* 訓文 (a reading text in 'modernized' orthography, i.e., using mixed *kanji* and *kana*); (2) separate tables for each of five modern editions of Book XIV, listing every *man'yōgana* character found in the texts, with citations for every occurrence of the character, divided up by provincial origins of the cited poems, where known; (3) a concordance, with accompanying tables citing every instance of every word, divided up by provincial origin, plus a separate list of supposed dialect forms; (4) finally, a verse look-up index, allowing one to locate a poem by any line.

The most popular and accessible of Mizushima's works is his annotated edition of the Azuma Uta and Sakimori Uta, titled appropriately *Kōchū Man'yōshū Azuma Uta Sakimori Uta* 校註万葉集東歌・防人歌, first published in 1972, in an expanded edition in 1974, and again in a new revised edition in 1985. The most recent reissuing was in 1996, and that is the edition cited throughout this paper. The book can be neatly divided into four parts: (1) introductory discussion; (2) annotated reading text; (3) manuscript reproductions; and (4) indices and tables. The majority of the discussion and tabular data in parts one and four are similar to what can be found in his *Man'yōshū Azuma Uta no Kokugogaku-teki Kenkyū*, albeit much reduced. Many of the tables found in the first edition are substantially revised in the more recent editions published since 1985, to match the data gathered in his other studies. The manuscript reproductions are similar to those in the previous book, although the 1985 edition features reproductions of the Sakimori Uta as well, missing from the previous editions and from the *Honbun Kenkyū* volume. The annotated text is the most important part of the book; it includes a reconstructed *man'yōgana* text (based on the Nishi Honganji manuscript, with revisions drawn from multiple sources) and modernized texts on facing pages, with content annotations in the upper margin, and orthographic and reading annotations in the lower margin. Because of the thoroughness and convenience of Mizushima's treatment in this book, it was my primary resource in constructing the *Man'yōshū* data sets used in my study (that is, the data found in Appendices A and B). In his introductory discussion, Mizushima does touch upon most areas of interest in Eastern Old Japanese, though his presentation of the phonology is mostly concerned with Type-A/Type-B misspellings rather than with other types of alternations. Although much reduced from his work in the 1985 volumes, the treatment given to Eastern Old Japanese syntax and morphology in these pages is still superior in both volume and quality of analysis to that of Yamada, Saeki, and Shirafuji, though when compared to the first two of these, at least, Mizushima has the advantage of writing after the works of Fukuda and Hōjō, to be discussed next.

The earliest book that I am aware of to be devoted entirely to the subject of Eastern Old Japanese was published in 1965, the work of Fukuda Yoshisuke 福田良輔,

titled *Nara Jidai Tōgoku-Hōgen no Kenkyū* 奈良時代東国方言の研究 (Studies in the Eastern Dialects of the Nara Period). It is a thick volume, figuratively, that in contrast to the works of Mizushima discussed above, and Hōjō's study below, is heavy on discussion, with very little of the 'unremarked data' often found in the those works. Fukuda does a good job of giving equal treatment to most aspects of Eastern Old Japanese, with major sections on grammar and phonology, and a shorter chapter on lexicon. Phonology, however, does receive the most careful attention, and Fukuda's analyses in this area are the most original aspect of his book. He also includes over a hundred pages of discussion on the historical, anthropological, and archeological evidence relating to the ancient Kantō Region. Thus, in contrast to Hōjō and Mizushima, who have produced what I would label as reference books on the language of eastern Japan in the eight century, Fukuda's book is a series of highly focused, well-argued studies on specific topics, with relatively little general information or raw data.

Jōdai Tōgoku-Hōgen no Kenkyū 上代東国方言の研究 (Studies in the Ancient Eastland Dialects), by Hōjō Tadao 北条忠雄, published in 1966 – a year after Fukuda – was the second book to be devoted wholly to the Eastern Old Japanese language. In many respects, it is one of the best: it is very balanced in its presentation, and noticeably more data-oriented than Fukuda's work. Grammar receives perhaps less attention than other topics, but phonology, script, and sources are all discussed in great detail, and phonology in particular is given a more comprehensive review by Hōjō than by any other author. In a manner of speaking, Hōjō produced a reference work to all the major issues in Eastern Old Japanese that he was aware of, and included reams of data to boot (often exhaustive on a given topic), though I feel that discussion of the data and its apparent patterns is often lacking. Mizushima is likely preferable because of his superior organization and presentation of data, and the simple fact that he is writing more recently: however, I find that *Jōdai Tōgoku-Hōgen no Kenkyū* is often faster to consult on any particular issue, making it the more convenient reference. Hōjō was also the first author reviewed here to examine the modern Hachijōjima dialect in its relation to Eastern Old Japanese. His breadth and balance in treating the Azuma Uta, the Sakimori Uta, and *Hitachi Fudoki* are useful in contrast to the focus of Mizushima's two major works, both of which are based entirely on data from Book XIV.

3.2 WORKS WRITTEN IN ENGLISH

Unlike the study of the eastern dialects in Japan, which has undergone a remarkable flurry of interest in the second half of the twentieth century, and which has, for such a small volume of primary source material, produced an impressive number of world-class investigations, little interest has been shown towards these poems by Western scholars. While almost every translation and anthology that includes *Man'yōshū* poetry does make mention of the Azuma Uta and Sakimori Uta, and while their typical literary features and dialect origins are often remarked upon, the authors and translators rarely point out any specifically 'Eastern' features, or the difficulties these features present to a thorough understanding of the verses. Outside of *Man'yōshū* translations, I find even less interest in or knowledge of Eastern Old Japanese. Only a handful of very recent studies make note of these dialects, or take proper care to distinguish eastern dialect data from those of

Central Old Japanese. Since the main interest of contemporary scholarship is in the study and description of Central Old Japanese, data from the eastern dialects are usually purposely excluded; if any interest at all is shown, it is usually in comparative studies (such as Vovin's grammar, below) or in theoretical works on the prehistory of Japanese (e.g., Miyake's article on Pre-Old Japanese *e and *o, 2003b).

3.2.1 GRAMMARS

The earliest English-language grammar of historical Japanese that I am aware of is *A Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language*, by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), first published in 1924, and revised and reissued in 1943. The subtitle of the book is "Modern Written Style," which should give a strong hint as to its contents. Although this book, at least as a guide to the language, must be regarded now as little more than a historical curiosity, I wanted to include mention of it here, simply because it is the first of its kind. Chamberlain does not provide citations for his examples, so it is not possible to see where, or when, his data come from; some are certainly modern, others probably classical, though this ambiguity makes little difference to my study. I have not used this text as a main source, though I have compared its discussion of verbs and *kakari* particles to that found in more recent works in English and Japanese, to note how understanding of these phenomena has changed through time.

The next major historical grammar available in English is *An Historical Grammar of Japanese* by George Bailey Sansom (1883-1965), first published in 1928. This book is concerned primarily with the grammar of Classical Japanese, and with the historical changes that gave rise to Modern Japanese; data from Old and from Middle Japanese are freely mixed together by the author. As a reference source, this book is a considerable improvement over Chamberlain's text, though it cannot compare to the analyses available in more recent works. In his preface, Sansom mentions (viii) that he made use of a study of the Nara period language by "Yamada Kōyū" (i.e., Yamada Yoshio; referring indirectly to his *Nara-chō Bunpō Shi*, published in 1913) – which does include a chapter describing some features of the eastern dialects – yet no mention is made of historical dialects in *this* work. Moreover, since Sansom does not include numbers in his citations (poems are simply mentioned as being from, e.g., "*Man'yōshū*"), it is extremely difficult to tell if he mixes Eastern and Central dialect data in his study; presumably, like his contemporaneous Japanese sources, he does mix. The style of grammatical analysis employed by Sansom is essentially identical with that of the *Kokugogaku* approach, although he tends to produce translations rather than mere romanizations of the traditional Japanese nomenclature (e.g., unigrade for *ichidan*, bigrade for *nidan*, etc.).

There have been several other grammars published since Sansom's work, however, all of them making an at least implicit distinction between Old and Middle Japanese. Properly, they can be identified as Classical Japanese grammars, because all of the source materials they cite are from Middle Japanese (as opposed to the two previous works, which mixed reference material from Old and Classical Japanese). Foremost in this category is *A Reference Grammar of Classical Japanese Prose* by Alexander Vovin (2003), which is a structural analysis of the language of Heian period prose, and as such, very different in theory and method from previous grammars, which have one and all

relied on the traditional Japanese approach to describing the language (i.e., *kokugogaku*). The two most important earlier grammars of note are *Classical Japanese Grammar Illustrated with Texts* by Ikeda Tadashi (1975) and Helen Craig McCullough's *Bungo Manual* (1988). Although both are based on the traditional approach, the former is certainly superior as a textbook: besides being far more substantial in exemplification, it includes actual Japanese text in historical spelling, whereas the *Bungo Manual* relies wholly on romanization, and keeps both explanation and exemplification to a minimum. A more recent grammar, titled simply *Classical Japanese* (2005), by Shirane Haruo, was not available for me to review.

Until very recently, there were no dedicated grammars of Old Japanese available in English. The first to appear, in 1972, was *Drevneiaponskii iazyk*, by Nikolai Syromiatnikov, which was translated into English by Y.N. Filippov and published in 1981 as *Ancient Japanese Language*. Though now rather dated, Syromiatnikov's work is generally thorough in its treatment of linguistic features. The translation has been criticized by several scholars, though I find it clear enough. The principal complaints to be leveled against this book are not really scholastic, though they do affect its value as a reference tool: the type is too small, and too tightly set; numerous symbols are hand-written, including the diacritics used to identify vowels; and perhaps most inexcusably, it does not include Chinese characters in its citations from Old Japanese literature. Syromiatnikov follows the structural method of linguistic analysis, though he is obviously indebted to the work of traditional Japanese language scholars in many things, and sometimes repeats their mistakes, or takes their unproven presumptions as given. Eastern Old Japanese features are represented in the grammar with occasional short discussion and exemplification, though no attempt is made at a systematic description. Like the Japanese scholars before him, Syromiatnikov mixes data from Central and Eastern Old Japanese in his examples. I have referred to grammatical descriptions from this book in preparing the latter half of this thesis.

While the translation of Syromiatnikov's work was the first general grammar of Old Japanese to appear in English, John Bentley's 2001 book, *A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose*, also accomplished several firsts: it was the first to systematically exclude Eastern Old Japanese data from its analysis, it was the first to include citations of the Old Japanese character-based text in its examples, and it was the first to carefully articulate the differences between traditional Japanese philological methodology, and structural analysis, and to state outright its methods. Bentley's grammar is excellent throughout, though it suffers from one major weakness compared to previous and later grammars: it is based on a remarkably small corpus, scarcely larger than the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese. Specifically, it is based on an analysis of two groups of texts, the *Senmyō* 宣命 (imperial edicts) and *Norito* 祝詞 (liturgies), which together constitute almost all of the extant corpus Old Japanese prose. Although the limitations of the corpus size are obvious in the grammar (many linguistic elements are left untouched, or are described on the basis of one or two examples), there is nonetheless a great value to this work: because it is based on prose, it hopefully avoids some of the pitfalls that attend a description based solely or mostly on poetry, such as the tendency for poetic language to include many archaisms or idiomatic phrases (e.g., *makura kotoba* 枕詞, the 'pillow-words' or epithets commonly found in Japanese verse) that are not

indicative of the contemporary language – not to mention the many ways in which poets manipulate language in 'unusual' ways, such as deviating from natural word order and abbreviating of the functional elements of language. I have consulted Bentley's grammar as a valuable comparative reference in writing the later chapters on Eastern Old Japanese predicate grammar.

The most recent Old Japanese grammar to appear in English is Alexander Vovin's *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese*, the first volume ("Phonology, Script, Lexicon and Nominals") of which was published in 2005. The version which I have used is a prepublication electronic text, and page number references are to that version, and as such, may not match the final publication. Vovin's grammar is a landmark in the field, not only because it is the first purely Old Japanese grammar written in English to take the whole field of surviving Central Old Japanese[5] texts into account, but also for the scope of its comparative data, which covers not only Eastern Old Japanese and Ryūkyūan, but also various historical stages of Korean, Mongolian, Manchurian, and Turkic, not to mention – in a few applicable cases – Ainu. It is impossible for me to give a complete review of the work at this time, since the second volume is not available; but volume one's coverage of its intended topics is rich and often exhaustive: by looking over the whole of the extant literature, Vovin is able to account for most of the variety seen in the language. Such range was not possible in earlier studies, such as Bentley's grammar, which used a very constrained corpus and therefore could not describe the full breadth of Old Japanese. Although primarily a grammar of "Western Old Japanese," the comparative data on Eastern Old Japanese (clearly marked as such; like in Bentley, there is no mixing of data here) which Vovin supplies is more or less exhaustive, and his discussions of the data are thorough, meaning that these books could also serve as a reference to the grammatical features of Eastern Old Japanese (however, there is no systematic discussion of the orthographic or phonetic/phonological uniqueness of the eastern dialects). I have consulted Vovin's grammar throughout the preparation of this thesis.

3.2.2 OTHER WORKS

Apart from the grammars, discussed above, and a handful of dissertations, the most significant publication in the field of Old Japanese scholarship is *The Japanese Language Through Time*, by Samuel Martin, published 1987. This book contains a massive amount of data, by no means all related to Old Japanese. Data from every period of Japanese, including the modern standard language, various other modern dialects, and from Ryūkyūan sources, is gathered together and presented in sections devoted to sundry topics, mostly in phonology. In effect, *The Japanese Language Through Time* is a guide to Japanese *phonetics and phonology* through time, though substantial discussion of the

[5] In this grammar, Vovin uses the term Western Old Japanese for what I call Central Old Japanese. Both terms are recognized in contemporary scholarship. Since the "western" parts of Japan (i.e., the western end of Honshū, and the islands of Shikoku and Kyūshū) undoubtedly had their own unique dialects in the eighth century, I think the term 'Central Old Japanese' is more appropriate to refer to the language of the capital at Nara. Just how 'unique' these dialects were cannot be known from surviving evidence, which is practically limited to a scattering of words in the *Hizen* and *Bungo Fudoki*, and a few poems from *Man'yōshū*.

related field of morphology is, of course, also found in its pages. The largest portions of this book are given over to the presentation of data on Japanese accent and prosody, with some related discussion. There are many references to Eastern Old Japanese made throughout the text, and unfortunately, not all (perhaps only half) are cited in the index. Nonetheless, when reading through a relevant passage, I often found useful material on Eastern Old Japanese, either in the data or discussion. I consulted Martin frequently while studying the alternations seen in Eastern Old Japanese phonology, described in Chapter Four.

Another major recent contribution to Old Japanese scholarship is the nearly exhaustive study of phonograms and the subsequent reconstruction by Marc Miyake, published in 2003 as *Old Japanese: A Phonetic Reconstruction*. Much useful introductory material is provided in this book, including an outline of Japanese phonology through time; reviews of Old and Middle Chinese phonetic reconstructions, their sources, and their significance to Japanese scholarship; and a review of early (pre-Nara period) Japanese transcriptions, though his treatment here is not as detailed as that given in Seeley (1991). The main body of the book is devoted to a reconstruction of Central Old Japanese sounds through an investigation of the (themselves reconstructed) Early Middle Chinese and Late Middle Chinese values of the phonograms, weighted by frequency of occurrence. The results he produced are useful in many areas, particularly in distinguishing the type of vowel that is found in unmarked positions after certain consonants, or word-initially (for example, Miyake showed that the vowel /ê/, rather than /ë/, appears after coronals, but that word-initially, /ë/ is found. Old Japanese orthography makes no distinction, and so there was apparently also no phonological distinction in these positions). I have relied on Miyake's reconstructions in my discussion of the unique features of Eastern Old Japanese phonology in Chapter Four.

If the range of English-language scholarship on (Eastern) Old Japanese is limited, that devoted to *Hitachi Fudoki* is next to non-existent. Only Vovin (2005) has adopted *Hitachi Fudoki* as a primary source for grammatical study. Besides this, one translation of *Hitachi Fudoki* is available, by Michiko Aoki, published along with her translations of the four other extant old fudoki, as *Records of Wind and Earth* (1997). In the introduction to this book, she includes discussion of the political state of Japan in the seventh and early eighth centuries, the origins of the fudoki documents, their contents, and a short account of the textual histories and manuscript-copying traditions relevant to any linguistic study of the fudoki. The translation offered is thorough, if sometimes problematic. Editorial additions are carefully marked, and discussion of cultural terms is given in footnotes and in parenthetical asides. As noted briefly in Chapter Two, the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki* are very difficult to understand, and I believe her translations contain several mistakes, and her transcriptions are based on Modern Japanese phonetic values (e.g., 'river' is transcribed as "gaha," and the Type-A/Type-B vowel distinctions are not recorded). Although it is of course possible to think through these spellings to something like the original forms, the romanization is misleading as to the actual phonetic shape of these words in eighth century Japanese (of any dialect). It would have served just as well had Aoki elected to use contemporary Japanese spellings as well as pronunciation. I have consulted Aoki's translation at numerous times, though my text of the *Hitachi Fudoki* poems is based on Akimoto's version (1958).

Chapter 4
Some Orthographic and Phonological Features of Eastern Old Japanese

This chapter provides an introduction to some of the unique linguistic features of the Eastern dialects of Old Japanese. It is not intended to give exhaustive treatment, nor to serve as a reference for the language of Books XIV and XX of the *Man'yōshū*; as such, only the *unique* features of Eastern Old Japanese will be discussed here – little mention will be made of those features that are also common to Central Old Japanese. The description will be divided into two main parts, Orthography and Phonology, and illustrations will be provided for all features. Some morphophonological features will be taken up in chapter five. The unique syntactic or morphosyntactic characteristics of Eastern Old Japanese are not discussed here, because they will be handled in detail in the following chapters. The treatment will be uneven throughout, with more attention give to those aspects of the language that have received less coverage in the Japanese scholarship of Hōjō, Fukuda, and Mizushima.

4.1 ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography employed in the recording of *Man'yōshū* Books XIV and XX, and in the songs of *Hitachi Fudoki*, is a highly phonetic variety of man'yōgana more or less identical *in form* to that found in the other 'late' (early to mid eighth century) books of the *Man'yōshū* such as Books XV, XVII, and XVIII (for a complete analysis of the orthography employed in the various books, see Vovin 2005: 6-13). In this system, the vast majority of characters are used for their phonetic values, though a small number of characters are more often employed semantographically, that is, for their meaning rather than for their Japanese or Sino-Japanese pronunciation. Because semantographic usage is unusual in the mainly phonetic orthography of Eastern Old Japanese texts, and because it has been less studied, I have included an in-depth analysis in part 4.1.2 below. Whether or not the phonographic orthography contains evidence for unique phonetic features in the Eastern dialects has not been sufficiently studied; however, because of the great superficial similarity of this orthography to that employed in the other later books of Ōtomo-no Yakamochi's poetry, I think that an in-depth analysis (e.g., based on phonetic reconstructions of Early Middle Chinese pronunciations of the phonograms) is unlikely to reveal many – if any – unique phonetic characteristics. On the other hand, the study of vowel and consonant alternations indicated in the orthography may make it possible to learn about some of the unique phonological characteristics of Eastern Old Japanese.

4.1.1 PHONOGRAMS

In terms of phonetic application, two distinct types of readings must be recognized: first, characters read in Sino-Japanese (*ongana* 音仮名), and second, characters read in an applied Japanese pronunciation (*kungana* 訓仮名). In all varieties of Old Japanese including Eastern, *ongana* are far more common than *kungana* (Vovin 2005: 25). It is

important to note here the difference between *ongana* – which are strictly phonetic – and the comparatively rare *ongana*-like reading of semantograms (discussed below). Similar overlap of function between *kungana* and semantographic writing is extremely rare in Eastern Old Japanese – this phenomenon is analyzed in detail in section 4.1.2. To the best of my knowledge, only the following characters are ever used as pure (i.e., non-semantographic) *kungana* in Eastern Old Japanese: 津 /tu/ and 江 /ye/ are used as phonograms in Book XX only, and 香 /ka/ is always used phonographically, but only in Book XIV. The following six characters are problematic; they certainly appear as semantograms, but their purely phonographic application is questionable: 見 /mî/, 水 /mî/, 野 /nô/, 瀬 /se/, 田 /ta/, 井 /wi/. There are no *kungana* among the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki*.

According to Mizushima (1996: 45-46), 257 unique characters – including *ongana* phonograms, *kungana* phonograms, and semantograms – are employed in Book XIV and the Eastern portions of Book XX. Many of these characters can be used to write more than one syllable, a practice known as the polyphonic principle (see Vovin 2005: 26). Out of the total of 257 characters, 115 are found in both the Azuma Uta and the Sakimori Uta, while 104 are unique to Book XIV, and 38 are used only in Book XX. Hōjō's study of the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki* (1966: 152-155) finds 77 unique characters in use there, only six of which are used to write two phonologically distinct syllables (no character is used to write three or more distinct syllables). A full study of the similarity of the orthography of *Hitachi Fudoki* to that of the Azuma Uta and Sakimori Uta remains to be done.

In general, the implementation of phonograms of both types in Eastern Old Japanese appears to differ little from that in the other late books of *Man'yōshū*. Perhaps the most remarkable feature is the scarcity of pure *kungana*, though I think this is indicative of nothing more than scribal bias, and more generally, the small size of the corpus – in such a comparatively brief sample, we would expect to see comparatively fewer *kungana*.

4.1.2 SEMANTOGRAMS

Semantograms are Chinese characters employed for their meaning, regardless of pronunciation. There are five major types of semantographic usage observed in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese (capital letters are used throughout this paper to represent the predicted readings of semantograms):

1. Most often, semantograms are used to write entire Japanese nouns with meanings similar to the Chinese words represented by the characters (e.g. 道 *MÎTI* 'road,' 母 *PAPA* 'mother').

2. Related to the fist usage, semantograms can be employed to write verb bases (宿 *NE-* 'to sleep (with),' 見 *MÎ-* 'to see').

3. Semantograms can also be called upon to write certain commonly occurring bound morphemes, including nominal affixes, case markers, and verbal auxiliaries (道 *-TI* 'road of…,' 真 *MA-* intensifying prefix, 而 *-TE* subordinative gerund).

4. Finally, semantograms can be used in a hybrid semantophonetic system to spell portions of words; in this last application, the semantograms might be read like *kungana* (水都 *MÎNtu* 'water,' 思鹿 *siKA* 'deer')…

5. …or like *ongana* (e.g. 於母 *oMÖ* 'mother,' 宇馬 *uMA* 'horse').

These last two usages, which I will from here on refer to as 'hybrid semantograms,' are particularly interesting in that the break between the semantographically written portions and the purely phonographically written portions of the words *often* correspond to historical morpheme boundaries. This is especially true of *kungana*-type hybrids (as in number four above), though some examples of the *ongana*-type hybrid semantograms are also likely to show correspondences with historical morpheme boundaries, e.g. 楊奈疑 *YAnaNkï* 'willow.' In other cases, there will be no correspondence, as in 宇都世美 *utuSEmî* 'world' or 阿母 *aMÖ* 'mother.' In these latter cases, I consider the orthography to be semantographic because of the striking similarity between the meaning of the Chinese character, and the meaning of the *whole* Japanese word it is being used to spell, i.e., there is no direct grapheme-to-morpheme correspondence.

In many cases, semantographic characters are used to write place names or words for geographic phenomena (using 河 /ka/ for 'river' is a typical example); in other cases they are used for writing kinship terms (母 *PAPA* 'mother', 父 *TITI* 'father', and 兒 *KÔ* 'child/girl' are quite frequently written with semantograms) or personal pronouns. Semantograms are rarely used for writing grammatical morphemes, though several important examples of such are shown below. Many characters that are used semantographically could also be employed in strictly phonetic writing (that is, as *ongana*), which can occasionally lead to confusion in the interpreting and reading of the characters, though context may make the usage clear.

A good example of such a problematic reading is 夜奈杞 *yanaNKÏ* 'willow': the character 杞 is not generic for 'tree' but means rather a specific kind of tree (trifoliate orange); it is also often used as a phonogram for the syllable /kî/ (Type-A vowel). As such, when it is used to 'spell' *yanaNkï* 'willow,' it is difficult to determine whether it being employed mainly as a semantogram, or as a pure phonogram. Moreover, if it is purely phonographic, then the result is a vowel alternation of 'willow' using a Type-A vowel instead of a Type-B (as one would expect in Central Old Japanese): /yanaNkî/ instead of /yanaNkï/. Other the other hand, if semantographic, it is unclear whether it should be taken as a substitute for 木, and read as 'tree,' *kï*, or if it is a hybrid semantogram read as *ongana*, /kî/ (again, producing an alternation in *yanaNkï* 'willow'). Although misspellings do occur in Eastern Old Japanese, misspellings of the two /i/ vowels are quite rare; on the basis of this evidence, I prefer to read 夜奈杞 as /yanaNkï/, and to treat the third character as a semantogram.

The following list of semantograms in Table 4.1 is exhaustive to the best of my knowledge. All examples found in the corpus are cited; doubtful examples are starred (*), and those which are believed to be place names are listed with "PN" next to the citation. Similar, albeit less comprehensive, lists can be found in Fukuda (1965) pp.207-208 and 222-223 (Azuma Uta) and 222 (Sakimori Uta); in Hōjō (1966) pp.253-257 (Azuma Uta) and 212-213 (Sakimori Uta); and in Mizushima (1996) pp.413-414.

Table 4.1 Semantograms occurring in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese

	Reading	Meaning	Citations with Evidenced Forms
	Kungana / *Ongana*	Lexical / Grammatical	From Book XIV / From Book XX
吾	a	I, me	A 吾 3362a, 3377
鹿	ka	deer	sa-wo-siKA 左乎思鹿 3530
河泊[a]	kapa	river	KApa 河泊 3440a KApa-N-tu 河泊豆 3446 PN? tama KApa 多麻河泊 3373 PN tiNkuma-nö KApa 知具麻能河泊 3400 PN asuka KApa 阿須可河泊 3544; 安須可河泊 3545 PN mînanöSE KApa 美奈能瀬河泊 3366 PN mîyanöSE KApa 美夜能瀬河泊 3505 PN tône-N-KApa 刀祢河泊 3413 PN asô-nö KApa-ra 安素乃河泊良 3425
枳[b]	kï	tree	yanaNKÏ 夜奈枳 4386
木	kï	tree	KÏ 木 3432, 3433 tak-î-N-KÏ 多伎木 3433 MA-KÏ 真木 3467 awo-YANKÏ 安乎楊木 3546
木	kö-	tree	KÖ-nö ma 木能末 3363 KÖ-tu 木都 3548

[a] Traditionally, only the first character of the compound 河泊 is regarded as semantographic; however, since all examples of 河 /ka/ in the corpus (except for two instances used in spelling the place name "Suruga") are paired with 泊 /pa/ (meaning, as a noun, either 'anchorage,' or more generally, 'shallow water'), it may be sensible to treat the whole compound 河泊 as semantographic for *kapa* 'river.' In fact, *kapa* 'river' is always spelled with these two characters, or else purely phonographically. It is odd, if 泊 is simply phonetic, that there are no alternative spellings using the high frequency phonogram 波.

[b] This character is also used phonetically as an *ongana* for /kî/ with an A-Type vowel. This phonetic usage is more common – it occurs fifteen times in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, all in Book XX; of these, fourteen are found in poems from Shimotsufusa Province, while the fifteenth is in a poem from Shinano.

Table 4.1 (Continued) Semantograms occurring in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese

	Reading	Meaning	Citations with Evidenced Forms
	Kungana *Ongana*	Lexical Grammatical	From Book XIV From Book XX
兒	kô	child, girl	KÔ 兒 3373, 3427, 3440a (2), 3462, 3555 pîtö-nö KÔ 比等乃兒 3500; 比登乃兒 3533 wa-Nk-îmö-KÔ 和伎母兒 3519 KÔ-na 兒奈 3476a KÔ-ra 兒良 3372, 3405a, 3408, 3412, 3421, 3534, 3537a, 3569 KÔ-rö 兒呂 3351, 3424, 3473, 3504, 3513, 3522, 3525, 3530, 3532, 3564 TEKÔ[c] 手兒 3398, 3442, 3477, 3485, 3540 TEKÔ-na 手兒奈 3384, 3385 PN KÔmôti yama 兒毛知夜麻 3494
来	kö	to come	iNte-KÖ 伊弖来 3519
真	ma-	intensifying prefix	MA-PÎ 真日 3461 MA-KÏ 真木 3467
馬	ma	horse	uMA 宇馬 3538a uMA-ya 宇馬夜 3439 pay-uMA 波由馬 3439 kô-MA 古馬 3387, 3539, 3542 kô-(u)MA 古宇馬 3537a
女	mê	woman	yamatö MÊ 夜麻等女 3457 wotöMÊ 乎登女 3427 *siri pîk-asi MÊ yö 斯利比可志女與 3431[d] *tuk-î-yör-asi MÊ yö 都伎与良之女与 3435
目	më	eye	MË 目 3367, 3383, 3396 MË-N-tuma 目豆麻 3502 pîtö MË 比等目 3490
御	mî-	honorific prefix	MÎ-ura 御宇良 3508

[c] "Tekô" refers to a beautiful maiden; it may be a proper noun, referring to a particular renowned beauty, or it may be a more generic term applied to attractive girls. This word is unique to Eastern Old Japanese.

[d] The two starred examples of 女 are based on doubtful emendations written in black ink into the upper margin of the Nishi Honganji manuscript. In both cases, the main text has the character 母 – presumably *ongana* /mö/ – instead of 女. The meaning of the line from poem 3431 is unclear.

Table 4.1 (Continued) Semantograms occurring in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese

	Reading	Meaning	Citations with Evidenced Forms
	Kungana *Ongana*	Lexical Grammatical	From Book XIV From Book XX
見	mî-	to see	MÎ- 見 3396, 3407, 3417 MÎ-y-u… 見由 3441a, 3449 MÎ-ye- 見要 3471, 3530; 見延 3391, 3506 MÎ-tutu 見都追 3515, 3516, 3520; 見都々 3571 ap-î-MÎ- 安比見 3470, 3508, 3537a; 安必見 3519 tör-i-MÎ- 等里見 3485 MÎ-kakus-I 見所久思 3362a; 見可久思 3362b MÎ-tate- 見多弖 3534 PN aka-MÎ yama 安可見夜麻 3479 MÎ-si 見之 4345 kapêr-i-MÎ 可敝里見 4373
水	mî-	water	MÎ-Ntu 水都 3528, 3554 MÎ-na-tô 水奈刀 3553 MÎ-wo-tu kusi 水乎都久思 3429 PN? MÎ-kuku NÔ 水久君野 3525
身	mï	body	MÏ 身 3485
實	mï	fruit, grain	MÏ 實 3364a
道	mîti	road	PN? Atuma MÎTI 安都麻道 3477 MÎTI-nö NANKA-TI 道乃長道 4341
	-tî		PN SINANO-N-TI 信濃道 3399 MÎTI-nö NANKA-TI 道乃長道 4341
物	mo	thing	MOnö 物能 3429, 3434, 3443, 3511, 3568
名	na	name	imô-Nka NA 伊毛我名 3362a, 3488 kîmî-Nka NA 伎美我名 3362b, 3374
菜	na	vegetable, herb	asa NA 安佐菜 3440a
汝	na	you	NA 汝 3382, 3396, 3494
莫	-na-	negative-auxiliary	NE-NAp-ê 宿莫敝 3555 NE-NA-na 宿莫奈 3487 NA sak-î-(i)Nte-sö 莫佐吉伊弖曽 3575
中	naka	middle, inside	PN NAKAmana 中麻奈 3401 *na-Nka NAKA si SIMO 奈可中次下 3419[e]
長	naNka-	long	MÎTI-nö NANKA-TI 道乃長道 4341
哭	ne	cry (human weeping)	NE 哭 3485
鳴	ne	cry (animal call)	kamö-Nka NE 可母我鳴 3570

[e] Hōjō and Mizushima both reject this example as a semantogram, interpreting it rather as a disyllabic *kungana* used to spelling the verb *nak-* 'to weep'. The passage is very unclear and the editor or scribe's unusual choice of characters further obscures any potential reading.

Table 4.1 (Continued) Semantograms occurring in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese

	Reading	Meaning	Citations with Evidenced Forms
	Kungana *Ongana*	Lexical Grammatical	From Book XIV From Book XX
根	ne	root	NE 根 3498, 3500 *NEtukô-N-kusa 根都古具佐 3508
寐	ne-	to sleep (with)	sa-NE- 佐寐 3497
宿	ne-	to sleep (with)	NE- 宿 3487, 3494, 3509, 3525, 3550, 3555, 3565, 3577 sa-NE- 佐宿 3461; 左宿 3497, 3522, 3544, 3556
宿	n-u	to sleep (with)	N-Uram-u 宿良牟 3562
眠	n-u	to sleep (with)	N-Uram-u 眠良武 3505
野	nô	plain, open field	NÔ 野 3434, 3452, 3463, 3532 PN? opo NÔ 於抱野 3520 PN? MÎkukuNÔ 水久君野 3525 PN töya-nö NÔ 等夜乃野 3529 PN taNkô-nö ir-i-NÔ 多胡能伊利野 3403 PN tumuNkaNÔ 都武賀野 3438a PN mîtuNkaNÔ 美都我野 3438b PN uraNÔ 宇良野 3565 PN saNÔ 佐野 3418, 3420; saNÔ 左野 3406 PN woNÔ 乎野 3405b PN kamîtukëNÔ 可美都氣野 3406 PN kamîtukêNÔ 賀美都家野 3412; 可美都家野 3434 PN simötukênô 之母都家野 3424 PN muNsasi NÔ 牟射志野 3376a, 3379 PN muSASI NÔ 武蔵野 3374, 3375, 3376b, 3377
沼	nu	marsh	kömör-i-NU 許母理沼 3547
葉	pa	leaf	asi-nö PA 安之能葉 3570 sasa-PA 佐左葉 3382 puNti-nö ura PA 布治能宇良葉 3504 kuNsu-PA-N-kata 久受葉我多 3412
者	-pa	topic-marker	PA 者 3377, 3382, 3399
母	papa	mother	TITI PAPA 父母 4326, 4337
母	mö	mother	oMÖ 於母 4386; 意母 oMÖ 4401 aMÖ[f] 阿母 4376, 4377, 4378, 4383
邊	pê	area	yama PÊ 夜麻邊 3489
日	pî	sun	PÎ 日 3402, 3422 (2) MA-PÎ 真日 3461 uti-PÎ 宇知日 3457 asa PÎ 安佐日 3407 PÎ 日 4330

[f] The word *amö* as an alternative for *omö* 'mother' does not appear in Central Old Japanese; however, it seems that it is found in Old Okinawan.

Table 4.1 (Continued) Semantograms occurring in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese

	Reading	Meaning	Citations with Evidenced Forms
	Kungana / *Ongana*	Lexical / Grammatical	From Book XIV / From Book XX
穂	po	head of grain	PO 穂 3506
草	sa	grass	kuSA mura 久草無良 3530
相模	saNkamu	innate-form; used in writing the place name 'Sagamu'	PN SANKAMU ne 相模祢 3362a PN SANKAMU-N-ti 相模治 3372
蔵	sasi	fortification; used in writing the place name 'Musashi'	PN muSASI ne 武蔵祢 3362b PN muSASI NÔ 武蔵野 3374, 3375, 3376b, 3377
瀬	se	rapids	PN mînanöSE KApa 美奈能瀬河泊 3366 PN mîyanöSE KApa 美夜能瀬河泊 3505
湍			pîra SE 比良湍 3551
下	simo	lower part	*na-Nka NAKA si SIMO 奈可中次下 3419[g]
芝	siNpa	grass	PN SINPA TUK-Î 芝付 3508
信濃	sinano	true-deep; used in writing the place name 'Shinano'	PN SINANO 信濃 3352, 3400 PN SINANO-N-TI 信濃道 3399
白	sira-	white	SIRA TAMA 白玉 4340
栖	su	nest	töri-Nka SU 等里我栖 3526
渚	su	sandbar	okî-tu SU 於伎都渚 3348 pama SU-N-töri (波)々麻渚杼里 3533 SUka 渚可 3575
田	ta	crop field	PN? kanatô TA 可奈刀田 3561 PN? wo-yama-N-TA 乎夜麻田 3492 PN apë-nö TA 阿倍乃田 3523 PN wo-rö TA 乎呂田 3501 PN saNÔ TA 佐野田 3418
玉	tama	jade, jewel	SIRA TAMA 白玉 4340
手	te	hand	TE 手 3439, 3459 TEKÔ 手兒 3398, 3442, 3477, 3485, 3540 TEKÔ-na 手兒奈 3384, 3385
	ta-		ta-N-panare 手婆奈礼 3569
而	-te	subordinative gerund	MÎ-TE 見而 3519 papê-TE 波敝而 3525 NE-TE 宿而 3550 sa-NE-TE 左宿而 3544
千	ti	thousand	TI-töSE 千等世 3470

[g] Again, Hōjō and Mizushima both interpret this appearance of 下 as a disyllabic *kungana*, representing the past tense verbal auxiliary and a following particle: nak-as-si mo, to.weep-HON-INF-PAST(ATTR) PT.

Table 4.1 (Continued) Semantograms occurring in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese

	Reading	Meaning	Citations with Evidenced Forms
	Kungana / *Ongana*	Lexical / Grammatical	From Book XIV / From Book XX
父	titi	father	TITI 父 4341 TITI PAPA 父母 4326, 4337
戸	tô	door, gate	TÔ 戸 3460 YA-nö TÔ 屋能戸 3460
門			ka-na-TÔ 可奈門 3530
津	tu	anchorage	TU 津 3380 TU 津 4365
付	tuk-	to attach	PN SINPA TUK-Î 芝付 3508
筑	tuku	zither; used in writing the place names 'Tukupa' and 'Tukusi'	PN TUKUpa ne 筑波祢 3350a, 3351, 3388, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393 PN TUKUsi 筑紫 3427
對	tusi	opposite; used in writing the place name 'Tusima'	PN TUSIma-nö ne 對馬能祢 3516
畫	we	drawing	WE 畫 4327
井	wi	well (for water)	tutumî WI 都追美井 3439 PN isiWI 伊思井 3398
緒	wo	string	tama-nö WO 多麻乃緒 3358a WO-rö 緒呂 3466
屋	ya	house	YA 屋 3460 ? opoYA 於保屋 3378
楊	ya	willow	YANkï 楊疑 3455 awo-YANKÏ 安乎楊木 3546 YAnaNkï 楊奈疑 3491, 3492
江	ye	inlet, estuary	posö-YE 保曽江 3429 ir-i-YE 伊利江 3547
夜	yô	night	YÔ 夜 3504
代	yö	the world of human relations; a generation	YÖ 代 3392
世	se		utuSEmî 宇都世美 3456 TI-töSE 千等世 3470
湯	yu	hot-spring	YU 湯 3368

Note: Left-flush citations are from Book XIV, right-flush citations are from Book XX; in the "Meaning" column, lexical morphemes are glossed with left-flush text, grammatical morphemes with right-flush text; and *kungana*-type readings are left-flush while *ongana*-type are right.

No semantograms are found in the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki*. Semantograms are disproportionately more common among the Azuma Uta than the Sakimori Uta, especially for writing place names (no semantograms are used for place names in Book

XX). One pattern that is particularly apparent from these data is the tendency for semantograms to cluster in pairs or even longer strings; this is common in four types of forms (unless a number is cited, all forms are singular in the corpus):

1. When one or both members represent bound morphemes (compound words): 真木 *MA-KÏ* 'real tree', 真日 *MA-PÎ* 'real sun', 白玉 *SIRA TAMA* 'pearl', 楊木 *YANKÏ* 'willow'

2. This pattern is even more noticeable with semantograms representing bound morphemes that also have grammatical meaning: 吾者 *A PA* 'as for me', 汝者 *NA PA* 'as for you'; 宿莫敝 *NE-NAp-ê* 'not sleeping', 宿莫奈 *NE-NA-na* 'since (I) didn't sleep'; 見而 *MÎ-TE* 'seeing', 宿而 *NE-TE* 'sleeping' (2)

3. In place names: 信濃道者 *SINANO-N-TI PA* 'road of Shinano', 武蔵野 *muSASI NÔ* 'Musashi Plain' (4), 芝付 *SINPA TUK-Î* 'Shibatsuki'

4. In certain other, presumably idiomatic, compounds: 父母 *TITI PAPA* 'father and mother' (2), 手兒 *TEKÔ* 'beautiful maiden' (7), 白玉 *SIRA TAMA* 'pearl', 道乃長道 *MÎTI-nö NANKA-TI* 'of roads, the long road'

In the case of numbers three and four above, the semantographic forms of these compounds may have had an accepted currency among the literate class, explaining their frequent appearance. In other cases, the tendency for semantograms to cluster may simply be the result of writer's whimsy, that is, the choice of the scribe, once he got started, to write more than one character semantographically. As for compound words (described in number one above), this is a particularly likely explanation, since such compounds would presumably have been regarded as coherent wholes. It is interesting to note that all occurrences of 真 *MA-* are in semantogram clusters (in every other case, the intensifying prefix is written with a pure phonogram), as are all occurrences of 者 *PA*.

There are some further, highly dubious examples proposed in the existing literature. In all of these, because there is no literal correspondence of the meaning of the characters to the Japanese word they are used to spell, I cannot accept them as true semantograms, though I admit that abstract meaning may have played a role in their selection by the scribe or editor. The following examples are proposed by Fukuda (211):

1. 夜杼里 14:3442.5 Province Unknown
   yaNtör-i
   lodge-NML
   'lodging'

Here, the character 夜 is used in spelling the first syllable of *yadori* 'lodging' (a lexicalized form, based on the nominalization of a verb *yador-* 'to take lodging'). Because 夜 is the most frequently occurring phonogram for writing /ya/ in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese, it is hard to say whether its literal meaning of 'night' may have

played a role in its selection here. Most dictionaries consider *yador-* as a compound of *ya-tor-* house-to.take- (屋取; see Ōno 1983: 1311 for a typical example of this etymology). Although most lodging is indeed taken for the night, the lack of any concept of 'night' in the basic meaning of *yadori*, and the very high frequency of 夜 as a pure phonogram, leadsme to reject this as an example of semantographic writing. (夜 does occur as a semantogram for *yô* 'night' in 14:3504.)

2. 孤悲天 14:3505.4 Unknown
   kôpï-te
   love(INF)-SUB
   'loves and…'

The character 孤 occurs only once in the corpus, and 悲 occurs only twice, marking their coincidence in this poem as highly unusual. Nonetheless, given the contextually ironic meaning of the characters (孤 'solitary' or 'lonely' and 悲 'sad'), they cannot be considered proper semantograms; nor do they constitute an example of the so-called *tawamure-gaki* 'playful-writing' (rebus writing), sometimes seen in the *Man'yōshū*. Again, because there is no literal correspondence of meaning between the characters and the Japanese word they are spelling, I do not accept this as an example of semantographic writing.[6]

3. 不盡能祢 14:3356.1 Suruga
   puNsi-nö ne
   Fuji-GEN peak
   'the peak of Mt. Fuji'

As in example two, this is a unique coincidence of rarely seen characters. 不 occurs seven times in the corpus (though only twice in Book XIV), and 盡 is found in this example only. The meaning of the whole, 'unexhausted,' is perhaps a fanciful epithet for the peak of Fuji (whether this corresponds to the modern Mt. Fuji is another matter open to debate; the poem is associated with the province of Suruga, whose border in ancient Japan crossed through or near Mt. Fuji), or perhaps it is merely coincidental. I am ambivalent regarding this interpretation, and have not included either character in my list of semantograms, although this may be an additional, unusual example of characters serving as phonograms but selected with a bias to their meaning, at least in the abstract.

4. 安良波路萬代 14:3414.4 Kamitsuke
   arapar-ô-maNte
   appear-EATTR-TERM
   'until (the rainbow) appears…'

[6] However, the coincidence of their meaning is striking, and makes me wonder if the scribe of the Nishi Honganji manuscript selected them, partly on the basis of their meaning, to make an ironic flourish; the Genryaku manuscript spells *kôpï-* in this poem as 古飛 (Mizushima 1996: 154). If so, this would be not properly semantographic, but quasi-semantophonetic writing.

The character 萬 occurs seven times, only in Book XIV; 代 occurs twice, also only among the Azuma Uta. The latter character is definitely semantographic (read as *yö* 'world') in 14:3392; however, I have strong reservations about the semantographic interpretation of the present example. In the context of the whole poem, the speaker wishes he could sleep with his lover "until the rising rainbow appears"; and while the literal meaning of the compound 萬代, 'a myriad generations,' may contribute somewhat to the feeling of duration, I cannot accept this use as properly semantographic. If not purely coincidental, this appears to be an example rather like that in number two above: the meaning of the character compound does not correspond to the meaning of the Japanese word it is used to spell; nonetheless, abstract meaning may have been a decisive element in the selection of these particular characters.

One additional example is proposed by Hōjō (268):

5. 多祢多祢物得米家武 14:3415.5 Kamitsuke
   tane motömë-k(y)-(e)m-u
   seeds look.for(INF)-PAST-TENT-ATTR
   'I found the seeds'

Although 物 is seen very frequently as a phonogram, 得 occurs only twice in the entire corpus (both instances in Book XIV). Given the rarity of 得, and the impressive correspondence of the meaning of the resulting form 物得 (literally 'thing-getting') with the Japanese verb *motome*-, I think there is a very good chance that this compound was conceived along semantic lines, though of course its constituent characters are acting here primarily in a phonetic capacity. Nonetheless, I cannot accept it as a true semantogram. Like the examples above (assuming they are not coincidental), this compound is obviously a far more sophisticated implementation of the semantographic principle than, for example, using 母 to write Japanese 'mother' *oMÖ* 於母.

I have found two additional examples which seem to fit into the same category of sophisticated quasi-semantophonetic writing:

6. 苦不志久米阿流可 20:4345.5 Suruga
   kupusi-ku më ar-u ka
   longed.for-INF PT exist-ATTR KPT
   'are (the peaks of Suruga not) even lovely?'

As in example (2) above, I think in this case the scribe is simultaneously playing on the similarity of the sound of *kupusi* (a dialect form of *kôposi* (or *kôpïsi*) 'longed for' or simply 'lovely') to *kurusi* 'agonizing,' and giving an ironic jab to the poem, by writing *kupusi* using phonograms that together mean 'awful and unintended.' Again, this is not semantographic, but quasi-semantophonetic.

7. 敞古祖志良奈美 20:4389.2 Shimotsufusa
   pê kôs-ô sira namî

bow surmount-ATTR white waves
'(like) the white waves that pass by the bow (of the ship)'

This is the only instance of the character 祖 in the corpus. Here the verb *kôs*- 'to get over, get past, or surmount,' combined with the Eastern dialect form of the attributive auxiliary, is spelled with phonograms meaning 'ancient' (the second character means specifically an old man). This has only tangential relation to the meaning of *kôs*-, and does not fit well into the context of the poem, which compares the suddenness of receiving conscription orders from the central government to the way whitewater passes over the bow of a ship. This, along with examples (2), (4), and (6) might best be regarded as a sort of scribal playfulness, having no direct relation to the meaning of the poem, but serving instead as a second extraneous meaning, commenting on the poem in a second voice.

As mentioned in section 4.1.1 above, the functional overlap that occurs when a single character can be used as both a pure *kungana* and as a *kungana*-type semantogram is extremely rare within the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese, although it certainly occurs in Central Old Japanese texts (e.g., 木乃関守 *kï-nø SEKÎ-MÔRI* 'Barrier-Guard of Kï' from *Man'yōshū* 4:545). I am aware of only two sure cases of overlap (津 *tu* 'anchorage' and 江 *ye* estuary), three potential examples, and a few cases which are completely indeterminable:

1. 中 *naka* 'inside' or 'middle' occurs twice in Book XIV, and in both cases, its reading is problematic:

   中麻奈尓 14:3401.1 Shinano
   NAKA mana-ni
   middle sandbar-LOC or: *Nakamana*-LOC
   'on the sandbar in the middle (of the river)' or 'in Nakamana'

   奈可中次下 14:3419.2 Kamitsuke
   na-Nka nak-as-i-si mo
   you-POSS to.weep-HON-INF-PAST(ATTR) PT
   'even your having wept…'

The first example is the most likely instance of a semantographic usage; Mizushima interprets *nakamana* as meaning a sandbar in the middle of a river – though in this case it could simply be a place name (1996: 109). I agree that it is probably a place name, but cannot affirm the more specific reading. At this point, I will cautiously read 中 *naka* as a semantogram in 3401.

The second citation is far more problematic. Mizushima's reading (1996: 116-117) follows Hōjō (273-275), and is summarized in the above morphological analysis; however, it is problematic on several points: (1) reading 可 as /Nka/ is unusual; (2) likewise irregular is the reading of both 中 /naka/ and 下 /simo/ as disyllabic *kungana*. Although Hōjō/Mizushima's approach does make the verse intelligible (there are further

difficulties in the other lines of this poem), the liberties they take with the orthography make me wary to immediately accept the reading as such.

If we interpret 中 *naka* as a semantogram in 3401 and a disyllabic *kungana* in 3419, then it is an additional case of a single character occurring as both semantogram and *kungana* in Eastern Old Japanese.

2. 湍 *se* 'rapids' is attested once in the corpus, in poem 14:3551.3:

   比良湍尓母 14:3551.3 Unknown
   pîra SE-ni mö
   flat\normal rapids\lover-LOC PT
   'even in the level rapids' and 'even for a plain man'

3551 is a jilted woman's song, and this particular line evidently contains a pun, playing on both the semantographic sense of *se* 'rapids,' and another presumably homophonous word *se* 'lover' or 'husband,' resulting in the unflattering comparison of a "plain man" to "flat rapids" (i.e., where no waves are rising up – perhaps also satirizing impotence). As such, I believe the character 湍 *se* 'rapids' is used *simultaneously* as a semantogram and as a *kungana* phonogram. This is the only example of such a use that I am aware of.

3. 根 *ne* 'root' appears three times, in Book XIV only; two occurrences are definitely semantographic (in poems 3498 and 3500); but the appearance in poem 14:3508 is more problematic:

   根都古具佐 14:3508.3 Unknown
   NEtukô-N-kusa
   netuko-DV-grass
   '(like) the Netuko grasses…'

Mizushima (1996: 155), following other commentaries, believes that *netuko-Nkusa* refers to a plant known as *okinagusa* in Modern Japanese, a sort of perennial grass with lavender flowers and thick white gossamer-like hairs when seeding. It is not unimaginable that the word 'root' should come to be found in the name of this or any other plant; however, there is no particular reason to suppose that is the case here. If we interpret the appearance of 根 *ne* 'root' in 3508 as a pure *kungana*, then this is one more instance of a character that can occur as both semantogram and *kungana* phonogram.

4. 下 *simo* 'below' or 'under' is also found only once in the corpus, in poem 14:3419.2, already mentioned in the above discussion of 中 *naka*. In this case, I believe the character is either a *kungana* or a semantogram; however, it is not likely that any final determination can be made on the matter. I have provisionally included 下 *simo* in my list of semantograms in Table 4.1, citing the difficulty in its reading.

5. Several characters that may be semantographic occur mainly or entirely in proper nouns (place names); as such, it is extremely difficult if not impossible to determine whether they are in fact semantograms or merely *kungana* phonograms. Modern native-speaker intuition is rarely helpful here, as they tend to reanalyze certain man'yōgana semantically. The following six characters fall into this class: 見 *mî* 'to see', 水 *mî* 'water', 野 *nô* 'plain', 瀬 *se* 'rapids', 田 *ta* 'rice field', 井 *wi* 'well'; all are listed in Table 4.1, with the annotation PN (place name) next to the specific doubtful citations. All of these except 瀬 *se* occur at least once in a form which is undoubtedly semantographic; certain other cases may be pure *kungana* phonograms. The case of 瀬 is more difficult; it occurs only twice in the corpus, spelling the perhaps related (or identical) place names *Minanose* and *Miyanose* – both referring to rivers. While I think these examples are semantographic, one or both may indeed be phonographic.

4.1.3 OTHER KINDS OF WRITING IN EASTERN OLD JAPANESE

There are no known examples of rebus writing in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese (see Miyake (2003a) pp. 26-27 and Vovin (2005) pp. 34-36, for fuller descriptions of this very unique manner of writing).

Marc Miyake has suggested (2003b: 96) that if there is in fact no phonological distinction between ê and ë in Eastern Old Japanese, the two distinct sets of man'yōgana used (in Central Old Japanese) to represent the Type-A and Type-B vowels may nevertheless have been employed to represent a perceptible phonetic (i.e., allophonic) distinction. He does not, however, provide any explanation of what sort of environment could condition the change from one allophone to the other. Other internal evidence from vowel and consonant alternations may also provide evidence that the writing makes allophonic in addition to phonemic distinctions. I will look into this problem in more detail in the phonology section below.

4.2 PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Eastern Old Japanese is perhaps the most linguistically interesting, that is to say difficult, aspect of these dialects. It has been approached in considerable detail by Fukuda, Hōjō, and Mizushima (particularly in 1983a, though that study is limited to the Azuma Uta). However, all of these studies, and particularly Mizushima's work, show an over-reliance on *kana* spellings, which may obscure the more basic phonological processes at work, and multiply the number and complexity of explanations needed to account for the observed phenomena. Of these studies, only Hōjō (whose treatment of phonology is most thorough in general) has looked in depth at the behavior of consonants in Eastern Old Japanese. Fukuda, in contrast, has used vowel alternations as the basis for some complex work in dialect division; and Mizushima likewise has produced a convincing map revealing a greater number of vowel misspellings in the easternmost dialects. Two other general works in Japanese do include brief descriptions of some of the unique phonological features of Eastern Old Japanese: Saeki (1950: 39-44) provides

examples of vowel alternations, while Shirafuji (1987: 230-240) lists both vowel and consonant alternations in a table organized by historical provinces.

There is far less material available in Western languages. Vovin discusses certain aspects of Eastern Old Japanese syntax in his grammar (2005, and volume two forthcoming), and Miyake (2003a and 2003b) hints several times at work he would like to do on Eastern phonetics and phonology. Syromiatnikov's Old Japanese grammar (1981) makes only a few scattered comments on Eastern features, mostly syntactic. A full, systematic study of Eastern Old Japanese phonology, and the interacting aspects of its orthography and morphology, remains to be produced.

4.2.1 CONSONANTS

The principal evidence for a reconstruction of the sounds of Eastern Old Japanese, vocalic and consonantal, must come from a phonetic reconstruction based on the sound values of the phonograms. Such a reconstruction would likely require the space of a full monograph, and is well beyond the scope of the present study. As such, I will not be offering here a full description of a consonant system – only a handful of unique characteristics will be presented, based on evidence from consonant alternations indicated in the orthography. These alternations are described in detail in the following five sections. Presently, I will give an outline of my proposals and the evidence for each.

The most convincingly attested characteristic of Eastern Old Japanese consonantal phonology is a unique, and I believe innovative, allophone of /t/ that occurs before the high front vowel /i/. While the exact phonetic quality of this allophone is irrecoverable, I believe it was most likely palatalized in some way – it may have been an affricate [ts] (like the [tsɯ] of Modern Japanese) or even [tʃ] (like modern [tʃi], corresponding to Central Old Japanese *[ti]), retaining both the stop quality of the original sound, and adding a palatal element due to assimilation. Syllables containing this alternation are represented in the orthography using symbols that in Central Old Japanese contained a combination of sibilant and high vowel *[si] (or *[ʃi]). Since the poems of Eastern Old Japanese were likely recorded by speakers from central Japan, using a writing system originally designed for the central dialect, it is reasonable to assume that they would try to match the sounds they heard as best they could into the confines of the writing system – possibly in this case writing an affricate such as [ts] using symbols designed for recording only the more noticeable fricative (or continuous) element. Certainly much of the phonetic uniqueness of the Eastern dialects has been permanently lost in this way, due to an ill-fit with the orthography.

Although this alternation – hence forth referred to by the shorthand t > s / __i[7] – is seen in the corpus with comparative frequency, it does not occur in all cases, and so was most likely dependent on speaker and dialect: the phenomenon is especially concentrated in poems attributed to the north-central province of Musashi and the general Keno region; it is not found in the westernmost provinces (Region C). My theory is that in cases when the alternation is seen, the scribe chose to record the unfamiliar syllable using

[7] "t > s" is not meant to imply that the /t/ and /s/ phonemes had merged before the high front vowel; rather, it refers to the *transcriptional evidence* contained in the surviving texts, which spells etymological /ti/ with characters otherwise used to write *[si] or *[ʃi]. This method of notation is used throughout this chapter.

phonograms for sounds that most closely approximated it in the values of his native dialect (presumably, Central Old Japanese). When the alternation is not seen, four factors may be responsible: (1) the speaker was not producing the palatal allophone, because it did not exist in his particular dialect; (2) the speaker was not producing the allophone because he was using the Central (prestigious) pronunciation; (3) whoever was transcribing the poem also had a palatalized form in his dialect in the same position, and so 'correctly' understood what phoneme was being produced; or (4) the scribe or a later editor 'revised' the spelling or otherwise chose not to represent the sound in transcription.

There is a noteworthy trend for the Central Old Japanese phoneme /r/ to manifest as /n/ in the Eastern dialects – a phenomenon also seen in Ryūkuan. While the evidence here is certainly not as strong as in the above case of a palatal allophone for /t/, I believe that some dialects in eastern Japan (the *r* > *n* alternation is not seen in Region C) may have possessed a markedly nasalized liquid. Ōno Tōru suggests that /r/ may originally have been prenasalized in the same way as the prenasalized and voiced obstruents (reported in Martin 1987: 35), and this nasal quality may have been preserved or even strengthened in some Eastern dialects, enough so that the scribes of the Azuma and Sakimori Uta choose to record it using phonograms usually employed for writing /n/-initial syllables.

Table 4.2 Frequently Observed Consonant Alternations by Province

Alternations	Tokens Observed	Unknown	Region C		Region B						Region A	
			Shinano	Tōtōmi	Kamitsuke	Suruga	Sagamu	Musashi	Hitachi	Shimotsufusa	Shimotsuke	Kamitsufusa
t > s	17	3			1			6	2	2	3	
s > t	6	3			1					1	1	
N > ø	4	4										
ø > N	4	3			1							
r > n	29	17			2		1	3		5		1
Total	60	30			5		1	9	2	8	4	1
Regional Totals			0		25						5	

These are, unfortunately, the only unique elements of the Eastern Old Japanese consonant system that can be proposed with any surety whatever. Although there are quite a few consonant alternations attested in the corpus, most of them are singular and therefore next to useless as evidence for systematic differentiation of this dialect from the Central dialect whose script it is recorded in. The data for these alternations are presented in the following four sections, while the distribution of the most frequently observed alternations across the Kantō provinces is described in Table 4.2. Three other kinds of 'regular' consonant alternations (*s* > *t*, and two types of alternations involving prenasalization and voicing) are listed in the table, although, as I explain in the individual

citation and discussion sections below, I believe these are isolated examples, perhaps based on a handful of commonly occurring types; nonetheless, they do seem to represent a noteworthy trend in the consonantal phonology of Eastern Old Japanese.

No regular consonant alternations are seen in any poems from the westernmost area, Hino's Region C. Region B includes the greatest number of poems and also shows a large number of alternations (none, however, are seen in the poems of Suruga, the southwesternmost province – although a very large number of vowel alternations are found in those same verses). The poems of Musashi province in particular show a comparatively large number of alternations; most of these are found in Book XX. Region B slightly exceeds Region A proportionally, that is, in terms of number of alternations relative to the number of lines of poetry attributed to the region (Table 4.3 contains an elaboration of these data). Hence, the general trend for consonant alternations in Eastern Old Japanese does not correspond perfectly to the regional break-down proposed by Hino, since Region B appears to be proportionally more marked than Region C. I would recommend that Musashi, Hitachi, and Shimotsufusa be isolated in a new region, midway (geographically, and in terms of observed features) between the current Region A and Region B. This would better match the data I've gathered regarding consonant and vowel alternations, as these three provinces share a large number of regular alternations. I will discuss my new regional break-down at end of this chapter, in section 4.2.3.

Table 4.3 Proportional Consonant Alternations

Region	Lines of Verse	Alternations
Region C	90	0
Region B	680	25 (3.7%)
Region A	145	5 (3.5%)
Regional Total	915	30 (3.3%)
Unknown	769	30 (3.9%)
Total	1684	60 (3.6%)

4.2.1.1 *Consonant Alternations I: t > s*

The most frequently observed consonant alternation in Eastern Old Japanese is the appearance of sibilant /s/ for an expected non-sibilant obstruent /t/ (*t* > *s*). This alternation is most common among the Sakimori Uta – only four examples are found in Book XIV. In terms of region, it is seen in poems from the provinces of Musashi, Kamitsuke, Hitachi, and Shimotsufusa (Region B), and in Shimotsuke (Region A), as well as appearing in poems of unknown origin. The alternation of *t* > *s* is also common in many dialects of Modern Japanese (Martin 1987: 33) There are seventeen tokens in the corpus, of ten types:

1. 'to rise' 'to stand' *tat-* > *tas-* (4)

   祢呂尓都久多思 14:3395.2 Hitachi
   ne-rö-ni tuku tas-i
   peak-EDIM-LOC moon rise-INF
   'the moon rises over the little peak (of Mt. Tukupa)'

阿良志乎母 / 多志夜波婆可流 20:4372.5-6 Hitachi
ara-si wo mö / tas-i ya paNpakar-u
rough-AFIN1 man PT / stand-INF KPT obstruct-ATTR
‘(the barrier) that prevents even a tough man from setting out (on a journey)’

布奈餘曽比 / 多志遲毛等伎尓 20:4383.3-4 Shimotsuke
puna-yösöp-î / tas-i-[i]Nte-m-ô tökî-ni
boat-make.ready-INF / rise-INF-emerge-TENT-EATTR time-LOC
‘when the boats are readied and (we) get underway…’

安之我良乃 / 美佐可尓多志弖 20:4423.1-2 Musashi
asiNkara-nö / mî-saka-ni tas-i-te
Asigara-GEN / HON-hill-LOC stand-INF-SUB
‘standing on the hill of Asigara…’

2. ‘to screen’ ‘to partition’ *pêNtat-* > *pêNtas-* (1)

等許乃敞太思尓 14:3445.5 Unknown
tökö-nö pêNtas-i n-i
bed-GEN partition-INF DV-INF
‘(the sedge) is a screen for (our) bed’

3. ‘which way’ *iNtuti* > *iNtusi* (1)

伊豆思牟伎弖可 / 伊毛我奈氣可牟 14:3474.4-5 Unknown
iNtusi muk-î-te ka / imô-Nka naNkëk-am-u
which.way face-INF-SUB KPT / darling-POSS lament-TENT-ATTR
‘(when I depart), facing in which direction – will (it make) my darling weep?’

4. ‘father’ *titi* > *sisi* (2)

阿母志々尓 / 己等麻乎佐受弖 20:4376.3-4 Shimotsuke
aMÖ sisi-ni / kötö mawos-aNs-u-te
mother father-DAT / words say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB
‘(I) didn’t speak to my mother and father…’

阿母志々可 / 多麻乃須我多波 20:4378.3-4 Shimotsuke
aMÖ sisi-Nka / tama-nö suNkata pa
mother father-POSS / jade-GEN appearance TOP
‘as for the jewel-like appearance of my mother and father…’

5. ‘coordinative gerund’ *tutu* > *tusi* (1)

奈理麻之都之母 20:4386.5 Shimotsufusa

nar-i-mas-i-tusi mö
make.living-INF-HON-INF-COOR PT
‘(my mother thinks of me) even while she is doing her chores’

6. ‘earth’ *tuti* > *tusi* (2)

阿米都之乃 / 以都例乃可美乎 20:4392.1-2 Shimotsufusa
amë tusi-nö / iNture-nö kamî-wo
heaven earth-GEN / which-GEN gods-ACC
‘to which of the gods of heaven or earth (should I pray)?’

阿米都之乃 / 可未尓奴佐於伎 20:4426.1-2 Unknown
amë tusi-nö / kamï-ni nusa ok-î
heaven earth-GEN / gods-LOC offering leave-INF
‘leave offerings to the gods of heaven and earth…’

7. ‘long sword’ *tati* > *tasi* (1)

麻久良多之 / 已志尓等里波伎 20:4413.1-2 Musashi
makura tasi / kösi-ni tör-i-pak-î
pillow sword / hip-LOC take-INF-wear-INF
‘(my beloved husband), wearing his ‘pillow sword’[8] on his hip…’

8. ‘to hold’ *möt-* > *mös-* (2)

志良多麻乎 / 弖尓刀里母之弖 20:4415.1-2 Musashi
sira tama-wo / te-ni tôr-i-mös-i-te
white jewel-ACC / hand-LOC take-hold-INF-SUB
‘(like gazing) at the pearls (I) have taken up in my hand…’

安我弖等都氣呂 / 許礼乃波流母志 20:4420.4-5 Musashi
a-Nka te-tö tukë-rö / köre n-ö paru mös-i
your.own-POSS hand-COM affix-EIMP / this DV-ATTR needle hold-INF
‘(if the sash of your robes is broken), attach (the broken ends together) with your own hands, holding (i.e., using) this needle’

9. ‘to let go’ *panat-* > *paCas-* (2)

佐野乃布奈波之 / 登里波奈之 14:3420.2-3 Kamitsuke
saNÔ-nö puna-pasi / tör-i-panas-i
PN-GEN boat-bridge / take-INF-separate-INF
‘(like how) the pontoon (lit., ‘boat’) bridge of Sano is taken (i.e., pulled) apart…’

[8] *Makura tasi*, ‘pillow sword,’ refers to a sword kept beside the pillow while sleeping; this is a metaphorical way of referring to the hardships of soldiering.

阿加胡麻乎 / 夜麻努尓波賀志 20:4417.1-2 Musashi
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-wo / yama nô-ni paNkas-i
red-DV-DIM-horse-ACC / mountain moor-LOC let.go-INF
‘(I) released my chestnut colt (to run) on the mountains and the plains…’

10. ‘walking’ *kati* > *kasi* (1)

加志由加也良牟 20:4417.5 Musashi
kasi-yu ka yar-am-u
on.foot-ABL KPT make.go-TENT-ATTR
‘will (my horse that ran away) make me go on foot?’

From the above data, we see that this alternation only occurs before the high front vowel /i/. The only difficult examples are numbers five and nine. In five, *tusi* is thought to be an irregular form of *tutu*, the coordinative verbal gerund. Presumably, the vowel would have fronted first, *tutu* > *tuti*, and then the consonant could palatalize through regressive assimilation with the vowel: *tuti* > *tusi*. Miyake believes that Old Japanese /s/ may have been realized as a palatal allophone before front vowels (2003a: 183) – a typical phenomenon in the world’s languages, and a feature common to Modern Standard Japanese, and probably also to Middle Japanese (Vovin 2003: 15). If /s/ did manifest a palatal allophone before front vowels (unfortunately there are no examples of this alternation before the front mid vowel), it would lend further support to my hypothesis that the *t* > *s* alternation in Eastern Old Japanese is the result of partial assimilation of the consonant to the following vowel.

In number nine, the observed verb form *paNkas-* is highly irregular, but in the context of the poem its meaning is very clearly ‘to let go’ or ‘to set free’ (the object is a horse); on the other hand, the form *panas-* is regarded as a typical Eastern form of the verb *panat-* ‘to let go’ (Ōno 1983: 1046), though it is only seen in the infinitive form. (In later Japanese, *fanas-* does occur, and *hanas-* is found in the modern language. Perhaps these are reanalyses based on a loan from an Eastern dialect?) To the best of my knowledge, *panas-* is not attested in the contemporaneous Central Old Japanese dialect; thus, if we accept it as a uniquely Eastern form, it follows that it is a typical example of the *t* > *s* alternation. While it is not entirely clear that *paNkas-* and *panas-* should be treated as alternations of the same verb, I believe there is strong evidence that this is the case: they are semantically similar (there are too few attestations to say ‘identical’), and phonologically identical apart from the middle consonant.

I regard the alternation of *t* > *s* as an innovation of the Eastern dialects, possibly preserved in a number of words borrowed into the standard language or other modern dialects, along the lines of *hanas-* ‘to let go’ discussed above. Given the comparatively high quality of the evidence (seventeen tokens of ten types, found in varied morphological environments in nouns, pronouns, and verbs), I believe this alternation deserves serious consideration.

4.2.1.2 *Consonant Alternations II: s > t*

The opposite alternation, the change of /s/ to /t/ also occurs, but far less frequently. There are six examples in the corpus; all but one involve the *kakari* particle *sö*:

1. *kakari* particle *sö* > *tö* (5)

   比等登於多波布 14:3409.4 Kamitsuke
   pîtö tö otapap-u
   person KPT HAPAX-ATTR
   Otapap- is a *hapax legomenon*, making this line rather unintelligible; however, *tö* certainly appears to be a *kakari* particle.

   伊之布麻受 / 蘇良由登伎奴与 14:3425.3-4 Shimotsuke
   isi pum-aNs-u / sôra-yu tö k-î-n-u yö
   stone step-NEG-FIN / sky-ABL KPT come-INF-PERF-FIN1 PT
   ‘without stepping on the stones, (you) came (to me) through the sky’

   伎美乎等麻刀母 14:3561.5 Unknown
   kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö
   lord\you-ACC KPT wait-EATTR PT
   ‘(I) will wait for you’

   於枳弖等母枳奴 20:4385.5 Shimotsufusa
   ok-î-te tö mö k-î-n-u
   leave.behind-INF-SUB KPT PT come-INF-PERF-FIN
   ‘I left (my wife and child) and came (here)’

   伊遅弖登阿我久流 20:4430.5 Unknown
   iNte-te tö a-Nka k-uru
   emerge(INF)-SUB KPT I-POSS come-ATTR
   ‘I will come, thinking that (I should) leave’

2. ‘to shine in’ *sas-* > *sat-* (1)

   宇知比佐都 / 美夜能瀬河泊能 14:3505.1-2 Unknown
   uti-pî sat-u / mîyanöSE KApa-nö
   PREF-sun shine.in-ATTR? / PN river-GEN
   ‘(like the morning glories) on the “sun-sparkling” Miyanose river’

All instances of the change *s* > *t* occur in front of back vowels, the opposite conditioning environment from that proposed above for the *t* > *s* alternation. The general rarity of fortition in contrast to lenition may explain, at least partially, why there are so few examples of this change. The examples cited in number one are heterogeneous and do not appear to indicate any regular morphosyntactic environment to condition the choice. Ignoring these, the example of *sas-* > *sat-* is sole of its kind, and it is impossible to make

any generalization from a singular instance. As such, I think it is best to describe the *s* > *t* alternation as an irregular innovation probably limited to a few dialects, unless additional evidence can be cited from more diverse morphological environments or dialects.

4.2.1.3 *Consonant Alternations III: Voicing and Prenasalization*

Two kinds of prenasalization alternations exist in Eastern Old Japanese: changes from prenasalized to simple sibilants, and prenasalization of obstruents (possibly only sibilants). The phenomenon of prenasalization and concomitant voicing in most Old Japanese texts – including *Man'yōshū* and the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki* – is especially difficult to investigate, as the orthography does not reliably represent the distinction. Most often, characters ordinarily used to write voiceless obstruents will be used to record the voiced and prenasalized sounds (e.g., 伊弖可天尓 *iNte-kate-n-i* 'was unable to leave' 14:3534.3); the inverse expression is less common, but is attested in a handful of cases (e.g., 思努婆毛 *sinôp-am-ô* 'I will long for (her)' 14:3516.5). Some corroborating evidence can be had by comparing the orthography in multiple manuscripts, but even these sources must in the end be treated skeptically; and such a broad investigation is far beyond the scope of the present work. Then, in studying alternations in the voicing of obstruents, the most reliable data is found when the same word is attested multiple times in identical spelling. A conservative study of this type will find comparatively few reliable cases of voicing alternations; specifically in Eastern Old Japanese we see a loss of prenasalization reliably attested in two words: 'last night' *kîsö*, cognate to Central Old Japanese *kîNsö*, and *yusup-* 'to tie'. There are four examples of *kîsö* in the corpus, all in Book XIV, and all spelled identically; the Central voiced form does not occur at all. *Yusup-* is attested twice, but both times in the same poem; the cognate Central form *musuNp-* occurs once.

1. 'last night' *kîNsö* > *kîsö* (4)

   伎曽母許余比毛 14:3505.5 Unknown
   kîsö mö kö-yöpî mô
   last.night PT this-evening PT
   'both last night and tonight'

   伎曽許曽波 / 兒呂等左宿之香 14:3522.1-2 Unknown
   kîsö kösö pa / KÔ-rö-tö sa-NE-sika
   last.night KPT TOP / girl-EDIM-COM PREF-sleep(INF)-PAST(EV)
   'it was just last night that (I) slept with my girl (but I feel it was long ago)'

   伎曽比登里宿而 14:3550.5 Unknown
   kîsö pîtö-ri NE-TE
   last.night one-CL sleep(INF)-SUB
   'last night I slept alone'

伎曽毛己余必母 14:3563.5 Unknown
kîsö mô kö-yöpî mö
last.night PT this-evening PT
'both last night and tonight'

2. 'to tie' *musuNp-* > *yusup-* (2)

麻由須比尓 / 由須比之比毛乃 / 登久良久毛倍婆 20:4427.3-5 (2) Unknown
ma-yusup-î-ni / yusup-î-si pîmô-nö / tök-ur[u]-aku [o]môp-ë-Npa
INT-tie-(NML)-LOC / tie-INF-PAST(ATTR) cords-GEN / come.undone-ATTR-NML think-EV-CON
'when I think (about my darling at home), the sash (of my robes) that (I) tied in a true tie, (suddenly) comes undone'

It is also noteworthy that the *kakari* particle mentioned in the above section occurs nineteen times as *sö* but only twice as *Nsö* (both in Book XX) – in fact, these two occurrences of *Nsö* are the only examples of that syllable (and the only examples of the man'yōgana character 叙) in the entire corpus. Martin examined the distribution of these two forms of the *kakari* particle in various texts (1987: 110), and found that *sö* is far more common than *Nsö* throughout the *Man'yōshū*, but that the two are seen with equal frequency in the *Kojiki*, an older text. Although it may merely be a question of editorial preference in the making of the *Man'yōshū*, this probably accounts for the very lopsided distribution of *sö* and *Nsö* seen in the Eastern poems as well. Ōno, on the other hand, believes that the *sö* form is older (1983: 1460) – an etymology that is also followed by Quinn (1997: 62). However, given the philological evidence, my skepticism prefers Martin's interpretation.

Nonetheless, the lack of a prenasalized doublet for *kîsö* in Eastern Old Japanese is troublesome. While we could regard *kîNsö* > *kîsö* as an innovation in these dialects, I think such a possibility is unlikely, and would prefer to treat the forms lacking prenasalization as conservative. The fact that in both cases, Middle Japanese possesses only voiced forms (i.e., *kizo* and *zo*) also supports this hypothesis.

There are two possible types of irregular prenasalization found in the corpus:

1. honorific marker *-as-* > *-aNs-* (1)

由豆流波乃 / 布敷麻留等伎尓 / 可是布可受可母 14:3572.3-5 Unknown
yuNtur-u-pa-nö / pupum-ar-u tökî-ni / kaNse puk-aNs-u kamö
relinquish-ATTR-leaves-GEN\COMP / still.folded-EROG-ATTR time-LOC / wind blow-HON?-ATTR? KPT
'will the winds blow when still the daphniphyllum buds are folded shut?'

It is traditional to interpret this as an example of the honorific auxiliary *-as-*, however, it is tempting to read *-aNs-* as the negative auxiliary, especially since such a reading makes sense in the context of the poem. It is also odd to use an honorific form when talking about the wind, even in a case of allegory. On the other hand, the *kakari* particle *kamo* is

usually preceded by the attributive form of verbal predicates (or the evidential in the case of irony): but if *-aNs-* is a negative marker, then it is probably followed by the final marker *-u* here. There is only one other example of an apparent negative-final-*kamo* construction in the corpus (14:3355.5), and that is also problematic. In the end, I have little difficulty reading this line with a negative verb (that is, an oblique question: 'I wonder if the winds won't blow…'), and as such, cannot regard this as a case of irregular prenasalization.

2. ironic particle *kapa* > *Nkape* (3)

    於也波左久礼騰 / 和波左可流賀倍 14:3420.4-5 Kamitsuke
    oya pa sak-ure-Ntö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapë
    parents TOP separate-EV-CONC / I TOP be.far.from-ATTR PT
    'although (our) parents keep (us) apart, will I stay away (from you)? – (no, I will not.)'

    等思佐倍已其登 / 和波佐可流我倍 14:3502.4-5 Unknown
    tösi sapë köNkötö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapë
    year PT greatly / I TOP be.far.from-ATTR PT
    'will I stay away (from you) for many years? – (no I will not.)'

    奈波多都古麻乃 / 於久流我弁 20:4429.2-3 Unknown
    napa tat-u kô-[u]ma-nö / okur-u Nkapê
    rope cut-ATTR DIM-horse-GEN / remain-FIN KPT
    'will a colt that has broken its ropes remain (in the stable)? – (no, it will not.)'

The particle *Nkape* is unique to Eastern Old Japanese, and so is difficult to interpret. It is usually considered a dialect form cognate to Central Old Japanese ironic particle *kapa* (Ōno 1983: 322; Mizushima 1996: 117). That this word always occurs after a verb (in the case of *okur-* 'to remain (behind),' we can tell it follows the final form) is perhaps significant to the prenasalization, though the shortage of examples means that this hypothesis must remain speculative only. It is also possible that the traditional etymology is incorrect. The ironic particle *kapa* (being a compound of *kakari* particle *ka* and the topic marker *pa*) is usually preceded by the attributive form of verbs and adjectives, and there is clear evidence in 4429 above that *Nkape* does not always follow that pattern. For the time being, *Nkape* must be regarded with suspicion, and not used as evidence for proposing any regular alternations.

I find, then, that alternations provide no compelling evidence to suggest that Eastern Old Japanese treated voicing and prenasalization any differently than the Central dialect. Evidence of regular alternations involving prenasalization is extremely limited in quantity and in many cases doubtful, while the only evidence for *loss* of prenasalization comes from two types: *kîsö*, attested four times in the corpus, and *yusup-* attested twice in a single poem. Two exceptions cannot stand as evidence for a regular correspondence.

4.2.1.4 *Consonant Alternations IV: Alternations Involving Nasals*

Alternations involving nasals are quite common in Eastern Old Japanese; in most cases, other kinds of consonants manifest as nasals. By far the most frequently observed alternation of this type is the change of liquid /r/ into a nasal (*r* > *n*). There are twenty-nine tokens in the corpus, of three types. In the case of the verb *nôNkan*- 'to flow,' the two tokens come from alternative versions of the same poem recorded together in Book XIV – but without a better understanding of their origins, it may be best to think of them as simple copies rather than as additional attestations. Samuel Martin mentions several other *r* > *n* alternations that have been observed in historical Japanese or in modern dialects (1987: 35), including several from various places in the Ryūkyūs. While the *r* > *n* alternation is certainly not unique to Eastern Old Japanese, it is especially prevalent in the corpus (interestingly, all examples occur in positions before the low vowel /a/). The fact that *r* > *n* also occurs in Ryūkyūan dialects may indicate that this alternation is a conservative feature.

1. 'to flow' *naNkar*- > *nôNkan*- (2)

   多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敞由家婆 14:3476a.3-4 Unknown
   tat-ô tuku-nö / nôNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Npa
   rise-EATTR moon-GEN\COMP / flow-ITER-INF-go-EV-CON
   'when the rising moon keeps flowing away (i.e., as months pass)…'

   奴我奈敞由家杼 14:3476b.1 (4) Unknown
   nuNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Ntö
   flow-ITER-INF-go-EV-CONC
   'though (the moon) keeps on flowing away (i.e., months pass)…'

Given the polyphony of 努, it is possible that in both cases the vowel of the first syllable of this verb should be /u/, i.e. *nuNkan*-. However, I strongly believe it should be read /nô/ here – see the discussion of attributive allomorph *-o* in chapter six for an analysis of 努.

3. 'diminutive suffix' *-ra* > *-na* (18)

   勢奈能我素弖母 14:3402.4 Kamitsuke
   se-na-nö-Nka sôNte mö
   lover-EDIM-DIM-POSS sleeves PT
   'even my lover's sleeves…'

   世奈波安波奈母 14:3405b.4 Kamitsuke
   se-na pa ap-ana-m-ö
   lover-EDIM TOP meet-DES-TENT-EATTR
   '(I) would like to meet my lover (where no one can see us)'

   西奈等都麻佐祢 14:3444.4 Unknown
   se-na-tö tum-as-ane

lover-EDIM-COM pluck-CAUS-DES
‘(I) would like to be allowed to pluck (the leeks) with my lover!’

伊毛奈呂我 14:3446.1 Unknown
imô-na-rö-Nka
darling-EDIM-EDIM-POSS
‘(the river where) my darling (washes)’

安敞流世奈可母 14:3463.4 Unknown
ap-êr-u se-na kamö
meet-PROG-ATTR lover-EDIM KPT
‘oh my lover, whom (I) will meet (in the village)’

和賀西奈波 14:3469.3 Unknown
wa-Nka se-na pa
I-POSS lover-EDIM TOP
‘as for my lover…’

宇倍兒奈波 / 和奴尓故布奈毛 14:3476a.1-2 Unknown
uNpë KÔ-na pa / wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô
must girl-EDIM TOP / I-DAT love-ETENT-EATTR
‘that girl whom (I must have) – she certainly will love me!’

和賀西奈尓 / 阿比与流等可毛 14:3483.3-4 Unknown
wa-Nka se-na-ni / ap-î-yör-u tö kamô
I-POSS lover-EDIM-DAT / meet-INF-approach-FIN DV KP
‘won’t I have a tryst with my lover?’

伊可奈流勢奈可 / 和我理許武等伊布 14:3536.4-5 Unknown
ika n-ar-u se-na ka / wa-Nkari kö-m-u tö ip-u
how DV-exist-ATTR lover-EDIM KPT / I-DIR come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR
‘what kind of lover is he, who (only) says he’ll come to me?’

麻末能手兒奈乎 / 麻許登可聞 / 和礼尓余須等布 / 麻末乃弖胡奈乎 14:3384.2-5 (2) Shimotsufusa
mama-nö TEKÔ-na-wo / ma-kötö kamo / ware-ni yös-u tö [i]p-u / mama-nö tekô-na-wo
Mama-GEN / PN-GEN maiden-EDIM-ACC / INT-words KPT / I-DAT have.relations-ATTR DV say-FIN / PN-GEN maiden-EDIM-ACC
‘(people) say “is he really intimate with the maiden *Teko* of Mama… with *Teko* of Mama?’

麻萬能手兒奈我 / 安里之可婆 14:3385.2-3 Shimotsufusa
mama-nö TEKÔ-na-Nka / ar-i-sika-Npa

Mama-GEN maiden-EDIM-POSS / exist-INF-PAST(EV)-CON
'since (I) have the maiden *Teko* of Mama…'

和努等里都伎弖 / 伊比之古奈波毛 20:4358.4-5 Kamitsufusa
wa-nô tör-i-tuk-î-te / ip-î-si kô-na pamô
I-DAT take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-PAST(ATTR) girl-EDIM PT
'(what should I do with) my girl, who said she clings to me?'

多比由苦世奈我 / 麻流祢世婆 20:4416.2-3 Musashi
taNpî yuk-u se-na-Nka / maru ne-se-Npa
journey go-ATTR lover-EDIM-POSS / circle sleep(INF)-do-COND
'if my husband who is going on a journey will sleep wrapped up (in this clothes)…'

和我世奈乎 / 都久之倍夜里弖 20:4422.1-2 Musashi
wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukusi-pë yar-i-te
I-POSS lover-EDIM-ACC / PN-ALL make.go-INF-SUB
'my husband was sent to Tukusi…'

世奈我許呂母波 20:4424.2 Musashi
se-na-Nka körömö pa
lover-EDIM-POSS robes TOP
'as for my husband's robes…'

伊波比都々 / 伊麻世和我世奈 20:4426.4 Unknown
ipap-î-tutu / imas-e wa-Nka se-na
perform.rites-INF-COOR / exist(HON)-IMP I-POSS lover-EDIM
'my husband – keep on doing the rituals (while you are away)'

和我世奈乎 / 都久志波夜利弖 20:4428.1-2 Unknown
wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukusi-pa yar-i-te
I-POSS lover-EDIM-ACC / PN-ALL make.go-INF-SUB
'my husband was sent to Tukusi…'

It is highly likely that the compound *se-na* 'husband' or 'lover' (either way, this can only refer to a male) was reanalyzed with the /n/ phoneme and lexicalized in Eastern Old Japanese (**se-ra* does not occur), since the vast majority of instances of diminutive *-na* are in this form. The frequency of the alternative form of the diminutive suffix among the Sakimori Uta is particularly impressive: *-na* occurs six times, but *-ra* only thrice. There is some doubt as to whether diminutive *-na* is cognate to Central Old Japanese *-ra*. If *-na* exists at all in Central Old Japanese, it is only in relic forms such as *okîna* 'old man' (Vovin 2005: 211) though there is no corroborating evidence to prove that this is the same diminutive. If this is the case, then *-na* is certainly a conservative retention in Eastern Old Japanese. Both *-na* and *-ra* are attested in the eastern dialects: however, there is little overlap in their functionality, as is shown in Table 4.4 on the next page.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Diminutive Suffixes in Eastern Old Japanese					
Diminutive Suffix	Preceding Noun				Totals
	se 'husband'	*imô* 'wife'	*kô* 'girl'	*tekô* 'maiden'	
-kô	4	7	--	--	11
-rö	7	2	18	--	27
-ra	--	--	11	--	11
-na	12	1	2	3	18
Totals	23	10	31	3	67

In Eastern Old Japanese, the diminutive *-ra* only occurs after the word *kô* 'girl' or 'child' (it is possible that *some* of these cases of *kô-ra* traditionally read as diminutive, i.e. 'my girl,' may actually contain the pluralizer *-ra*, and be in reference to children), which was probably a lexicalized compound. On the other hand, diminutive *-na* occurs only with *se* 'husband' or 'male lover,' with *imô* 'wife' or 'female lover,' and with the special term *tekô*. There are only two instances of overlap with *-ra*, both after *kô* 'girl.' One of these occurs in the poem 14:3476a, which contains twelve dialect features and is the most dialectally marked verse in the corpus (province unknown); the other occurs in Book XX and is attributed to Kamitsufusa in Region A – it contains two dialect features:

a. 宇倍兒奈波 / 和奴尓故布奈毛 / 多刀都久能 / 努賀奈儆由家婆 / 故布思可流奈母 14:3476a Unknown
uNpë KÔ-na pa / wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô / tat-ô tuku-nö / nôNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Npa / kôpusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
must girl-EDIM TOP / I-DAT love-ETENT-EATTR / rise-EATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER-INF?-go-EV-CON / longed.for-INF-exist-ETENT-EATTR
'that girl whom (I) must (have) – (she) certainly will love me! When the rising moon flows away (i.e., as time goes by), (she) certainly will long for (me)!'

b. 於保伎美乃 / 美許等加志古美 / 伊弖久礼婆 / 和努等里都伎弖 / 伊比之古奈波毛 20:4358 Kamitsufusa
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö kasikô-mî / iNte-k-ure-Npa / wa-nô tör-i-tuk-î-te / ip-î-si kô-na pamô
great-lord-GEN / HON-words awesome-GER / emerge(INF)-come-EV-CON / I-DAT take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-PAST(ATTR) girl-EDIM PT
'how awesome is the command of my sovereign! (But) since I (had to) come out (to Tukusi), (I wonder what I should do) about that girl who says she clings to me…'

These are the only examples showing that the distribution of diminutives *-ra* and *-na* was *not* entirely conditioned by the words to which they were suffixed. Importantly, both occur in poems that contain multiple dialect features, one of which is attributed to the easternmost Region A. In contrast, there are no instances of *kô-ra* in any poems from Region A (there are six tokens in Region B and one in Region C; four tokens occur in poems of unknown province). Similarly, *se-na* is found in three tokens attributed to

Musashi and two attributed to Kamitsuke (both in Region B), plus seven times in poems of unknown origin; *tekô-na* occurs three times in poems of Shimotsufusa (Region B). To summarize, then, *-ra* is found in Regions C and B, *-na* in Regions B and A. I believe the two instances of *kô-na* above were produced by speakers of strongly marked eastern dialects, and so will propose the following: in westernmost Region C, only *-ra* was used, due to influence from Central Old Japanese; in Region B, both *-ra* and *-na* were used; however, their distribution was conditioned by the noun to which they were suffixed. But in the easternmost Region A, only *-na* was used, accounting for example (b) above, and probably example (a) as well. Although poem 14:3476a in example (a) is not attributed to any province, it is so densely packed with eastern features that it, too, must have been produced by a speaker of one of the most marked of the Eastern Old Japanese dialects.

4. 'tentative auxiliary' *-uram-* > *-unam-* (9)

   思保美都奈武賀 14:3366.5 Sagamu
   sipo mît-unam-u ka
   tide fill-ETENT-ATTR KPT
   'will the tide be full (in the Minanose river, when I go to visit my lover)?'

   和奴尓故布奈毛 14:3476a.2 Unknown
   wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô
   I-DAT love-ETENT-EATTR
   '(she) certainly will love me!'

   故布思可流奈母 14:3476a.5 Unknown
   kôpusi-k(u) ar-unam-ö
   longed.for-INF-exist-ETENT-EATTR
   '(she) certainly will long (for me)!'

   於毛布奈牟 / 已許呂宇都久思 14:3496.3-4 Unknown
   omôp-unam-u / kökörö utukusi
   love-ETENT-ATTR / heart beautiful(FIN?)
   '(her) heart, with which (she) certainly loves me, is beautiful'

   安我已許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 14:3526.3-4 Unknown
   a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ö tö
   I-POSS heart / two go-ETENT-EATTR DV
   '(don't think) that my heart must go in two (i.e., after two women)!'

   麻比等其等 / 於毛抱須奈母呂 14:3552.3-4 Unknown
   ma-pîtö-N-kötö / omôp-os-unam-ö rö
   INT-people-words / think-HON-ETENT-EATTR DV
   'certainly (you) think that people's words (with which they spread rumors, are as noisy as crashing waves)…'

和乎可麻都那毛 14:3563.4 Unknown
wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô
I-ACC KPT wait-ETENT-VEATTR
‘will (you) be sure to wait for me (tonight)?’

以母加去々里波 / 阿用久奈米加母 20:4390.4-5 Shimotsufusa
imö-Nka kökörö pa / ayôk-unam-ë kamö
darling-POSS heart TOP / shake-ETENT-EV KPT
‘must my darling’s affection waver? – (no, it will not)?’

奴佐麻都理 / 阿加古比須奈牟 20:4391.3-4 Shimotsufusa
nusa matur-i / a-Nka kôpî s-unam-u
offering offer-INF / I-POSS pray.for(INF) do-ETENT-ATTR
‘I will make offerings and be sure to pray (to the gods of the provinces)’

The case is similar for the tentative auxiliary *-unam-*: it is seen nine times in the corpus, versus seven times for the standard or Central Old Japanese form *-uram-*.

Why this alternation should be observed only before the low vowel /a/ is unclear. It may be purely coincidental, and the change may have been unconditioned – though in that case, it should be observed much more frequently. Since the two tokens of *nôNkan-* are both attested in the same poem, they can be dismissed as idiosyncratic. The remaining data all come from *-na* and *-unam-*; as such, I regard the alternation of *r* > *n* as an irregular sound change that became lexicalized in these two high-frequency words.

There are several kinds of alternations involving the labial nasal /m/. Both /p/ and /Np/ appear as /m/, and /m/ in turn can manifest as /n/.

1. ‘seedling’ *napë* > *namï* (1)

多礼曽許能 / 屋能戸於曽夫流 / 尓布奈未尓 14:3460.1-3 Unknown
tare sö-kö-nö / YA-nö TÔ osö-Npur-u / nipu-namï-ni
who that-place-GEN / house-GEN door push-shake-ATTR / new-seedling-LOC
‘during the rice seedling thanksgiving rituals, when the door of that house over there (belonging to whom?) is being swung (open)…’

Although both /p/ and /m/ are both labial, I can think of little motivation for this particular alternation. The best explanation may be through native-speaker reanalysis: *nipi-napë* (literally ‘new-seedlings’) as the name of an agricultural festival also appears in later texts as *nifi-name* ‘new-tasting’ – this alternative form may be an original doublet not reported in the older texts, or an innovation by semantic reanalysis. Either way, if the form *nipi-name* existed in eastern Japan at this time, then the only sure alternation here is in the final vowel.

2. ‘briar’ *uNpara* > *umara* (1)

   宇万良能宇礼尓 / 波保麻米乃 20:4352.2-3 Kamitsufusa
   umara-nö ure-ni / pap-o mamë-nö
   briar-GEN tip-LOC / spread-EATTR bean.vine-COMP
   ‘like bean vines that spread over the tips of the briar boughs’

Martin explains that alternations of /b/ and /m/ are still obvious in many words in Modern Japanese, both standard and dialect varieties (1987: 31). Although his list does not include ‘briar,’ he cites Arisaka Hideyo as including *umara* > *ubara* in a list of words that acquired their obstruent form in the Heian period. Following this, I regard the Eastern form *umara* as a retention.

3. ‘to be full’ *mît-* > *nöt-* (1)

   故尓毛乃多奈布 14:3444.4 Unknown
   kô-ni mô nöt-anap-u
   basket-LOC PT fill.up-ENEG-FIN
   ‘the basket does not fill up’

Another isolated example. Perhaps the backing of the vowel *î* > *ö* caused the preceding nasal consonant to move back as well.

Several other consonant alternations – all of them weakly attested – are presented by Hōjō (1966: 429-434). It is unlikely that, given the limitations of the corpus, any future research can reveal greater detail regarding the status of the consonants of Eastern Old Japanese.

4.2.2 VOWELS

Unlike the consonants, the vowels of Eastern Old Japanese have been studied in very impressive detail, not only by Hōjō, but also by Fukuda and Mizushima. Both Fukuda and Mizushima have also used their vowel descriptions as a foundation for dialect division: in the case of Fukuda, based on vowel alternations (1965: 290-331, with maps on pp.474-479), and Mizushima based on Type-A/Type-B misspellings (reported in Mizushima 1996: 50). Since so much work has already been done in the vocalic arena, I will limit myself here to a brief description of the historical process of vowel raising – which relates importantly to the study of predicates in Eastern Old Japanese – and a short quantitative analysis of the types and distributions of vowel alternations that are observed in the corpus. I hope that this last in particular will serve to give a clear overview of at least one element of the vowel system of these dialects. Because the data for vowel alternations are so much more numerous than is the case for consonants, I will not provide them all here; instead, a full presentation is given in Appendix D.

4.2.2.1 *Vowel raising in earlier stages of Japanese*

It is now established theory that several vowel raisings took place sometime between the stages of Proto-Japonic and Central Old Japanese, specifically, **o* raised and merged with **u* to produce /u/, and **e* raised and merged with **i*, resulting in /î/, though there were exceptions to this raising in certain positions, and as such, some instances of Proto-Japonic **o* and **e* retained their mid-vowel quality, becoming /ô/ and /ê/, respectively, in Central Old Japanese. Most other instances of Old Japanese /ê/ were produced from an original diphthong, **ia*, and in the same way, most instances of /ô/ resulted from the diphthong **ua* (possibly also merged with **au*). The Proto-Japonic diphthongs **ai*, on the one hand, and **ui* and **əi* on the other, also raised, becoming Central Old Japanese /ë/ (probably still a diphthong) and /ï/ (ditto). All along, the Proto-Japonic vowels **a* and **ə* remained more or less intact, becoming /a/ and /ö/. For more elaborate views on vowel raising, first check Samuel Martin, who does a wonderful job of summarizing the state-of-the-art of theorizing in this area from two decades ago (1987: 58-64). A more recent account is given in Miyake's phonetics text (2003a: 77-84) and, much more abbreviated, in Hino (2003). Marc Miyake has also proposed that a chain shift took place between Proto-Japonic and Old Japanese, necessary to balance the vowel system after the first raisings took place (he introduces this theory in 2003b: 89-91).

The dialects of Eastern Old Japanese show several conservative vowel features; most importantly, they often manifest pre-raising vowel forms: /e/ appears for Central Old Japanese /î/ (reflecting the vowel system before **e, i* > /î/), and /ô/ appears for /u/ (**o, u* > /u/). Eastern Old Japanese also contains many examples of alternations where a vowel phoneme of at least partial diphthongal origin (i.e., /ï/, /ê/, or /ë/ in Central Old Japanese) is written with the first component of its source diphthong: /a/ appears for /e/ (**ai* > /ë/)[9], /î/ for /e/ (**ia* > /ê/), and /u/ for /ï/ (**ui, əi* > /ï/). However, the most frequently attested alternations are those involving the appearance of /e/ in Eastern Old Japanese for an expected /î/, and /ô/ for /u/; specifically, these forms are often seen in the attributive auxiliaries of verbs and adjectives. In the case of quadri-grade verbs, the attributive allomorphs *-o* and *-u* contrast with the final allomorph *-u*; with bi-grade verbs, the attributive *-uru* (and perhaps also *-o*) contrasts with final *-u*. The alternative forms of the attributive appear to be in free variation (both forms may be found in the same poem). The expected attributive form **-uro* does not occur with bi-grade verbs. With adjectives, the attributive can appear as either *-ke* or *-kî* (*-kï* is not attested) in contrast to the final *-si*. The unique attributives of Eastern Old Japanese are described in detail in Chapter Six.

The most important result of this variation is that the attributive forms of the frequently occurring quadri-grade verbs can be distinctly identified, whereas in Central Old Japanese a written distinction only existed among the bi-grade verbs. The ability to clearly identify the attributive and final auxiliaries of verbs and adjectives makes possible a more minute inspection of the various predicating roles these can play, and the various sorts of relations that obtain between them and certain other function words. A

[9] Most of the observed substitutions of /a/ for an "e" vowel appear where we would find /ê/ in Central Old Japanese, e.g. *ipa* < *ipê* 'home' (six tokens), *-ka-* < *-kê-* adjective evidential maker (three tokens). This is not what we would expect, but it can, perhaps be explained. I will discuss the issue in greater detail later.

description of this distinction and its significance for the study of Eastern Old Japanese predicates will be the focus of the later parts of this paper.

4.2.2.2 *Vowel alternations in Eastern Old Japanese*

Since the above section focused on the two most important vowel raisings relative to Eastern Old Japanese, the change from **o* > *u* and from **e* > *î*, and how these affected the attributive predicate forms of verbs and adjectives, the following section will concentrate on other types of vowel alternations involving more irregular forms. As such, the unique Eastern dialect forms of the attributive predicates (i.e., *-o* and *-ke*), as well as certain other stereotypical Eastern forms (namely, the locative case marker *-na*, and the progressive verbal auxiliary *-ar-*), will not be included in the data presented here. I believe these forms were probably reanalyzed with low vowels and lexicalized in the dialects – including them among the other observed vowel alternations would significantly skew the results. Table 4.5 on the following page summarizes the remaining vowel alternations found in the corpus.

As can be seen very roughly from these data, the most stable vowel is /ï/, followed by /a/, with only ten and eleven token instances of alternation, respectively. In the case of /ï/, eighty-percent of these alternations (eight tokens) are into /u/ – this form is historically predicted in the case of *tuku* 'moon' and *kuku* 'leek' (Martin reconstructs their Proto-Japonic forms as **tuku-Ci* and **kuku-Ci* respectively; 1987: 554 and 462), accounting for seven tokens. On the other hand, *pï* 'fire' is reconstructed with Proto-Japonic **ö* (Martin 1987: 405) – this alternation of /ï/ to /u/ is harder to explain.

Phoneme /u/ is also comparatively stable, with only seventeen alternations. The remaining vowels have a much more marked tendency to alternate, often in specific ways. The single most frequently observed vocalic alternation is of /ô/ > /u/, which appears nineteen times in the corpus. On the other hand, there are no instances of /ö/ > /u/ in the corpus, which fact is further evidence in support of treating /ô/ and /ö/ as phonologically distinct vowels. (The two types of "o" vowels are misspelled far less frequently than the two "e" vowels.) Other frequently occurring vowel alternations are /e/ > /a/ (thirteen examples; all but one of these are for words originally spelled with /ê/ in Central Old Japanese); /ö/ > /e/ (seen in fourteen instances); /e/ > /î/ (ten examples); and /î/ > /u/, /î/ > /e/, and /ï/ > /u/ (eight examples each).

Two trends, then, are most notable in these data: (1) the tendency for pre-raising alternates (high and mid vowels); and (2) the tendency for front-back alternations. In the first category, the alternation of /î/ > /e/ occurs eight times; /ï/ > /u/ also appears in eight instances; /u/ > /ô/ and /u/ > /ö/ together include ten tokens (again, this is not including any instances of the unique attributive *-o*); /e/ > /î/ appears in ten instances; and /e/ > /a/ thirteen times.[10] In terms of front-back alternations, /ö/ > /e/ occurs fourteen times (/ô/ >

[10] All but one instance of the /e/ > /a/ alternations are in worlds usually spelled with the Central Old Japanese A-Type vowels /ê/, although in a pre-raising form we would expect to find /a/ appearing for an original /ë/. I believe this is further proof that ê and ë were not phonologically distinct in Eastern Old Japanese. It may be possible that, in Eastern Japan at least, the change of **ia, *e* > *e* took place first, and then a second change **ai* > *e* occurred very close in time to the recording of the Azuma and Sakimori Uta, resulting in a merger of the originally distinct vowel phonemes. Then, if no distinction was being

/e/ only four times). There are eight examples of the /î/ > /u/ alternation. However the alternations of /e/ > /o/ (either type) and /u/ > /î/ are comparatively few.

Table 4.5 Observed Vowel Alternations by Province and Region

Alternations	Vowel Totals		Unknown	Region C		Region B						Region A	
				Shinano	Tōtōmi	Kamitsuke	Suruga	Sagamu	Musashi	Hitachi	Shimotsufusa	Shimotsuke	Kamitsufusa
a > u	4	11	2		1							1	
a > ê	4		3		1								
a > ô	1		1										
a > ö	2		1					1					
î > u	8	22	2					2	1	1	1		1
î > e	8		5				1			2			
î > ô	2					1							1
î > ö	4		2				1				1		
ï > u	8	10	3			1			2	1		1	
ï > e	2						1					1	
u > a	2	17	1		1								
u > î	5		2							1	2		
u > ô	7		4		1						2		
u > ö	3					1			2				
e > a	13	34	5			1			3	1	1	1	1
e > î	10		3				3		1	1	2		
e > ï	1		1										
e > u	2		1										1
e > ô	3		2				1						
e > ö	5			1	2		1				1		
ô > a	1	25					1						
ô > î	1						1						
ô > u	19		1	1	3	1	2		1	6	4		
ô > e	4				1		2				1		
ö > a	5	20				1						4	
ö > î	1									1			
ö > e	14		2				12						
Total	139		41	2	10	6	26	3	10	14	15	8	4
Regional Totals				12		74						12	

maintained between /ê/ and /ë/, some speakers may have hypercorrected certain instances of /e/ representing Proto-Japonic **ia* or **e* into /a/.

The above account for every frequently observed vowel alternation in the corpus, save the single most frequent: that is, the alternation of /ô/ > /u/, which is attested nineteen times in the corpus. We generally expect Eastern Old Japanese vowel alternations to manifest lower vowels than the cognate Central forms; however, the /ô/ > /u/ alternation is the opposite of this trend, and represents a presumably innovative vowel raising on the part of the Eastern dialects. Besides being the single most frequently observed alternation, it can be found in poems attributed to many provinces in Regions B and C (most of these examples are from Book XX). On the other hand, it is not found at all in the easternmost provinces of Region A. It may be possible to explain this alternation, given this westerly distribution, and especially since it is found mostly among the Sakimori Uta, as a sign of hypercorrection, where the speakers of the poems were producing high vowels in place of mid-vowels in an overzealous attempt to imitate Central dialect pronunciations.

Table 4.6 summarizes the data on vowel alternations and compares the numbers from the various regions proportionally, as a percentage of the number of lines of poetry attributed to each region. As can be clearly seen here, the proportional rate of vowel alternations does not correspond very well to the Regional breakdown given by Hino. In fact, proportionally more vowel alternations are seen in the westernmost region (C) than in either of the more easterly areas; Region A actually manifests the smallest number of alternations relative to number of lines of verse.

Looking more broadly over the data, it is also not clear that either Region A or Region C have any integrity vis-à-vis the observed consonant and vowel alternations. The most regular pattern appearing in these data (both in the vowel alternations of Table 4.5 and in the consonant alternations of Table 4.2) is the coherency of the four provinces of Kamitsuke, Musashi, Hitachi, and Shimotsufusa. The frequently observed /t/ > /s/ alternation can be seen at least once in all four (accounting for eleven out of seventeen tokens), and the /r/ > /n/ alternation is observed five times in Musashi and Shimotsufusa, and twice in Kamitsuke. The pattern is very similar in terms of vowel alternations: the most common vowel alternations all appear consistently in (or are consistently missing from) all four: the /ô/ > /u/ alternation (accounting for twelve out of nineteen instances); /e/ > /a/ (six of thirteen); the high-frequency /ö/ > /e/ alternation is not seen in any of these provinces.[11] The three provinces of Musashi, Shimotsufusa, and Hitachi share two more

Table 4.6 Proportional Vowel Alternations

Region	Lines of Verse	Alternations
Region C	90	12 (13.3%)
Region B	680	74 (10.9%)
Region A	145	12 (8.3%)
Regional Total	915	98 (10.7%)
Unknown	769	41 (5.3%)
Total	1684	139 (8.3%)

[11] In fact, twelve out of fourteen tokens of the /ö/ > /e/ alternation are in poems attributed to Suruga in Book XX, a highly skewed distribution that perhaps indicates that all the poems were gathered from a single speaker or from a group of speakers from the same village (the Suruga section of Book XX does not give any information on *köpori*, i.e., the various home districts of the *sakimori*); there are no examples of this alternation in poems attributed to Suruga in Book XIV. Six of the twelve tokens (including two of unknown provincial origin) are recorded with characters representing /ê/ in Central Old Japanese; the other six use /ë/ – further evidence that there was no phonological distinction, at least in some areas of Azuma.

common alternations: /e/ > /î/ (four out of ten tokens), and /î/ > /u/ (three of eight). Of the two other well-attested vowel alternations, the /î/ > /e/ alternation occurs twice in Hitachi only, and /ï/ > /u/ is found in five instances: twice in Musashi, and once each in Kamitsuke and Hitachi (out of eight total examples). Finally, three out of five instances of the /u/ > /î/ alternation occur in Shimotsufusa and Hitachi.

4.2.3 A NEW DIALECT-REGIONAL ANALYSIS

Given this high number of shared alternations – particularly high-frequency alternations – I believe there is sufficient evidence to propose the existence of a dialect region comprising Kamitsuke, Musashi, Hitachi, and Shimotsufusa provinces. How distinct this region may have been, linguistically, and how much overlap of features generally it may have had with the surrounding regions remains unclear; likewise how many minor dialects it contained. If we trust the district information provided in Book XX of *Man'yōshū*, then it may be beneficial to look further into the specific political districts from which the Sakimori Uta (or rather, those poems containing distinctive regional features) of these four provinces originated. There may also be extra-linguistic reasons for the apparent integrity of this region in the data presented here (for example migration, exogamy – several of the Musashi poems are said to have been composed by "wives" – or education); but such possibilities cannot be entertained for long in this thesis.

Table 4.7 Number of Alternations Held in Common

Province	Shinano	Tōtōmi	Suruga	Sagamu	Kamitsuke	Shimotsuke	Musashi	Hitachi	Shimotsufusa	Kamitsufusa
Shinano		2	3		2		2	2	3	1
Tōtōmi	2		3		2	2	1	1	4	
Suruga	3	3			2	2	3	4	6	1
Sagamu					2		3	2	3	3
Kamitsuke	2	2	2	2		7	9	4	8	4
Shimotsuke		2	2		7		5	5	5	2
Musashi	2	1	3	3	9	5		8	9	4
Hitachi	2	1	4	2	4	5	8		9	3
Shimotsufusa	3	4	6	3	8	5	9	9		4
Kamitsufusa	1		1	3	4	2	4	3	4	
Totals	15	15	24	13	40	28	44	38	51	22

Table 4.7 gives an overview of the degree of interrelatedness of the various provinces in eastern Japan. The data in this table were produced by combining the consonant alternation data of Table 4.2 and the vowel alternation data in Table 4.5, with additional data on shared attributive allomorphs from Table 6.5 (see Chapter Six). Any alternation

(consonantal, vocalic, or allomorphic) that was attested in more than one province is included. For any cell, the value recorded therein is the total number of alternations shared by the two provinces represented in the row and the column in which the cell occurs. The total number of such 'interrelations' (i.e., mutually held alternations) for each province is computed in the last row of the table. The average number of interrelations is 3.7.

From these data, we see that the most *widely* related provinces are Kamitsuke, Musashi, Hitachi, and Shimotsufusa, all of which share at least one alternation with every other province; Kamitsuke shares at least two, and Shimotsufusa shares no less than three alternations with every other province. In terms of total number of interrelations, Shimotsufusa tops the list with fifty-one interrelations; Musashi is second (forty-four), then Kamitsuke (forty), and Hitachi (thirty-eight). After Hitachi, the largest number of interrelations is only twenty-four, held by Suruga (which shares at least one alternation with every other province except Sagamu). The least interrelated province is Sagamu, which has only thirteen interrelations with five of the ten provinces included in the table.

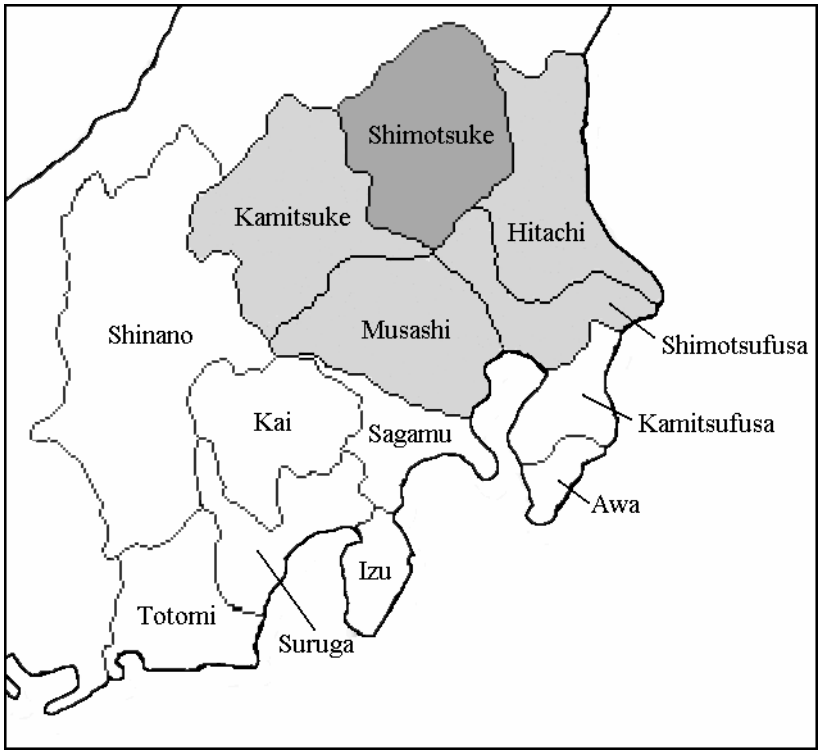


Figure 4.1 Map of the Azuma Region, Showing Proposed Dialect Divisions

The largest number of alternations held in common between any two provinces is nine; Kamitsuke and Musashi, Musashi and Shimotsufusa, and Shimotsufusa and Hitachi each share nine alternations. Next, Musashi and Hitachi, and Kamitsuke and Shimotsufusa, both share eight alternations in common, though Hitachi and Kamitsuke only have four alternations in common (of these four provinces, Hitachi and Kamitsuke are also the most geographically distant from one another). This produces a very clear geographic picture: there is a smooth and very well attested dialect chain stretching in a "U" shape across the

middle of the Kantō plain, wrapping around and partially including Shimotsuke. Each link of the chain (Kamitsuke-Musashi, Musashi-Shimotsufusa, Shimotsufusa-Hitachi) is revealed by the nine alternations these regions share in common. The slightly more distant (not mutually contiguous) provinces have eight alternations in common (Kamitsuke-Shimotsufusa, Musashi-Hitachi). The two far ends of the chain, Kamitsuke and Hitachi, have only four alternations in common. Shimotsuke is the odd province in this family: it is closely tied to Kamitsuke by seven alternations, and shares five alternations in common with each of Musashi, Shimotsufusa, and Hitachi – still above the average number of interrelations for all provinces (3.7).

The most isolated of the far eastern provinces, Kamitsufusa, has fewer alternations in common with its adjacent sister province of Shimotsufusa than Shimotsufusa has in common with the other provinces in the dialect chain described above. To be precise, Kamitsufusa shares four alternations with Kamitsuke, Musashi, and Shimotsufusa, and three alternations with Hitachi and Sagamu. Kamitsufusa shares even less – only two alternations – with Shimotsuke, the other province of Hino's Region A. I believe this indicates that Region A was not, in fact, a coherent dialect region; it was simply geographic luck that these two rather isolated eastern provinces were the last to be affected by the vowel raising process that started in central Japan.

This dialect division is not meant to contradict the work of Hino Sukenari (2003), but to complement it. I believe Hino is correct in his findings: a vowel raising (of /ô/ > /u/ and /e/ > /î/) was probably in the process spreading across the Azuma region when the poems of the Eastern Old Japanese corpus were composed or recorded, and as such, the evidence we have reveals a region in transition, with the westernmost provinces showing a complete shift, and the easternmost provinces having still the original vowel values. However, raising accounts for only two of many alternations observed in Eastern Old Japanese; my study in this chapter complements Hino's findings by providing an alternative perspective on the dialect continuum, taking into account the various other shared alternations that are present in the surviving texts. It is likely that Shimotsuke and Kamitsufusa, because of their isolation, were the last provinces to be affected by the process of vowel raising that began in central Japan. But the evidence presented in Table 4.7 and Figure 4.1 gives a different picture of the dialect situation in Azuma, one that is – in my opinion – more likely to indicate the actual degree of mutual intelligibility enjoyed by these dialects, because it takes a far greater number of alternations into account.

Chapter 5
Vowel Adjacency, Reduction, and Poetic Meter

The following chapter comprises an in-depth study of several related phenomena involving vowels and poetic meter, namely, vowel adjacency and clustering, processes of cluster reduction (contraction and monophthongization), and various related issues involving meter. Although meter and vowel reduction are not often discussed together, certain patterns in my data make it obvious that there is a direct connection between one element of the practice of versification (i.e., syllable counting) and the behavior of adjacent vowels in Eastern Old Japanese. Presumably the same patterns would appear in a study of Central Old Japanese poetry, though I am not aware of any studies demonstrating this.

The full data set used for this chapter can be found in Appendix E. Throughout this chapter and in the appendix, some simple conventions are observed: (1) elided vowels are contained in brackets, e.g. *wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-ni* 和伎毛古尓 14:3566.1; (2) adjacent vowel pairs in hypercatalectic lines are surrounded by parentheses, e.g. *kanas(i i)mô-wo* 可奈思伊毛乎 14:3486.1, indicating that perhaps one member was elided or that together they counted for only one beat; (3) adjacent vowel pairs in tolerated adjacency are noted with an underline, e.g. *tuma tö ip-aNpa ya* 川麻止伊波波夜 Hitachi Fudoki 5.4.

5.1 OUTLINE OF THE PROBLEM

It is well known that vowel clusters are not tolerated in Old Japanese; and by 'vowel cluster,' I mean a series of two vowels within a single morpheme, usually produced by consonant loss (for example, r-loss according to Whitman's Law) or morpheme adjunction where the second morpheme begins with a vowel. When vowel clusters appear, they are *usually* reduced in some way, generally by elision or more rarely through monophthongization (see Vovin 2005: 45-49 for an overview; a more thorough description with evidence is available in Russell 2003: 511-538; and there are exceptions, such as *kai* < *kaNti* 'oar'). Beyond this, it appears that Old Japanese was generally intolerant of adjacent vowels even in cases where they are separated by a word boundary. The principal evidence for this is manifold: (1) many vowel-initial verbs and certain other words frequently exhibit elision of the initial vowel, regardless of the preceding word; (2) in poetry, when adjacent vowels are written out, more than half the time the resulting line of verse will be hypercatalectic; (3) the remaining cases of adjacent vowel pairs in poetry (i.e., where the resulting line is acatalectic) show an extremely skewed distribution vis-à-vis poetic structure, with almost all instances appearing in even-numbered lines.

The corpus of Eastern Old Japanese examined in this thesis contains 332 complete poems plus thirty-four additional lines found in Book XIV, for a total of 1,730±1 lines of verse. The vast majority of these poems (327 out of 332) are *tanka*; there is one *chōka*, or long poem, of fifteen lines found in Book XX, and *Hitachi Fudoki* contains four poems of unusual, or in two cases indeterminate (possibly the result of corruption), meter.

Given this great regularity of form throughout the corpus, it is possible to make a broad quantitative analysis of the connections between meter and other linguistic features. Table 5.1 below presents data on three interconnected phenomena: hypercatalexis (the occurrence of lines longer than the norm, known as *jiamari* 字余り in Japanese scansion), 'tolerated adjacency' (explained below), and vowel elision. These are analyzed according to the number of times they manifest in specific line numbers of *tanka*. The totals for Book XIV, Book XX, and *Hitachi Fudoki* are computed separately to see if the distribution is proportionally skewed in any of these sources (see section 5.5 for a more detailed account). In each case, the first number listed is for Book XIV; this is followed by a plus sign and another number representing Book XX; where there are data from *Hitachi Fudoki*, they are appended in the third place following another plus sign. Since there are apparently no examples of hypercatalexis in *Hitachi Fudoki*, only two numbers are shown on that line. Table 5.2 consolidates the same data by line type (even or odd).

Table 5.1 Appearance of Metrical Phenomena by Line Number

Phenomenon	Totals	Line 1	Line 2	Line 3	Line 4	Line 5
Hypercatalexis	71+18+0	14+3	11+0	15+5	3+3	28+7
	89	19.1%	12.4%	22.5%	6.7%	39.3%
Tolerated Adjacency[a]	50+19+3	1+0+0	24+9+1	0+1+0	23+9+1	2+0+1
	72	1.4%	47.2%	1.4%	45.8%	4.2%
Vowel Elision	91+31+2	10+5+1	23+4+0	15+6+0	12+5+0	31+11+1
	124	12.9%	21.8%	16.9%	13.7%	34.7%

[a] There is one example of tolerated adjacency in the twelfth line of Book XX's *chōka* 4372, giving us a total of seventy-three instances in the corpus. This is not counted in Table 5.1, but is included in Table 5.2 and in later discussion.

It is valuable to note at this time that there are no examples of catalexis (i.e., metrically short lines) in the corpus, though at least one of the poems in *Hitachi Fudoki* is suspiciously short – but until its exact meter can be determined, we cannot say for certain if any of the lines therein are shorter than the norm. Hypercatalexis is rare, occurring in eighty-nine out of approximately 1,730 lines, roughly 5.1%. These numbers correspond closely to the metrical practices I observed in modern haiku poetry (Ikier 2003: 14), where I found that out of 1,500 lines of verse, eighty-six were hypermetrical (5.73%), while only five were catalectic (0.33%). The similarity of these numbers is remarkable; while it may be merely coincidental, it may also indicate a great regularity in the practice of versification in Japan across time, or at least from the age when the late books of the *Man'yōshū* were compiled. On the other hand, I found that hypercatalexis in haiku exhibits a very simple pattern (Ikier 2003: 13): first lines are most frequently hypermetrical, while third lines are the least likely to deviate from the norm; specifically, 90.8% of first lines were entirely acatalectic; as were 94.8% of second lines,

Table 5.2 Metrical Phenomena in Odd and Even Lines

Phenomenon	Totals	Odd Lines	Even Lines
Hypercatalexis	89 (100%)	72 (80.9%)	17 (19.1%)
Tolerated Adjacency	73 (100%)	5 (6.8%)	68 (93.2%)
Vowel Elision	124 (100%)	80 (64.5%)	44 (35.5%)

and 96.2% of third lines. These numbers do not correspond to the data observed in the present study, which finds that hypercatalexis is far more common in odd-numbered lines (80.9% of hypercatalectic lines were odd-numbered) than in even-numbered ones (19.1%). Fourth lines are most regular (only 6.7% of hypercatalectic lines are fourth lines), and fifth lines are most often deviant (39.3%). Among the odd-numbered lines, first lines are most regular. I think it is significant that hypercatalexis is most frequently seen in the last lines of poems.

The most remarkable statistics are for what I call 'tolerated adjacency,' which is any occurrence of two adjacent vowels within a line of poetry (regardless of whether their adjacency transcends a morpheme- or word-boundary) where the meter is normal, and there is no indication of any sort of vowel reduction. This phenomenon is observed only five times in an odd-numbered line, but sixty-eight times in even-numbered lines (including once in line twelve of 4372, accounting for 93.2% of all occurrences). The distribution is almost perfectly balanced between second and fourth lines. Among odd-numbered lines, it occurs more frequently in fifth lines than in first or second lines, but since the number of occurrences is so small in odd-numbered lines to begin with, this pattern may be merely coincidental. The only possible explanation I can conceive for this distribution is extra-linguistic: I believe it may have depended on how the poems were recited, with second and fourth lines for some reason allowing, or even approving, the appearance of adjacent vowels in the middle of the line. It may be beneficial to look in the future into the specific syllables over which adjacent vowels appear.

Further words need to be said regarding the phenomenon of 'hypercatalexis' in this study. The numbers provided above refer simply to instances of hypermetricality in the corpus -that is, to occurrences of long lines (all but three of these are long by one syllable only; the exceptions are long by two syllables). However, in all but two of the eighty-nine instances of hypercatalexis, the line contains a pair of adjacent vowels. (In other words, vowel pairs occur in 160 lines of poetry: eighty-seven times in hypercatalectic lines, seventy-three times in the form of tolerated adjacency.) Since 97.8% of hypercatalectic lines contain one or more adjacent vowel pairs, I believe it is obvious that these were interacting with, or perhaps interfering with, poetic meter. I think it is significant that, within the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese, hypercatalectic vowel pairs and tolerated pairs are found in what is very nearly a complementary distribution across the five lines of the *tanka* form: hypercatalexis occurs far more frequently in odd-numbered lines (80.9% of the time), while tolerated adjacency is found almost exclusively in even-numbered lines (93.2% of examples are in even lines). As mentioned above, I think this is probably a rhetorical phenomenon: poets could subtly modulate the flow of their lines through this device. Although it is just speculation at this point, perhaps the vowel pairs found in tolerated adjacency in even-numbered lines were as a rule carefully rearticulated during recitation, producing a notable rhetorical flourish.

While counting the number of phonograms that occur in a given line may yield an apparent hypercatalexis, it may be that in eighty-seven out of eighty-nine such cases, vowels that were written in the text may have been reduced in recitation to yield lines of normal length. Precisely what morphophonological process may have been at work in such a reduction is unknowable, though in many cases parallel examples can be found where an elision is written in the text -presumably elision could have taken place in the

hypercatalectic pairs as well. In some cases, identical or nearly identical forms can be found appearing once in a hypercatalectic line, again in tolerated adjacency, and in another case, an elision might be recorded in the script. For example, with the possessive marker -*Nka*:

1. Vowel adjacency in an apparently hypercatalectic line:

    a. 故呂河伊波奈久尓 14:3368.5 Sagamu
    kô-rö-Nk(a i)p-an-aku n-i
    girl-EDIM-POSS say-NEG-NML DV-INF
    'it is that (my) girl isn't saying (anything)'

    b. 和我於毛波奈久尓 14:3392.5 Hitachi
    wa-Nk(a o)môp-an-aku n-i
    I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF
    'it is that I do not think (my love will ever falter)'

2. Vowel adjacency tolerated in an acatalectic line:

    a. 伊毛我伊比之乎 20:4429.4 Unknown
    imô-Nka ip-î-si-wo
    darling-POSS say-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC
    'since my darling said…'

    b. 古呂賀於曽伎能 14:3509.4 Unknown
    kô-rö-Nka osö kî-n-ö
    girl-EDIM-POSS garments wear(INF)-PERF-EATTR
    '(my) wearing of my girl's robes'

3. Vowel adjacency reduced by elision to produce an acatalectic line:

    a. 和伎毛古尓 14:3566.1 Unknown
    wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-ni
    I-POSS-darling-DIM-DAT
    '(my love) for my darling'

    b. 和我母波奈久尓 14:3507.5 Unknown
    wa-Nka [o]möp-an-aku n-i
    I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF
    'it is that I do not think (I'll break up with you)'

Certain words and compounds are quite frequently reduced as in example three. Besides *waNkîmô* 'my darling,' other common contractions include *töpu* 'saying that…' and *tömöp-* 'thinking that…,' both of which involve the loss of a morpheme boundary between the defective verb *tö* and the following verb which subsequently loses its initial

vowel through elision. The initial vowels of *omöp-* 'to think' or 'to love' and *ip-* 'to say' are often elided even when they are not immediately preceded by the defective verb, as in the citation from 3507, (3b) above. In other cases, such as 3392, (1b) above, the vowel is written out in the script, but the resulting line is hypercatalectic. I believe that in this case, the vowel was likely elided in recitation to produce a metrically regular line. Cases like those in example two are ambiguous; presumably, since the vowels are separated by a word boundary, they could remain intact in careful speech, and the poets could take advantage of this fact to regulate the length of their lines. However, it is still unclear why this should happen almost exclusively in even-numbered lines. Other examples:

1. Vowel adjacency in an apparently hypercatalectic line:

    a. 可多尓伊弖牟可母 14:3488.5 Unknown
    kata-n(i i)Nte-m-u kamö
    shape-LOC emerge-TENT-ATTR KPT
    'will (my desired fortune) appear in the pattern (on the scapula)?'[12]

    b. 古比須安良米可毛 20:4371.5 Hitachi
    kôpî-Ns-(u a)r-am-ë kamô
    love-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV KPT
    'I wonder if I won't long for (Mt. Tukupa)?'

2. Vowel adjacency tolerated in an acatalectic line:

    a. 莫佐吉伊弖曽祢 14:3575.4 Unknown
    NA sak-î-iNte-sö ne
    NEGIMP bloom-INF-emerge(INF)-NEGDES PT
    'don't blossom out (i.e., do not reveal your love for me to others)!'

    b. 安比見受安良婆 14:3508.4 Unknown
    ap-î-MÎ-Ns-u ar-aNpa
    meet-INF-see-NEG-INF exist-COND
    'if (we) do not meet…'

    c. 佐氣久阿利麻弖 20:4368.2 Hitachi
    sakë-ku ar-i-mat-e
    happily-INF exist-INF-wait-IMP
    'wait (for me) cheerfully (until I return)'

3. Vowel adjacency reduced by elision to produce an acatalectic line:

[12] In this verse, *kata* refers to the pattern of the cracks that appear on deer scapulae when they are burned for prognostication. The pattern is interpreted as an omen

a. 伊呂尓弖米也母 14:3503.5 Unknown
irö-ni [i]Nte-m-ë ya mö
colors-LOC emerge-TENT-EV KPT PT
'will the colors (of the blossoms) appear?'

b. 安志可流登我毛 14:3391.4 Hitachi
asi-k[u]-ar-u töNka mô
hateable-INF-exist-ATTR fault PT
'(I cannot see) any terrible faults'

Again, the initial vowel of the verb *iNte-* 'to emerge' is frequently seen in an elided form in the corpus, as in the present example of 3503 (example 3a); however, it is difficult to explain why the vowel would not be elided in 3488 (1a), which appears to be a morphophonologically identical environment. I believe that it was in fact elided in speech; in this case, the scribe chose to write the vowel down and so 'spell-out' the entire word even though it would not be pronounced as such -the hypercatalexis is then apparent only, not real. The case of 3575 in (2a) is stranger: here, no word boundary intervenes between the two (presumably qualitatively identical) vowels, yet there is no reduction. It is difficult to believe that such a form would have been pronounced as such in the Japanese of the time. While I think this is another case where an elided form would manifest in speech, the standards of versification of the time evidently allowed poets to include such forms in even-numbered lines; it is even possible that the style of poetic recitation allowed these vowels to be spoken in the recitation. The examples of 4371 and 3508 (1b and 2b) and 4368 and 3391 (2c and 3b) are also difficult: the contraction of adjectival infinitive *-ku* and the existential verb *ar-* appears in Old Japanese, always with an elision producing the form *-kar-,* as in example 3b. Although the contraction is attested, it is not mandatory in Old Japanese, and uncontracted forms are seen in the Central dialect. The contracted form of the negative-infinitive *-Ns-u* and the existential verb is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but the uncontracted cluster does appear in a hypermetrical line in (1b).

As for vowel elision, its distribution is more balanced between odd-and even-numbered lines, and across the five lines of the *tanka*, than is the case with the previously discussed phenomena. Nonetheless, 64.5% of elisions occur in odd lines, with little more than half of that, 35.5%, appearing in even-numbered lines. The distribution across individual lines is similar, with the lion's share going to fifth lines, where 34.7% of all elisions manifest; the remaining lines are roughly equal in distribution with slightly greater frequency in second lines (21.8%), and less in first lines (12.9%). While these numbers are not strong enough to build an argument on, I think this provides further evidence for a theory that regards fifth lines as especially metrically unusual.

5.2 VOWEL ELISION

Vowel elision is the most predictable of the phenomena discussed in this chapter. The majority of occurrences involve stereotypical forms that have already been mentioned, such as the elision of the initial vowel of the verbs *ip-, omöp-,* and *iNte-* (even when not

compounded with a preceding verb or particle), and elision of the vowel of the possessive marker when it is followed by *imô* 'girlfriend'. As shown in Table 5.3, the distribution of vowel elisions is highly skewed.

There are only three examples of elision of the vowel /e/ in the corpus, all involving contractions of the subordinative gerund *-te* with the existential verb *ar-* (hence, there are no elisions of /ë/). There are also no instances where /ï/ or /ô/ are elided. The frequency of elision for the four remaining vowels is highly skewed by position: the vowel /a/ most often elides when it is the first member of an adjacent pair, while /i/ (/î/) and /o/ (/ö/) most often elide as second members. /u/ is slightly less skewed in the distribution of its elisions, though more than two-thirds of the observed instances occur when /u/ is the second member of a pair. The highly skewed distribution of /i/-elisions results mostly from the frequent occurrence of elisions of the verbs *ip-* 'to say' (ten examples) and *iNte-* 'to emerge' (sixteen examples). Contractions of /a/ involving the possessive marker *-Nka* occur eight times. In the case of /o/, elisions of the initial vowel of *omöp-* 'to think' appear twenty times; other frequent /o/ elisions occur with *omo* 'face' and *otö* 'sound' – in fact, there are only three instances of /o/ eliding as the second member of a vowel pair when it is *not* followed by another syllable containing /o/; these are cited below:

Table 5.3 Types of Elisions

Vowel and Position	Number of Occurrences	Composite
a > Ø / __V	11	14 (11.3%)
a > Ø / V__	3	
i (î) > Ø / __V	4	40 (32.3%)
i (î) > Ø / V__	36	
u > Ø / __V	10	31 (25%)
u > Ø / V__	21	
E (ê) > Ø / __V	3	3 (2.4%)
e > Ø / V__	0	
o (ö) > Ø / __V	3	36 (29%)
o (ö) > Ø / V__	33	
V > Ø / __V	31 (25%)	124 (100%)
V > Ø / V__	93 (75%)	

西良思馬伎那婆 14:3437.4 Michinoku
ser-asimê-[o]k-î-n-aNpa
deviate-CAUS(INF)-leave.behind-INF-PERF-COND
'if I leave (my bow like that,) having made it warped…'[13]

和波素登毛波自 14:3451.5 Unknown
wa pa sô tö mô [o]p-aNsi
I TOP ONO DV PT chase-NEGTENT
'I won't chase away (the colt) saying "shoo"'

等杼登之弖 14:3467.3 Unknown
töNtö tö [o]s-i-te
ONO DV push-INF-SUB
'(when you knock on the door) "bam-bam" and push (on it)…'

[13] In this verse, the poet compares the two ends of a bow to two lovers: if the bowstring is removed for a long time, it is very difficult to restring the bow because the wood becomes warped; similarly (he implies), it is difficult to restart a relationship after the 'string' connecting people has been cut.

All three involve elision of the initial vowel of a verb; in poem 3437 the vowel in question falls within the morphology of a larger verbal compound; in 3451 and 3467, the verb is preceded by a particle. I am not confident that there is any significance to the fact that the majority of cases of /o/-elision involve a following syllable that also contains /o/. It may merely be a coincidence, albeit a remarkable one. Either way, the three examples cited above do not seem to possess any unique or common traits by which to group them, apart from their lack of a following /o/-based syllable.

The elision of /u/ is also attributable to a small number of types. In /u/-as-first-member elisions, there are only two types: six tokens involving the total contraction of the attributive verbal auxiliary *-uru* and a following nominalizer *-aku*, into the form *-ur-aku*; the remaining four instances all involve contraction of the adjectival infinitive *-ku* and the existential verb *ar-* into *-kar-*. When /u/ is the second member of a pair, two types occur: elision of the initial vowel of *upë* 'above' (four tokens); and contraction of the diminutive prefix *kô-* with the word *uma* 'horse' (seventeen tokens; there is also one instance in a hypermetrical line where the unelided form is written out). The full variety and extent of vowel elisions in Eastern Old Japanese is neatly detailed in the data in Appendix E.

5.3 ADJACENT VOWEL PAIRS

This section will look at all cases where two vowels are written adjacent to one another within a line of verse, regardless of their morphosyntactic relationship; as such, this study can take into account the extant report of linguistic behavior of all adjacent vowels, not only those that were produced through historical processes of consonant loss or compounding.

When two vowels come into adjacency in Eastern Old Japanese, two things can happen: (1) one of the vowels can be elided; or (2) the two can coexist. However, when the text shows two vowels coexisting in an adjacent pair (there are 163 examples of this in the corpus), more than half of the time (90 instances, 55.2%) the line they are in will be hypercatalectic – that is, it will be written using more than the normal number of phonograms. (There are also a handful of cases involving semantograms, but I consider the reading of the semantograms to be sufficiently settled with regard to syllable count that these present no difficulty to the present investigation.) The *tanka* form is tightly regulated with respect to line length – in the entire corpus, only 5.2% of lines are hypercatalectic; none are catalectic – so any instances of apparent hypermetricality must be regarded as unusual. The long *chōka* form is also generally regular, made up of alternating lines of five and seven syllables, and concluding with a couplet of seven-syllable lines (poem 4372 is the only example of a *chōka* in the corpus;

Table 5.4 Results of Vowel Adjacency

Result	#	%	Composite	
Elided	124	43.2%	124 (43.2%)	214 (74.6%)
Hypercatalexis	90	31.4%	163 (56.8%)	
Tolerated	73	25.4%		73 (25.4%)
Total	287	100%		

it contains fifteen lines and is perfectly regular in meter. Line twelve contains one example of tolerated adjacency).

When an adjacent pair of vowels do not fall into a hypermetrical line, I call them a 'tolerated pair' and refer to the phenomenon as 'tolerated adjacency'. I use the term 'tolerated' because I think this behavior is unusual, though at the same time it does appear to be acceptable within certain circumstances. Certainly, within the confines of the Eastern Old Japanese corpus it is unusual, since in the majority of cases when vowels come into adjacency, either one vowel will be seen to elide, or the line will become hypercatalectic. If we consider numerically both pairs that were written out, and pairs where one member was elided, we find the corpus contains 287 instances of possible vowel adjacency; of these, 124 resulted in elision of one vowel (43.2% of cases); ninety[14] wound up producing hypercatalectic lines (31.4%); the remaining seventy-three adjacent pairs were tolerated (25.4%). Looking in terms of the recorded textual evidence, we can say that in 56.8% of cases, the adjacent vowels were completely written out (i.e., there is a purely vocalic phonogram occurring mid-line), while 43.2% of the time, the vowel was not written – in other words, an elision took place. As described in the previous section, in the majority of such cases (75%), the second member of the pair was elided; however, when the first member of the pair is /a/, *it* is more likely to elide (78.6% of elisions of /a/ occur when it is the first member of a pair). This number is largely thanks to elisions of /a/ in the compound word *waNkîmo* 'my darling'.

The high rate of correspondence between hypercatalexis and adjacent vowel pairs (97.8% of long lines contain a pair) is interesting. A brief look over the hypercatalexis data (see Appendix E) reveals that in most cases, the vowel pairs that appear in hypercatalectic lines are in morphophonological environments where elision also frequently takes place. For example, there are eight times when the verb *ip-* 'to say' is written out (i.e., is apparently not elided) in hypermetrical lines:

1a. preceded by defective verb *tö*

安里登伊倍杼 14:3422.3 Kamitsuke
ar-i t(ö i)p-ë-Ntö
exist-FIN1 DV say-EV-CONC
'although (you) say there are (days when the wind blows)'

安是登伊敞可 14:3461.1 Unknown
aNse t(ö i)p-ê ka
why DV say-EV PT
'(I) say: "why?"'

和我理許武等伊布 14:3536.5 Unknown
wa-Nkari kö-m-u t(ö i)p-u
I-DIR come-TENT-ATTR DV say-FIN

[14] In Table 5.1 I cited eighty-nine instances of hypercatalectic *lines*; here, I am citing ninety instances of *vowel pairs* in hypercatalectic lines. There are three hypercatalectic lines containing two pairs of vowels, while two instances of hypercatalectic lines *do not* contain any adjacent vowels. Hence 89+3-2 = 90.

‘(my lover) says (he) will come to me’

1b. preceded by possessive marker *-Nka*

故呂河伊波奈久尓 14:3368.5 Sagamu
kô-rö-Nk(a i)p-an-aku n-i
girl-EDIM-POSS say-NEG-NML DV-INF
‘it is that (my) girl isn’t saying (anything)’

麻都等奈我伊波婆 14:3433.4 Sagamu
matu tö na-Nk(a i)p-aNpa
pine DV you-POSS say-COND
‘if you say (the trees there) are “pines”’ and ‘if you say (you’ll) “wait (for me)”’

1c. other cases

安是可曽乎伊波牟 14:3472.2 Unknown
aNse ka sö-w(o i)p-am-u
why KPT she-ACC say-TENT-ATTR
‘why should I call her (another man’s wife)?’

毛乃伊波受伎尓弖 14:3481.4 Unknown
môn(ö i)p-aNs-u k-î-n-i-te
thing say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
‘(I) came without saying anything’

毛乃伊波受伎尓弖 14:3528.4 Unknown
môn(ö i)p-aNs-u k-î-n-i-te
things say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
‘(I) came without saying anything’

In contrast, there are ten instances of the initial vowel of *ip-* being elided, mostly when preceded by the defective verb; there is also one example parallel to the two cases of unelided *mônö ip-aNs-u* ‘without saying anything’ in group (1c) above:

2a. preceded by defective verb *tö*

伊母我理登倍婆 14:3356.4 Suruga
imö-Nkari tö [i]p-ë-Npa
darling-DIR DV say-EV-CON
‘since (I) say (to myself) that “(I’m going) towards my darling…”’

和礼尓余須等布 14:3384.4 Shimotsufusa
ware-ni yös-u tö [i]p-u
I-DAT have.relations-ATTR DV say-FIN

‘(people) say that Teko[15] is getting intimate with me’

等保斯等布 14:3478.1 Unknown
töposi tö [i]p-u
distant(FIN?) DV say-ATTR
‘(the peaks of Kona that people) say are far away’

祢呂等敞奈香母 14:3499.5 Unknown
ne-rö tö [i]p-ên-a kamö
sleep-EIMP DV say-NEG-ATTR KPT
‘won’t you tell (me) to sleep (with you)?’

可良須等布 14:3521.1 Unknown
karasu tö [i]p-u
crow DV say-ATTR
‘(like the birds that people) say are crows’

許等登波受伎奴 14:3540.5 Unknown
kötö tö [i]p-aNs-u k-î-n-u
words DV say-NEG-FIN? come-INF-PERF-FIN
‘(I) came without saying a word’

波々登布波奈乃 20:4323.4 Tōtōmi
papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö
mother DV call-ATTR blossom-GEN
‘the flower that (I) call “mother”’

多妣等敞等 20:4388.1 Shimotsufusa
taNpî tö [i]p-ê-Ntö
journey DV say-EV-CONC
‘although (I) said (it would be) “a journey”’

麻多已等刀波牟 20:4392.5 Shimotsufusa
mata kötö tô [i]p-am-u
again words DV say-TENT-ATTR
‘(I) wish to speak (words) again (to my mother)’

2b. other cases

毛能波須價尓弖 20:4337.4 Suruga
mônö [i]pa-Ns-u k-ê-n-i-te[16]

[15] This term was mentioned in Chapter Four; it may be a proper name in this case, or it could simply be a generic way of calling a pretty young girl.
[16] K-ê-n-i-te is an irregular alternation of k-î-n-i-te.

things say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
'I came without saying anything'

It should be noted that there are no instances of the verb *ip-* participating in an adjacent vowel pair and then producing a hypercatalectic line in Book XX. The slightly greater tendency for hypercatalexis among the Azuma Uta may account for this. Nonetheless, it is unclear why there should be no elision in the examples cited in point one, when these forms clearly can and do elide elsewhere – especially since the lines are abnormally long, and a single elision would make them metrically regular. The same forms also occur in tolerated adjacency (seven examples):

3a. preceded by defective verb *tö*

川麻止伊波波夜 Hitachi Fudoki 5.4
tuma tö ip-aNpa ya
spouse DV say-COND KPT
'if I call (her) "wife"…'

多多牟止伊閇止 Hitachi Fudoki 8.2
tat-am-u tö ip-ë-Ntö
stand-TENT-FIN DV say-EV-CONC
'although (he) said (he) would stand (near the shore)…'

麻奈登伊布兒我 14:3462.4 Unknown
mana tö ip-u KÔ-Nka
beautiful.girl DV say-ATTR girl-POSS
'a girl whom (people) say is extremely beautiful' or 'a girl called Mana'[17]

3b. preceded by the possessive marker -*Nka*

伊毛我伊比之乎 20:4429.4 Unknown
imô-Nka ip-î-si-wo
darling-POSS say-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC
'because my darling said (won't you stay?)'

3c. other cases

古呂波伊敞杼母 14:3543.4 Unknown
kô-rö pa ip-ê-Ntö mö
girl-EDIM TOP say-EV-CONC PT
'although my girl says (we have slept together)'

[17] Mizushima believes that this *mana* simply meant 'very beautiful,' although Takeda Yūkichi thought it meant 'forbidden' (reported in Mizushima 1996: 136).

許登等思伊波婆 14:3486.4 Unknown
kötö tö si ip-aNpa
words DV PT say-COND
'if (my darling) speaks (says words about another man)…'

安杼可母伊波武 14:3379.2 Musashi
aN-tö kamö ip-am-u
what-DV KPT say-TENT-ATTR
'what should (I) call (my husband)?'

In the case of the data in point three, it is *not* surprising that there is no elision, since that would result in an abnormally short line – and there are no clear examples of short lines in the corpus. The most remarkable feature of these examples is the fact that they all occur in even-numbered lines, a trait they share with 93.2% of all instances of tolerated adjacency. This is a remarkable fact, which I find very difficult to explain. Until more data can be presented from Central Old Japanese, and a more complete, and contextualized, picture of the phenomenon produced, I prefer to remain agnostic, and think it a matter of rhetorical rather than linguistic import.

I believe that the actual number of hypercatalectic lines is significantly smaller than the eighty-nine mentioned previously. While two of these lines are incontestably hypermetrical (they contain no adjacent vowels), the remainder all feature one or more vowel pairs somewhere in the line – and as shown above, in most such cases one member of these pairs could have been elided. I believe that in actual recitation, elision would have taken place naturally in these cases; the record we have, with its apparent hypercatalexis, reflects a scribal preference for writing out 'whole words' as opposed to spoken forms. I find it much easier to believe that a scribe would choose to write full forms – perhaps for the sake of clarity – than that poets (and their later editors) would permit hypermetrical lines when they could so simply be avoided.

Although it is not possible to regard all vowel pairs in hypermetrical lines as mere nonce entities created by punctilious scribes, I think the majority of them are exactly that. Potential vowel pairs appear in 280 out of approximately 1,730 lines of poetry (16.2% of lines; keep in mind that some lines contain more than one instance of an adjacent pair), while there are only two hypercatalectic lines *without* vowel pairs in the corpus (0.1% of all lines). As such, the number of vowel-pair bearing hypercatalectic lines would have to be reduced tremendously to fit in-proportion: if 16.2% of hypermetrical lines contained an adjacent vowel pair – meaning that the two lines observed without such a pair constitute a majority of 83.8% – then their occurrence would be very rare indeed. I think it is safe to assume that most vowel pairs appearing in hypercatalectic lines would have been elided in recitation.

Table 5.5 on the following page contains a full breakdown of the observed instances of tolerated and hypercatalectic vowel pairs in the corpus. In each case, forms are listed by the first member of the pair (column V1), then by the second member (V2). In the case of /i/, /e/, and /o/, both Type-A and Type-B vowels are considered in the first member column; since word-initial /i/ vowels are all Type-A, and word-initial /o/'s are all Type-B, no distinction is made in column V2. There are no instances of /e/ occurring as

the second member of a recorded vowel pair, and as shown previously in section 5.2, there are also no cases of /e/ being elided as the second member of a pair – in fact, there are no instances of any sort of elision taking place within a vowel pair where /e/ is the second member (the comparative rarity of the vowel /e/, due to its secondary origin, may account for this).

Table 5.5 Adjacent Vowel Pairs by Quality and Type of Occurrence

Vowels		Tolerated			Hypercatalectic			Vowel Totals
V1	V2	A	B	Totals	A	B	Totals	
a	a	4		19 (26%)	4		17 (18.9%)	36 (22.1%)
a	i	11			7			
a	u	1			2			
a	o	3			4			
î	a		4	11 (15.1%)		7	21 (23.3%)	32 (19.6%)
ï								
î	i	1	2			8		
ï								
î	u	1						
ï								
î	o		3		3	3		
ï								
u	a	5		13 (17.8%)	4		6 (6.7%)	19 (11.7%)
u	i	8						
u	u							
u	o				2			
ê	a	1	2	6 (8.2%)		1	8 (8.9%)	14 (8.6%)
ë					1			
ê	i	1				6		
ë								
ê	u		1					
ë								
ê	o		1					
ë								
ô	a	1		24 (32.9%)	4		38 (42.2%)	62 (38%)
ö		2			8			
ô	i		1			2		
ö		11			10			
ô	u				1			
ö		4			5			
ô	o		1		1	3		
ö		4			4			
Type Totals				73			90	163

Column A gives the number of instances of each type of vowel pairing; column B is used only for the vowels /i/, /e/, and /o/, and gives the number of vowel pairs observed where the Type (A or B) of the initial vowel was not distinguished (for example, there was one instance of a tolerated pair î+i, and two instances of i+i).

5.4 MONOPHTHONGIZATION

There are only seventeen clear instances of monophthongization in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese: nine involving the retrospective verbal auxiliary *-ker-* (from past auxiliary and existential verb *-kî + ar-*), two of which are irregular; and eight with the past-tentative verbal auxiliary *-kêm-* (a compound of the past and tentative auxiliaries *-kî + am-*). The two irregular forms of the retrospective auxiliary are:

> 阿加都枳尓迦理 20:4388.5 Shimotsufusa
> aka-tuk-î-n-i-kar-i
> dirt stick.to-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
> 'the mud was stuck to (my robes)'
>
> 多延尓氣流可母 20:4404.5 Kamitsuke
> taye-n-i-kër-u kamö
> break(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR KPT
> '(I) wonder if (the cords tying my lover's robes) will be cut'

In 4388 the auxiliary is spelled with an /a/, as though contraction rather than monophthongization had taken place; the case in 4404 involves a misspelling of the vowel; given how commonly /e/ is misspelled (so much so that Fukuda believes there is only one /e/ vowel phoneme) this spelling is perhaps unremarkable. The spelling with /a/ is more interesting, although it too likely represents only a dialect pronunciation rather than a different process of cluster reduction. The alternation of /e/-type vowels into /a/ is the most often observed alternation of /e/ in terms of token frequency – I think that this is simply another example of the *e* > *a* alternation, and does not imply anything for the historical process of monophthongization.

5.5 A NOTE ON TEXTS

I will conclude this chapter with a brief section describing the distribution of the various phenomena discussed above across the three texts that constitute my Eastern Old Japanese corpus. The results are summarized in Table 5.6 below; basically, elision and pair toleration occur with similar frequency across the texts; hypercatalexis appears to be slightly more common among the Azuma Uta than in the other texts (however, there are no known instances in the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki*).

The table shows the number of lines of poetry contained in each text, followed by the number of hypercatalectic lines, the number of instances of tolerated pairs, and the number of instances of elided vowels. For each phenomenon, its rate of occurrence relative to the total number of lines in the source text is computed and a percentage is

provided (e.g., hypercatalexis occurs in 5.9% of lines in Book XIV, but only 3.8% of lines in Book XX). The final row contains a number indicating the individual texts' deviations from the mean rate of occurrence for the three combined phenomena. The numbers for *Hitachi Fudoki* are so small that all calculations for that text should be regarded with suspicion. What is most noteworthy in the remaining statistics is that these features are proportionally more common in Book XIV than in the other texts, and that hypercatalexis in particular occurs with greater frequency among the Azuma Uta. Although I believe that the majority of instances of hypercatalexis are merely apparent, not real, it is also possible that the Azuma Uta were held by the editors of the *Man'yōshū* to a different – and less strict – standard (speaking in terms of formal versification), so that they subsequently allowed more instances of hypercatalexis to remain in the text, figuring, perhaps, that it imparted a 'rustic' or 'roughhewn' quality.

The fact that instances of tolerated adjacency occur with relatively equal frequency in both Book XIV and Book XX is also important: it shows that this is not a freak result in one text, although it may be unique to Eastern Old Japanese. However, unless a linguistic explanation for this particular phenomenon can be given, I must continue to think it is a sign of some regular rhetorical practice – and whether this was peculiar to eastern Japanese verse cannot be known without a larger study of Central Old Japanese vowel adjacency and its relation to poetic meter.

Table 5.6 Distribution of Metrical Phenomena across the Texts

Phenomenon	Book XIV	Book XX	Hitachi Fudoki	Totals
Lines of Verse	1209	475	46±1	~1730
Hypercatalexis	71 (5.9%)	18 (3.8%)	0	89 (5.1%)
Tolerated Pairs	50 (4.1%)	20 (4.2%)	3 (6.5%)	73 (4.2%)
Elided Vowels	91 (7.5%)	31 (6.5%)	2 (4.3%)	124 (7.2%)
Totals	212 (17.5%)	69 (14.5%)	5 (10.8%)	286 (16.5%)
Mean	+3.2	+0.2	-3.5	(14.3%)

Chapter 6
The Unique Attributives of Eastern Old Japanese

This chapter is intended to give an exhaustive review of the evidence for unique verbal and adjectival attributive affixes in Eastern Old Japanese, with discussion of the various forms that are observed, and their relations to Central Old Japanese. Chapter Seven will go on to discuss the attributive and final predicate types more generally, especially with regard to their various functions, while Chapter Eight will review the phenomenon of *kakari musubi* in Eastern Old Japanese. The full data set used for preparing this chapter can be found in the first section of Appendix F.

6.1 OVERVIEW AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Speaking merely in terms of orthographic evidence, the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese shows four *unique* forms of the attributive:

1. *-o* occurs after verb bases and verbal affixes of all types (i.e., those having vowel-stem, consonant-stem, and irregular morphologies).
2. *-ke* appears after adjective bases.
3. *-e* occurs only after the unique eastern negative marker *-anap-*.
4. *-a* appears after the negative marker *-an-* and possibly after consonant-stem verb bases as well.

Disregarding for the time being types (3) and (4), the unique Eastern Old Japanese adjectival and verbal attributive markers are both phonologically predicted, in that both contain pre-raising vowel forms. The mid vowels *o and *e of Pre-Old Japanese raised to /u/ and /î/ in Central Old Japanese, but as mentioned in Chapter Four, the expected post-raising form is not always seen in Eastern Old Japanese. In some cases, only the pre-raising vowels are attested, as in *suNkôs-* 'to pass' (14:3564.5) and *sakeku* 'happily' (20:4372.14 and 20:4368.2); in Central Old Japanese we find *suNkus-* and *sakîku*. In other cases, both pre- and post-raising forms are attested in the corpus: *mîNtô* 'water' (14:3546.4) is seen more frequently as *mîNtu* (e.g., 14:3392.3 and 20:4337.1), while *k-ê-n-i-te* 'came and…' (20:4337.4) also appears as *k-î-n-i-te* (in 14:3481.4 and 14:3528.4), with the expected post-raising vowel, identical to the Central Old Japanese form. It is troubling that so much variety of this sort is attested in the Eastern dialects; some of it can probably be explained as the result of revision, where original pre-raising forms were revised by editors who spoke Central Old Japanese, and some of it is likely due to the inclusion (in Book XIV at least) of inauthentic materials, i.e., poems originally composed in Central Old Japanese. In other cases, we must simply confess that there was variety among speakers, though even dialectal and idiolectal variety is not sufficient to explain cases where both pre- and post-raising forms occur in the same poem, as in (14:3414.2-4 Kamitsuke):

夜左可能為提尓 / 多都努自能 / 安良波路萬代母

yasaka-nö wiNte-ni / tat-u nôNsi-nö / arapar-ô-maNte mö
Yasaka-GEN dam-LOC / rise-ATTR rainbow-GEN / appear-ATTR-TERM PT
'until appears the rainbow that rises at the dam of Yasaka'

Here, two verbs (*tat-* 'to rise' and *arapar(e?)-* 'to appear') have attributive auxiliaries affixed directly to their bases. The first verb, *tat-*, is a consonant-stem verb followed by the standard form the attributive *-u*, while the second is, at least in Central Old Japanese, a vowel-stem verb – and this one is followed by the eastern attributive *-o*. This is the only attestation of *arapar(e?)-* in the corpus, although *tat-* appears many times, including once with the attributive *-o*; as such, it may be that *arapar(e?)-* acted as a consonant-stem verb in Eastern Old Japanese, *arapar-*. Nonetheless, we still need to ask why there exists this variation of attributive markers within a single poem – if it is not entirely free, what are the conditioning variables? I will elaborate on this and other instances of allomorphic coincidence in section 6.2 below.

The phenomenon of vowel raising is in fact more complex than what I described above or in Chapter Four, because position was also, apparently, a conditioning factor in the change: mid vowels occurring at the end of polysyllabic words were sometimes retained, e.g., Proto-Japonic **moko* > Central Old Japanese *mukô* 'son-in-law,' where the first vowel underwent raising, and the ultimate vowel did not. That said, I do not believe that this particular conditioned limitation on vowel raising is in any way responsible for producing the *-o* and *-ke* attributive forms seen in Eastern Old Japanese. Besides their being monosyllabic, the general tendency towards conservative vowel height retentions (in all syllable positions) in Eastern Old Japanese is so pervasive that, unaided, it could easily explain much of the data.

Table 6.1 Distribution of Forms by Vowel Type and Source Text

Form	Vowel	Book XIV		Book XX		Hitachi Fudoki	Form Totals	
-o	ô	22 (68.7%)	32	13 (68.4%)	19	--	35 (67.3%)	52
	ö	10 (31.3%)		6 (31.6%)		1	17 (32.7%)	
-ke	ê	10 (100%)	10	2 (25%)	8	--	12 (66.7%)	18
	ë	--		6 (75%)		--	6 (33.3%)	
-e	ê	5		--		--	5	
-a	NA	7		3		--	10	
Source Totals		54		30		1	85	

Table 6.1 above gives the number of occurrences of the four types of attributive marker, divided according to vowel type and source text. There is only one example of a unique attributive (*-o*) in the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki*, and the attributive *-e* is not attested outside of the Azuma Uta. In total, there are eighty-five examples of unique eastern attributive forms in the corpus. Distribution of *-o* by vowel-type is biased towards Type-A vowels /ô/, with over two-thirds of all instances being such; Book XIV and Book XX are proportionally equal in this regard. Although I do not believe Eastern Old Japanese distinguished two types of "e" vowels *phonologically*, the distribution of *-ke* observed in the orthography is also biased toward Type-A /ê/, at roughly the same proportion as with

-o. However, looking across the source texts, we can see that while all occurrences of -ke in Book XIV have Type-A vowels, these are the minority in Book XX, were six out of eight instances have the Type-B vowel. All examples of the attributive *-e* have the Type-A vowel. These vowel-type patterns in the distribution of *-ke* and *-e* probably reflect a spelling bias in the source texts. The 'respelling' of COJ /ë/ as /ê/ occurs thirty-three times in Book XIV, by my count. There are only two instances of COJ /ê/ being respelled as /ë/. On the other hand, in Book XX, /ë/ > /ê/ respellings occur nine times, while /ê/ > /ë/ appears in seventeen tokens. The orthography of Book XIV is clearly biased towards depicting EOJ /e/ vowels with characters representing COJ /ê/ syllables; in Book XX, the orthography is somewhat more balanced, though with a notable preference for spellings with COJ /ë/. The orthographic representation of the attributives is discussed in detail below.

6.1.1 ORTHOGRAPHY

This section will briefly describe the orthography employed in writing the various attributive forms described above, to note if there are any irregularities in the script that may lead to alternative interpretations of these forms. I will analyze the underlying orthography for *-o* first.

Table 6.2 Orthographic Variability of Attributive *-o*

Syllable and Character		Book XIV		Book XX		Totals	
po	抱	3	3	--	3	3	6
	保	--		3		3	
tô	刀	3		--		3	
kô	古	1	2	1	1	2	3
	胡	1		--		1	
sô	祖	--		1		1	
mo	毛	9	14	8	11	17	26
	母	5		3		8+1[a]	
nô	努	3	3	2	3	5	6
	怒	--		1		1	
nö	乃	1	2	--	--	1	2
	能	1		--		1	
rô	路	5		--		5	
Totals		32		19		52	

[a] The +1 in this column represents the one instance of *-m-o* found in *Hitachi Fudoki*.

The script for *-o* is quite regular; there is, however, some variability (polyphony) in positions after /p/, /m/, /n/, and /k/. Variability after /p/ is expressed by the two characters 抱 and 保, although all instances of the first are found in Book XIV, and all instances of

the second in Book XX. The character 抱, in fact, does not occur in Book XX at all, and so I believe the orthographic distinction we see after /p/ was effected by scribal practice. Neither character represents a distinct Type-A or Type-B vowel – the phonemic distinction between them had been lost in this position by *Man'yōshū* times – and Miyake believes that both vowels could manifest as allophones in free variation (2003a: 262).

Variability after /k/ is somewhat more interesting; the character 古 is seen in both *Man'yōshū* books, while 胡 for writing /k/ plus attributive *-o* appears only in Book XIV (it is attested once in Book XX, 4417.1, used for writing *kôma* 'colt'), though I doubt this contrast reveals any sort of phonetic or phonological distinction. It is important that both characters represent syllables with Type-A vowels.

In positions after /m/, variability is between the two high-frequency characters 毛 and 母, which did not represent phonologically distinct syllables at this time in Central Old Japanese.[18] Nonetheless, the source texts show a marked preference for 毛 (historically a Type-A vowel) over 母 (historically Type-B), using the first twice as often as the second – this pattern appears the same in Book XIV and in Book XX; the one instance of the Eastern Old Japanese attributive *-o* in *Hitachi Fudoki* occurs after tentative *-m-*, and is spelled with 母. I do not believe that this bias in the record indicates a preference for Type-A vowels after /m/; what is important to observe here, as in the above cases of /p/ and /k/, is that polyphony in the script used for writing Eastern Old Japanese attributive *-o* only occurs with characters representing syllables that either show no distinction between vowel type, or that are Type-A.

The only exception to the above rule occurs in positions after /n/, where variability obtains between 努 and 怒 (both Type-A), and 乃 and 能 (both Type-B). The Sakimori Uta only show the Type-A spellings, and even among the Azuma Uta, the Type-A vowel bearing characters are far more common, occurring eight times versus only two times (once each) for the Type-B characters. I think this preference for syllables with Type-A vowels represents a phonological preference, and not merely an orthographic one; it is unfortunate that the two instances of syllables with Type-B vowels are both found in poems of unknown origin, making it impossible to hypothesize as to a possible dialect difference in the maintenance of the Type-A/Type-B vowel distinction in this position. In both cases, the poems feature many eastern dialect features, marking them as strongly dialectal. There are, otherwise, very few instances of Type-A/Type-B misspellings after /n/ in the corpus; I am aware of only two instances: *nô* 'field' → *nö* (14:3352.2, attributed to Shinano), and *sinôp-* 'to long for' → *sinöp-* (20:4427.2, unknown) – and significantly, both of these instances involve transforming a Type-A vowel into Type-B. I believe that there may have been a loss of the phonemic distinction between Type-A and Type-B "o" vowels, at least after /n/ (and probably after /t/ and /k/ as well), in some dialects; however, the distinction between /ô/ and /ö/ is for the most part very well maintained in our sources.

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[18] Nor were /mö/ and /mô/ distinct in Eastern Old Japanese, I believe. In *Man'yōshū* Book XX, I count fifty-three Type-A/Type-B misspellings of "o" vowels – forty of these occur after /m/. In Book XIV I gave up recording misspellings of "o" after poem 3527; prior to that, I observed 114 misspellings of, of which ninety-eight were in positions after /m/ (including thirty-nine 'misspellings' of the particle *mö*, fourteen of *omöp-* 'to think,' and five each of *omö* 'face,' *mötö* 'base,' and *imô* 'darling').

In Central Old Japanese texts, the polyphony of the two characters 努 and 怒 can be a source of confusion, since they can be read as either /nu/ or /nô/, though usually context will make the reading clear. In Eastern Old Japanese, the confusion becomes more profound in certain cases: specifically, when either of these are used to spell the composition of an attributive marker following the perfective marker *-n-* or negative marker *-an-*, it can be unclear whether it should be read /nu/ (the typical reading in Central Old Japanese) or /nô/, using the unique Eastern Old Japanese attributive *-o*. This is particularly true for the character 怒, which only occurs once in the corpus, in Book XX. Character 努 is much more common, occurring twenty-nine times in Book XIV and eight times in Book XX (there are no examples in *Hitachi Fudoki*), for a total of thirty-seven instances. The breakdown in usage is as follows; types with multiple tokens are cited first:

1. *sinôp-* 'to long for' (9 tokens: 14:3426.4, 14:3515.5, 14:3516.5, 14:3520.5, 14:3532.4, 14:3570.5, 14:3575.5, 20:4327.5, 20:4421.5)
2. *kamîtukenô* 'Kamitsuke no' (place name) (8: 14:3404, 14:3405a, 14:3407, 14:3415, 14:3416, 14:3417, 14:3420, 14:3423 – all are in first lines)
3. *-n-ô* perfective marker + attributive marker (COJ *-n-u*) (3: 14:3480.5, 14:3527.5, 20:4403.5)
4. *-n-ô* negative marker + attributive marker (COJ *-n-u*) (2: 20:4344.5 and 20:4356.5)
5. *ninô* '(white) cloth' (COJ *nunô*) (2: 14:3513.3 and 14:3351.5)
6. *nô* 'plain' or 'field' (2: 20:4344.2 and 20:4417.2)
7. *anô* 'Ano' (place name?) (2: 14:3447.2 and 14:3447.4)

The following are attested in singular tokens:

8. *nôNsi* 'rainbow' (COJ *niNsi* appears to be an innovation) (14:3414.3)
9. *simötukenô* 'Shimotsuke no' (place name) (14:3425.1)
10. *nôNkan-* 'to flow' (COJ *naNkar-*) (14:3476a.4)
11. *wanô* 'I' (14:3476b.5)
12. *wa-nô* I + dative case marker (COJ *wa-ni*) (20:4358.4)
13. *sanô* 'Sano' (place name?) (14:3473.1)
14. *kanômaNtuku* meaning unclear (14:3518.3)
15. *-ôre-* evidential marker (20:4351.3)
16. *isi pum-a(~~nô~~)Ns-u* 'not stepping on stones' (14:3425.3)

Number (16) occurs in the third line of poem 12:3425 and is evidently a scribal error; in the Nishi Honganji manuscript, the character 努 is inserted between 麻 and 受, and has been partially crossed out in red ink. Since the line is unintelligible *with* 努, and perfectly clear without, I believe this instance of 努 should be dismissed. The interpretation of number (14), occurring in the third line of 14:3518, is unclear. A similar form is found in 14:3409.3, spelled *kanumaNtuku* using 奴 (however, the older Genryaku manuscript has 努 in that verse; incidentally, there is no indication anywhere in my corpus that 奴 is ever

read as anything other than /nu/). Since there is no scholarly consensus on the meaning of this line, I cannot use it as evidence for anything at this point.

Of the remaining instances, many of them involve unique Eastern Old Japanese word forms: however, in only three cases does 努 appear in a position where we would expect, in Central Old Japanese, a reading of /nu/ – specifically, in numbers (3), (4), and (15), including a total of six tokens. In number (15), from poem 20:4351.3, the evidential marker *-ure-* is spelled partially with 努; Mizushima reads this as *-ore-* (1996: 205; in the Nishi Honganji manuscript, the character is glossed as "nu"). Unfortunately, there are no other examples of an evidential *-ore-* in the corpus, though there is one instance, also in Book XX (4343.2) of the evidential being spelled with an "o": *omëp-o-Ntö* 於米保等 'although I think…' (this is a highly dialectal verse with six Eastern features). I have tentatively accepted the "o"-based reading in both cases, though further study of the evidential forms is needed. In number (3), the form *-n-ô* occurs before the *kakari* particle *kamo*, where we would expect the attributive form (for further discussion of the perfective marker *-n-* in Eastern Old Japanese, see section 6.2.1.4 below, and in Chapter Seven, section 7.3). As for example (4), I believe that 努 was also employed for spelling an attributive with preceding negative marker, to be read as /nô/, that is, as containing the unique Eastern Old Japanese attributive *-o*, rather than the more common allomorph *-u* (this formation can also be seen, albeit with a different vowel, in 14:3476b.5). Since the attributive *-o* is attested in many other phonological and morphological environments, such an interpretation does not seem present any unusual difficulties. The remaining instances of 努 in words with multiple tokens are all clearly read as /nô/. As such, I believe that in Eastern Old Japanese, the character 努 was used for writing /nô/ in most, perhaps in all, situations – though this could simply be a remarkable coincidence of the surviving texts. This solution follows the pattern found in the orthography: to wit, there is strong evidence that 努 is frequently used to write /nô/, and no convincing evidence that it is ever used to write /nu/.

The dominant orthographic trend in the representation of Eastern Old Japanese attributive *-o* is to use characters representing Type-A vowels whenever possible (eighteen instances); where no distinction existed in the orthography (based on Central Old Japanese), spelling variation occurs (thirty-two cases). There are only two exceptions to this trend (i.e., the use of characters representing syllables with explicitly Type-B vowels), out of fifty-two total attestations, and both occur after the same consonant, /n/. I believe that most dialects of Eastern Old Japanese maintained a phonemic distinction between /ô/ and /ö/, and that the unique dialect attributive *-o* was likely manifested phonologically as a Type-A vowel. This is what we would expect, since the Proto-Japonic or Pre-Old Japanese vowel *o generally raised and merged with *u to form /u/ in Central Old Japanese, and where it did not raise (as in *mukô* above, and in the Eastern attributive *-o*) it became the Old Japanese vocalic phoneme /ô/. Old Japanese /ö/ came from a different Proto-Japonic source, and so we would expect to see only /ô/ for the attributive in Eastern Old Japanese, representing the pre-raising vowel quality – unless, of course, the phonemic distinction between /ô/ and /ö/ had been lost in the dialects. The historical origins of the unique eastern attributives are discussed further in section 6.2 below.

The orthography employed in transcribing the adjectival attributive marker *-ke* is, not surprisingly, far more limited than that for *-o*. Three characters are used, two of which represent a Type-A vowel in Central Old Japanese (家 and 祁) and one of which represents a Type-B (氣). Examining their distribution by text, there is no variability in the Azuma Uta, where only the Type-A vowel-bearing character 家 is used (the character 祁 is not seen at all in Book XIV). The character 氣, representing a syllable with Type-B vowel in Central Old Japanese (/kë/), is only used for writing the attributive *-ke* in Book XX. In short, then, the Sakimori Uta are biased towards using the Type-B vowel, while in the Azuma Uta, the exact opposite trend appears. This pattern follows exactly the evidence for respelling biases I presented in the introduction to section 6.1. Since I believe that Eastern Old Japanese did not (by and large) make a phonological distinction between the two "e" vowels, I think this orthographic distinction results entirely from scribal whim.

Table 6.3 Orthographic Variability of Attributive *-ke*

Syllable and Character		Book XIV		Book XX		Totals	
kê	家	10	10	1	2	11	12
	祁	--		1		1	
kë	氣	--		6		6	
Totals		10		8		18	

The unique attributive form *-e* is even more regular: all five instances are spelled with the character 敞, representing a syllable with a Type-A vowel in Central Old Japanese, /pê/. Again, it is unclear if this indicates either a phonetic or a phonological distinction, or if it is merely a scribal bias of the source, though I think the latter is most likely. All instances of the attributive *-e* occur in Book XIV, and as described above, there is a strong tendency in that book to transcribe all instances of "e" using characters that represent syllables having the Type-A vowel. The Eastern negative marker *-anap-* also occurs with the evidential marker in four instances in Book XIV, and in three of these, the evidential is spelled with a Type-A vowel.

Since there is no Type-A/Type-B distinction between *â and *ä, the discussion of attributive *-a* need not be long at this point. Simply, when preceded by the negative marker *-an-*, there are eight instances of spelling with the phonogram 奈, and one case with the *ongana*-type semantogram 莫; the one instance of attributive *-a* after a consonant-stem verb base (ending in /p/) is spelled with 波. These two forms of the attributive marker will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

6.2 ALLOMORPHY

The formal variety of the Eastern Old Japanese unique attributive morphology was introduced above; the following section will give an elaboration of that discussion, with a

particular focus on examining the possible phonological or morphological factors conditioning the manifestations of certain attributive allomorphs.

According to the most widely accepted theory, the variety Old Japanese verbal attributive forms all arose from a single Proto-Japonic morpheme, *-*uro*. Central Old Japanese possesses only two allomorphs of the verbal attributive, one of which occurs after consonant-stem verbs and affixes, the other after vowel-stem verbs and affixes. They are derived as follows (examples after Vovin 2005: 51):

1. allomorph -*u*, occurring with consonant-stem verbs, e.g. *omöp*- 'to think'
   PJ *omop-uro > *omop-uo > *omöp-ō > *omöp-ū / COJ omöp-u
   Proto-Japonic form > r-loss > contraction > vowel raising > attested COJ form

2. allomorph -*uru*, occurring with vowel-stem verbs, e.g. *kôpï*- 'to love'
   PJ *kopu-uro > *kop-ūro > *kop-ūro > *kôp-uru > COJ kôp-uru
   Proto-Japonic form > contraction > (r-loss) > vowel raising > attested COJ form

The principal historical sound change responsible for this allomorphy is r-loss, known in Japanese linguistics as Whitman's Law. According to this rule, intervocalic /r/ is lost when the preceding vowel is short, as is the case in example (1) above. In example (2), the contraction of *i with *u produced a long vowel, which blocked r-loss, resulting in the 'vowel-stem' attributive allomorph -*uru*. It is important to note that contraction of vowel clusters must have taken place both before and after r-loss, to account for the allomorphic variety of the attributive (not to mention evidential) markers. Following a theory of vowel contraction put forth by Unger (reported in Russell 2003: 513), I believe that in both of the above cases, contraction resulted in the retention of the second vowel, presumably in a 'long' form (i.e., *u+*o contracted as *ō; and *i+*u as *ū). The loss of the first vowel and retention of the second is believed to have been conditioned by the polysyllabicity of the first word in the compound. I have placed vowel raising as the last process to have occurred, after r-loss and contraction, following Miyake's theory of late raising of Pre-Old Japanese *e and *o (2003b, introduced on p.103).

Because vowel-raising did not take place in all dialects of Eastern Old Japanese, or because a pre-raising form had been lexicalized alongside a post-raising form, the following additional allomorph appears:

3. allomorph -*o*, occurring with all verbs (?), e.g. *omöp*- 'to think'
   PJ *omop-uro > *omop-uo > *omöp-ō > EOJ omöp-ô (14:3552.5)
   Proto-Japonic form > r-loss > contraction > attested EOJ form

The full distribution of this form will be discussed below; however, it appears, tentatively, that -*o* is found in all morphological environments, including after vowel-stem verbs and affixes. The predicted vowel-stem verbal attributive *-*uro* does not occur:

4. allomorph *-*uro*, occurring with vowel-stem verbs, e.g. *kôpï*- 'to love'
   PJ *kopu-uro > *kop-ūro > *kop-ūro > EOJ *kôp-uro
   Proto-Japonic form > contraction > (r-loss) > predicted EOJ form, not attested

Why this last allomorph does not occur is unclear, though Vovin has suggested it is because of the general rarity with which /u/ and /ö/ are found in the same morpheme in Old Japanese – a principle known as "Arisaka's Second Law" (personal communication, 2005). There are two types of examples in the corpus where *-o* is used to represent the attributive where one would expect *-uru* in Central Old Japanese, once with a supposed vowel-stem verb (*arapar(e?)-* 'to appear', attested in 14:3414.4 and mentioned briefly above), and five times after the perfective aspect marker *-n-*. These will be discussed in detail later. On the other hand, the form *-uru* is attested in thirty-three examples in the corpus, mostly in Book XIV.

The adjectival attributive *-ke* is less problematic; all eighteen attested tokens occur after adjectives – there are no instances of it coming after an adjective-like verbal affix, for example, the debitive marker *-uNpë-*. Similarly, the attributive *-e* is found only after the negative auxiliary *-anap-*. Since all of these forms, with the exception of *-o* and *-ke*, exist in complementary distribution in Eastern Old Japanese, they can be treated as allomorphs of a single 'attributive' morpheme:

-u, after consonant-stem verbs and affixes
-uru, after vowel-stem verbs and affixes
-kî, after adjectives and adjective-like affixes
-e, after the negative marker *-anap-*

I will now examine the distribution of the various attributive forms to see if there are any environmental or other conditions on their appearance.

6.2.1 DISTRIBUTION OF *-o*

Table 6.3 Distribution of *-o* by Morphological Environment

Preceding Morphology	#
Consonant-Stem Verb Base	16
Vowel-Stem Verb Base?	1
Tentative *-am-*	20
Tentative *-unam-*	5
Perfective *-n-*	5
Negative *-an-*	3
Progressive *-ar-*	2
Totals	52

Table 6.3 gives the distributions of the unique attributive marker *-o* at a glance: it occurs in seven morphological environments, most often after verb bases (seventeen instances) and after the tentative marker *-am-* (twenty). Other applications of *-o* are more irregular: five times after the perfective maker *-n-* (but *-o* is never seen with the perfective *-t-*), five times with tentative maker *-unam-*, three times with the negative *-an-*, and twice with the unique Eastern Old Japanese progressive marker *-ar-*. In all of these environments, minimal pairs where *-o* contrasts with the standard attributive allomorph *-u* can be found, indicating that there are no morphological environments conditioning a perfect complementary distribution of *-o* with either *-u* or *-uru*, though a *statistical* complementary distribution can be proposed in the cases of *-unam-* and perfective *-n-*. Below, I will examine each type of occurrence of attributive *-o*.

First, to test if there is any bias in the appearance of the most common unique Eastern Old Japanese attributive markers *-o* or *-ke* in the *Man'yōshū* source texts, I compared their frequency as a proportion of the number of lines of verse from each text. The results, reported in Table 6.4, show that both types of attributive are proportionally more common in Book XX than in Book XIV. In addition to the alternation data gathered in Chapter Four, this is further evidence that the Sakimori Uta are generally more 'deviant' from the linguistic norm of Central Old Japanese than the Azuma Uta are.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, I believe this may indicate one or both of two things: first, there were likely fewer steps – and therefore less editorial alteration – between the initial copying of the Sakimori Uta and the earliest surviving manuscripts; and second, the ranks of the Azuma Uta are probably swelled with poems that do not reflect authentic Eastern Old Japanese – composed either by courtier-poets (speakers of Central Old Japanese) and intentionally or accidentally placed into Book XIV, or by actual easterners who recited or recorded their poems in the standard dialect. Either way, it is obvious that Book XIV is contaminated by many poems that do not reflect the Eastern Old Japanese dialects.

Table 6.4 Proportional Rate of Occurrence

Form	Book XIV (1209 Lines)	Book XX (475 Lines)
-o	32 (2.7%)	19 (4%)
-ke	10 (0.8%)	8 (1.7%)
Totals	42 (3.5%)	27 (5.7%)

6.2.1.1 *-o after consonant-stem verb bases*

The unique attributive *-o* occurs sixteen times after consonant-stem verb bases; two of these cases are singular (i.e., the verb is not attested elsewhere in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus with a following attributive *-u*). Amazingly, both instances are in the same poem, 20:4389 (Shimotsufusa); the verbs are *kôs-* 'to get over' and *tamap-*, an honorific auxiliary. In other cases, *-o* appears after common verbs such as *omöp-* 'to think,' *pap-* 'to stretch,' *mat-* 'to wait,' and *yuk-* 'to go,' among others – all of which appear at least once elsewhere in the corpus with a following attributive allomorph *-u*. There are also two poems in Book XIV containing both forms, *-o* and *-u*:

1. 等保斯等布 / 故奈乃思良祢尓 / 阿抱思太毛 14:3478.1-3 Unknown
   töposi tö-[i]p-u / kôna-nö sira ne-ni / ap-o siNta mô
   far(FIN) DV-say-ATTR / *Kona*-GEN white peaks-LOC / meet-EATTR time PT
   'when (we) meet on the white peak(s) of Kona, which (they) say are far away…'

2. 於吉尓須毛 / 乎加母乃毛已呂 / 也左可杼利 / 伊伎豆久伊毛乎 / 於伎弖伎努可母 14:3527.1-5 Unknown
   okî-ni sum-ô / woN-kamö-nö môkörö / yasaka-N-töri / ikî-N-tuk-u imô-wo / ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö
   offing-LOC live-ATTR / DIM-ducks-GEN similarity / *Yasaka*-GEN-bird / breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR darling-ACC / leave.behind-INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT

> ‘just like ducks that live far from shore, are the birds of Yasaka – I left my darling (or wife) panting (i.e., weeping) like those birds, to come (here).’

Example (1) is particularly striking, since both verbs end with the same consonant /p/, meaning we have allomorphic variation not only in the same morphological environment, but in the same phonological environment as well. Example (2) contains two instances of the attributive *-o*, though only the first, after the verb *sum-* ‘to live’ or ‘to reside,’ is of interest here, in contrast to the verb *ikîNtuk-* ‘to gasp’ (the second *-o* follows the perfective marker *-n-*). In these cases, as in several others presented later, two factors could have been at work: (1) an editorial hand, that chose to revise one vowel but not the other; in this case, we presume that both attributives were originally *-o*, and one was subsequently revised to the central (or Middle Japanese, depending on when the emendation occurred) standard; or (2) actual variation within a single speaker’s idiolect, either free or conditioned. In the first case, the editor may have been working on the compilation of the *Man’yōshū*, or might have been producing a later manuscript, or, more interestingly, may have been an earlier figure – if we accept that some, perhaps many, of these poems were part of an oral tradition, then it makes sense that a certain degree of dialectal heterogeneity might creep into the verses, as they were learned by speaker after speaker, and slowly revised through time and space.

Nevertheless, the variation that appears in these examples, particularly (1), is still problematic: if an editor changed one vowel, why not the other? Or, if a single speaker produced both, the only explanation is that both forms existed in free variation, unless we assume a larger phonological conditioning environment, perhaps taking the following consonant into account. I think it is extremely unlikely that the initial consonant of the following word would have affected the vowel in this way, and cannot think of any similar examples in Japanese, although the following vowel may have had an effect; moreover, a quick perusal of the data in Appendix F suggests that *-o* occurs before almost all possible word-initial Old Japanese consonants. With these doubts in mind, I suggest that the best explanation for the variety observed here is free variation of *-o* and *-u* after consonant-stem verbs, though certainly this area deserves further research. Although neither of the above verses are attributed to specific provinces, the place name *Yasaka*, seen in example (2) above, is also found in another poem in Book XIV, attributed to Kamitsuke, a province in the northwest of Region B (see below).

There is also one instance in the corpus of *-o* following an irregular verb, *ar-* ‘to exist’ (14:3509.5). Normally this verb takes the attributive marker *-u*, and in this respect, at least, it behaves like a consonant-stem verb. Attributive *-o* does not occur immediately after any other irregular verbs, though it does occur with *se-* ‘to do’ and *kö-* ‘to come’ when there is some intervening morphology, such as tentative *-am-* or the perfective marker *-n-*. Both *se-* and *kö-* behave like vowel-stem verbs, at least in terms of their final (*s-u* and *k-u*) and attributive forms (*s-uru* and *k-uru*); then, the fact that attributive *-o* is not seen after these verb bases is additional evidence against the theory that *-o* may occur after vowel-stem morphology. Since the example of *arapar(e?)* is singular, the only reliable examples of *-o* in a position where Central Old Japanese would have *-uru* are after the perfective marker *-n-* (discussed in section 6.2.1.4).

6.2.1.2 *-o after vowel-stem verb bases*

Attributive marker *-o* only occurs once after a vowel-stem verb – or what is apparently a vowel-stem verb – in poem 14:3414.4 (Kamitsuke), mentioned briefly in the first part of this chapter:

> 夜左可能為提尓 / 多都努自能 / 安良波路萬代母
> yasaka-nö wiNte-ni / tat-u nôNsi-nö / arapar-ô-maNte mö
> *Yasaka*-GEN dam-LOC / rise-ATTR rainbow-GEN / appear-EATTR-TERM PT
> 'until appears the rainbow that rises at the dam of Yasaka'

Vowel-stem verbs are fewer than consonant-stem verbs, and most of the very high-frequency verbs are consonant-stems or are irregular in form (although *kôpï-* 'to love' is a notable exception); as such, it is not surprising that we see so few instances of *-o* (already far rarer than *-u* as an attributive) with vowel-stem verbs. It is possible that *arapar(e?)-* had been reanalyzed in this dialect as a consonant-stem verb *arapar-*. There are several instances of verbs being reanalyzed in this way in Eastern Old Japanese (e.g., *nake-* 'to make cry,' which is clearly a vowel-stem verb in 14:3362b.5 and 14:3471.5; or *wakar-* 'to separate,' apparently a consonant-stem verb in 20:4381.4), although none of these involve a following *-o*. On the other hand, there are five instances of *-o* coming after the perfective marker *-n-*, which in Central Old Japanese behaves like a vowel-stem verb in terms of its attributive and final forms; however, in Chapter Seven I will propose that this perfective marker *-n-* had purely consonant-stem morphology in Eastern Old Japanese. For the time being, then, I will assume that *-o* does not exist in free variation with *-uru* after vowel-stem morphology, but that it only occurs after consonant-stem bases.

6.2.1.3 *-o after tentative marker -am-*

The largest number of examples of attributive *-o* occur after the tentative marker *-am-* (twenty instances); the same tentative form is followed by an apparently attributive *-u* in sixty-two instances (*apparently*, because it is impossible to tell from the segmental phonology alone whether /u/ represents the final or attributive marker after consonant-stem verbs and morphologically similar affixes, including the tentative marker *-am-*). In ten cases, the standard attributive marker *-u* also occurs elsewhere in the same poem, and in two such cases, it also follows *-am-*:

1. 安是可曽乎伊波牟 / 志可良波加 / 刀奈里乃伎奴乎 / 可里弖伎奈波毛
   14:3472.2-5 Unknown
   aNse ka sö-wo ip-am-u / sika-[a]r-aNpa ka / tônari-nö kînu-wo / kar-i-te kî-n-ap-am-ô
   why KPT she-ACC say-TENT-ATTR / thus-exist-COND KPT / neighbor-GEN robes-ACC / borrow-INF-SUB wear(INF)-PERF-ITER-TENT-EATTR
   'why should (I) call her (another man's wife)? If it is so, then (I'll) borrow my neighbor's robes and wear them all the time (i.e., I'll impersonate him).'

2. 安我世武比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我母 20:4329.4-5 Sagamu
   a-Nka se-m-u pî-rö-wo / mî-m-ô pîtö möNkamö
   I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-EDIM-ACC / see-TENT-EATTR person PT
   'I want there to be someone to see the day when I'll do (the boat-decorating!)'

In example (1), both occurrences of the attributive are triggered by *kakari musubi*, while both instances in example (2) are clearly adnominal. As above, these interesting coincidences might have resulted from editorial emendation or from actual free variation, with the latter being more likely (why would an editor only 'fix' one vowel and not another?) The provincial origin of example (1) is unknown, but (2) comes from the Sakimori Uta and is therefore comparatively reliable in its attribution to the province of Sagamu, in the west of Region B.

6.2.1.3 *-o after tentative marker -unam-*

The unique attributive *-o* occurs five times in combination with the unique Eastern Old Japanese tentative marker *-unam-*, which only appears nine times total in the corpus. Of these nine instances, seven are in Book XIV, and all five coincidences of *-unam+o* also appear in Book XIV. Every one of these poems contains at least four unique eastern dialect features, marking them as strongly dialectal and almost certainly authentic:

1. 和奴尓故布奈毛 14:3476a.2 Unknown
   wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô
   I-DAT love-TENT-EATTR
   '(she) must love me'

2. 故布思可流奈母 14:3476a.5 Unknown
   kôpusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
   longed.for-INF-exist-TENT-EATTR
   '(she) must think (of me) longingly'

3. 布多由久奈母等 14:3526.4 Unknown
   puta yuk-unam-ö tö
   two go-TENT-EATTR DV
   '(don't think that my heart) must go in two (i.e., that I'll love two women)'

4. 於毛抱須奈母呂 14:3552.4 Unknown
   omôp-os-unam-ö rö
   think-HON-TENT-EATTR DV[19]
   'you must think that…'

[19] Vovin believes that /örö/ could also be a very unusual evidential marker (2006, personal communication); in defense of this theory, there is one example of evidential *-ôre-* in the corpus (20:4351.3), and one case of evidential *-o-* (40:4343.2). I will discuss this possibility further in Chapter Seven.

5. 和乎可麻都那毛 14:3563.4 Unknown
   wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô
   I-ACC KPT wait-TENT-EATTR
   'will (you) wait for me?'

The first two examples are from the same verse, 14:3476a, which is the most overtly dialect poem in the corpus, containing twelve unique eastern features.[20] Example (5) results from *kakari musubi*; the other four cases are all unusual, in that none of them are engaged in nominal modification (the unique functions of the attributive in Eastern Old Japanese will be discussed in the next chapter). The marked co-occurrence of the tentative *-unam-* and the unique attributive marker *-o* in poems that are so strongly dialectal is probably not coincidental, and may be regarded as typical of Eastern Old Japanese. Of the four remaining instances of *-unam-*, three occur with the standard attributive marker, *-u*, in poems with very few other eastern features (14:3366 and 14:3496 contain no other features; 20:4391 contains two misspellings of "i" vowels), and one instance in Book XX (4390) occurs with the evidential marker in a slightly more feature rich poem. Furthermore, of the seven occurrences of the Central Old Japanese tentative *-uram-* (cognate with *-unam-*), four are found with the regular attributive maker *-u* (14:3505, 14:3532, 14:3562, 20:4343); the other three instances are in the evidential mood. Based on this evidence, I will tentatively suggest that the Eastern Old Japanese dialects used *-o* after *-unam-*, and *-u* after *-uram-*. Of course, it is very possible that, rather than representing allomorphic distinctions in a speaker's head, this contrast probably represented two unique dialect states; i.e., some dialects of Eastern Old Japanese used *-unam-* only and *-o* only, while others only used *-uram-* and *-u*, meaning that the complementary distribution occurs at the level of dialect, rather than morphology. It is unfortunate that all instances *-unam-o* occur in poems without provincial attributions, making it almost impossible to follow up this hypothesis with dialect evidence.

6.2.1.4 *-o after perfective marker -n-*

There are five examples in the corpus of *-o* occurring after the perfective marker *-n-*; in contrast, there is only one example of attributive *-uru* appearing in the same position, in poem 14:3571, one of the "Sakimori Uta" of Book XIV, which appears to be written in perfect Central Old Japanese. In fact, all five *sakimori* verses of Book XIV are suspicious, in that they contain no eastern dialect features whatever. The distribution of attributive *-o* after perfective *-n-* contrasts with the combination of *-uru* and the perfective marker *-t-*; the latter forms are attested together four times, while *-t-* never occurs with *-o*.

The five examples of *-n-o* in the corpus occur mostly in poems with multiple dialect features; two are attributed to specific provinces in Regions B and C:

1. 佐波太奈利努乎 14:3395.4 Hitachi, four EOJ features

[20] *Viz.*: three instances of attributive *-o*, two instances of tentative *-unam-*, one instance of diminutive *-na*, and the following: *wanu* 'I,' *tuku* 'moon,' *nôNkan-* 'to flow,' *kôpusi* 'longed for,' and two examples of /ê/, one of which appears to be an infinitive marker, the other an evidential marker.

sapaNta nar-i-n-ô-wo
many become-INF-PERF-EATTR-ACC
‘(my nights away) have become many’

2. 欲太知伎努可母 14:3480.5 Unknown, one EOJ feature
yô-N-tat-i k-î-n-ô kamö
night-LOC-rise-INF come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT
‘(I) left in the night and came (here)’

3. 古呂賀於曽伎能 14:3509.4 Unknown, six EOJ features
kô-rö-Nka osö kî-n-ö
girl-EDIM-POSS garments wear(INF)-PERF-EATTR
‘(I’ve) put on my girl’s robes’

4. 於伎弖伎努可母 14:3527.5 Unknown, two EOJ features
ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö
leave.behind-INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT
‘(I) left (her) and came (here)’

5. 古与弖伎怒加牟 20:4403.5 Shinano, three EOJ features
kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu
get.past(INF)-SUB come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT
‘(I) came over (the mountains)’

In (1), the attributive is forming a commonly encountered construct with the accusative case-marker; in (3), it is functioning as a nominalizer; and in the other three examples, the attributive form is selected because of its position before *ka(mo)*, which requires a preceding attributive (according to Quinn (1997), *ka* functions as a copula; in this theory, the attributive can be seen as fulfilling a nominalizing role in these instances). The four examples of *-t-uru* are:

6. 許知弖都流可母 14:3371.5 Sagamu, no dialect EOJ features
köt[ö]-iNte-t-uru kamö
words-emerge(INF)-PERF-ATTR KPT
‘did (I) speak out (my longing)?’

7. 於母尓美要都留 14:3473.5 Unknown, three EOJ features
omö-ni mî-ye-t-uru
face-DAT see-PASS-PERF-ATTR
‘(I) could see (it) in (her) face (in my dreams)’

8. 哭乎曽奈伎都流 14:3485.4 Unknown, no EOJ features
NE-wo sö nak-î-t-uru
voice-ACC KPT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR
‘(she) cried aloud’

9. 和須礼加祢津流 20:4346.5 Suruga, four EOJ features
   wasure-kane-t-uru
   forget-NEGPOT-PERF-ATTR
   '(I) cannot forget (their words)'

Example (6) is a nominalization, as described above; the other examples all result from *kakari musubi*; the *kakari* particle is even visible in the same line in (8). The only provincial attributions seen in this sample are to Sagamu and Suruga, both in the southwest of Region B; two of these verses have multiple dialect features, while two of them have no features at all. I believe this indicates that the combination *-t-uru* was used throughout the Eastern Old Japanese dialects; similarly, the above evidence shows that perfective-attributive *-n-o* was probably used in any dialect that had *-o*. Although the evidence is small in volume, and therefore perhaps explicable as a mere coincidence, for what it's worth, the evidence clearly shows a complementary distribution: for dialects containing attributive *-o*, allomorph *-uru* manifests after perfective *-t-*, while allomorph *-o* manifests after perfective *-n-*. This does not appear to be a phonologically conditioned distribution, as *-o* appears after /t/ elsewhere (for example, after the verb *tat-* 'to rise'); I believe the explanation for this state is simple: in Eastern Old Japanese, perfective *-t-* had vowel-stem morphology in the attributive form (as in Central Old Japanese), while perfective *-n-* had been reanalyzed to fully consonant-stem morphology, and so used the attributive allomorphs *-u* and *-o*. I will discuss some interesting examples of attributive *-n-u* in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight.

The functional roles of the two perfectives are still imperfectly understood, although Vovin has made a proposal in his Classical grammar (2003: 306), that their distribution in Old Japanese was conditioned by active versus inactive syntactic constructions: active constructions could use the perfective *-t-*, while inactive constructions used perfective *-n-*. A rather loose correlation between transitivity and perfective distribution has also been proposed: transitive verbs generally take *-t-*, while intransitive verbs use *-n-*. It goes without saying that the subjects of transitive verbs are very frequently animate (i.e., active), while the subjects of intransitive verbs are just as often inanimate. These distinctions do not hold perfectly in my Eastern Old Japanese data, and indeed, the distinction was also disappearing from Central Old Japanese at the same time (*ibid*.). Still, even acknowledging a functional distinction between *-n-* and *-t-*, it seems odd that an attributive marker should participate in that same distinction. Certainly *-o* appears elsewhere with both transitive and intransitive verbs, and animate and inanimate subjects, for example:

1. Intransitive verb, active subject
   可母能波抱能須 14:3525.2 Unknown
   kamö-nö pap-o-nösu
   duck-GEN crawl-EATTR-COMP
   'like the crawling of a duck'

2. Intransitive verb, inactive subject

多都努自能 / 安良波路萬代母 14:3414.2-4 Kamitsuke
tat-u nôNsi-nö / arapar-ô-maNte mö
rise-ATTR rainbow-GEN / appear-EATTR-TERM PT
'until appears the rainbow that rises'

3. Transitive verb, active subject
阿米乎万刀能須 14:3561.4 Unknown
amë-wo mat-ô-nösu
rain-ACC wait-EATTR-ECOMP
'(waiting for you) is like waiting for the rain'

4. Transitive verb, inactive subject
志保不尼乃 / 敞古祖志良奈美 20:4389.1-2 Shimotsufusa
sipo pune-nö / pê kôs-ô sira namî
tide boat-GEN / bow surpass-EATTR white waves
'(like) whitewater that passes the prow of a ship'

In the next chapter I will examine the functions of the various predicate types found in Eastern Old Japanese; and explain in greater detail my theory that *-n-* had been reanalyzed as having purely consonant-stem morphology.

6.2.1.5 *-o after negative marker -an-*

Attributive marker *-o* is even less well attested after the negative *-an-*; there are three instances in the corpus. In contrast, *-an-* occurs sixteen times coupled with the more common attributive allomorph *-u*.

1. 和努由賀乃敞波 14:3476b.2 Unknown, five EOJ features
wanô yuk-an-ö [i]pê pa
I go-NEG-EATTR house TOP
'the home I will not go to'

2. 和須例勢努加毛 20:4344.5 Suruga, two EOJ features
wasure-se-n-ô kamô
forget(INF)-do-NEG-EATTR KPT
'I will not forget (my father and mother)'

3. 和須良延努可毛 20:4356.5 Kamitsufusa, one EOJ feature
wasur-aye-n-ô kamô
try.to.forget-PASS-NEG-EATTR KPT
'I cannot forget (her tearful feelings)'

Examples (1) and (2) are fairly straightforward; the morphology of example (3) is not perfectly transparent, and it is possible to read *-n-o* as a combination of perfective and attributive (and simultaneously reading *kamo* as a question particle), though I agree with

the traditional reading of this poem (as in Mizushima 1996: 207) and regard the verb as negative and *kamo* as emotive. I think the most significant observation here is that *-o* occurs with the negative only in poems with multiple eastern features, or poems from Region A.

6.2.1.6 *-o after unique progressive marker -ar-*

Although there are only two examples of *-o* appearing after the progressive marker, it may be significant that in both cases the progressive manifests in its unique Eastern Old Japanese form, *-ar-*, rather than with the central form *-er-*:

許余比登乃良路 14:3469.2 Unknown, seven EOJ features
kö-yöpî tö nör-ar-ô
this-evening DV tell-EPROG-EATTR
'(they) are telling (me) "(it will be) tonight"'

波良路可波刀尓 14:3546.2 Unknown, four EOJ features
par-ar-ô kapa tô-ni
stretch-EPROG-EATTR river door-LOC
'at the river-crossing, where (the green willow) stretches (its branches)'

6.2.2 DISTRIBUTION OF *-ke*

The unique adjectival attributive marker *-ke* only occurs after adjective bases. It appears mostly with common adjectives (there are eleven instances following *kanasi* 'adorable' or 'sad'), almost all of which are attested elsewhere in the corpus with the standard adjective attributive marker *-kî*. Strangely, however, there are no instances of the two alternatives *-kî* and *-ke* co-occurring in the same poem. As such, it is not clear if *-ke* participated in the same sort of apparent free variation as *-o* did with *-u* and *-uru*. Although my data are not sufficient in volume to argue strongly on this point, it may be that *-kî* and *-ke* existed in true complementary distribution at the dialect level, i.e., some dialects may have possessed only *-kî* and some dialects only *-ke*, with little or no mixing within any individual speaker's language. The dialect distribution of *-o* and *-ke* will be described in section 6.3 below.

6.2.3 OTHER ALLOMORPHS

As I have already mentioned, allomorph *-e* occurs only with a preceding negative formation *-anap-*, which is itself unique to Eastern Old Japanese, and which uses *-e* exclusively to mark the attributive function. The origin of this negative is unknown, but it appears to have integrated the negative affix *-an-*. It may be that *-anap-* is a straightforward combination of the negative and iterative affixes, i.e., *-an-ap-*, though this combination never occurs in this order in Central Old Japanese (the opposite morphotax, *-ap-an-* does, however). This 'negative-iterative' reading does make sense in most instances of *-anap-*, although I think a 'purely negative' reading is also tenable in the

same. As such, I will identify in my morphological analyses all instances of *-anap-* as "ENEG" for Eastern Old Japanese-Negative; this highlights the form (or at least, the morphotax) as *unique to Eastern Old Japanese*, and it indicates that the semantic role of the morpheme or compound was clearly *negative*. Whether or not *-anap-* also includes an iterative component I leave unresolved for now. The following examples are typical:

1. 故尓毛乃多奈布 14:3444.4 Unknown, five EOJ features
   kô-ni mô nöt-anap-u
   basket-LOC PT fill.up-ENEG-FIN
   'the basket does not get full'

2. 比流等家波 / 等家奈敞比毛乃 14:3483.1-2 Unknown, seven EOJ features
   pîru tök-ê-Npa / tökê-nap-ê pîmô-nö
   day undo-EV-CON / come.undone-ENEG-ATTR cords-GEN
   '…of the sash that does not come undone, if you (try to) undo it during the day'

3. 和須例西奈布母 20:4378.5 Shimotsuke, four EOJ features
   wasure-se-nap-u mö
   forget(INF)-do-ENEG-FIN PT
   '(I) will not forget (my parents' faces)'

Ordinarily, the iterative takes the regular attributive marker *-u*, and this combination is attested twice in the corpus (14:3448.1 and 14:3541.5); as such, if we believe in the negative-iterative hypothesis, then use of the unique attributive *-e* (as opposed to *-u*) after *-anap-* is problematic. There is another element of *-anap-* that is very different from the regular negative marker *-an-*: it appears that it can be followed by the tentative mood marker *-am-*; there is one example of this in Book XIV:

> 那乎可家奈波賣 14:3394.5 Hitachi, six EOJ features
> na-wo kakê-nap-am-ê
> name\you-ACC call.out-ENEG-TENT-EV
> '(if you forget to come) I will not call to you' or 'I will not call (your) name'

In Central Old Japanese and in Middle Japanese, tentative markers rarely occur in negative verbal complexes, because of the existence of a unique negative-tentative marker, *-aNsi* (attested five times in Eastern Old Japanese), which fulfills that role.

There is another unusual negative construction in Eastern Old Japanese, "*-anana*." Yamada interprets this as the negative marker *-an-* followed by the desiderative *-ana* in some cases, and claims that elsewhere it is a "negative" followed by an emphatic particle (1954: 627-628); Fukuda follows this same theory (1965: 373-376), as does Vovin in his reading of poem 14:3557 (2005: 145). Mizushima Yoshiharu prefers to think of the whole construct "*-anana*" as an infinitive form (*ren'yōkei* 連用形) of the negative paradigm which includes *-anap-*, though he doesn't speculate as to why the infinitive would be trisyllabic or why it would lose /p/ only in this application (1996: 55-57). Hōjō thinks that *na* is a primitive form of the negative in Japanese, that has either been

reduplicated to produce "nana," or combined with a following particle (1966: 496-501). Looking over the examples, it is clear to me that "-*anana*" has a special semantic value and so cannot really be treated as a plain infinitive. Yamada's interpretation is better, but why two explanations for one phenomenon? Moreover, if the second "na" is sometimes a particle, the question remains as to what form of the negative it follows.

It is not clear to me how this could be, historically, the same form as -*anap*-. Any story that would connect the negatives -*anap*- and "-*anana*" must first of all explain the "p": why would it be lost in "-*anana*?" Of course Old Japanese did not permit consonant clusters, but if the iterative marker were to precede a particle (*ni* or *na*), we would logically expect to see it in either the infinitive form -*ap-î*, or in the attributive -*ap-u* (or, perhaps, -*ap-e*), and it is rather far-fetched to propose that first the vowel and then the consonant were lost. I believe, therefore, that -*anap*- and "-*anana*" are not historically related, though both have absorbed the regular negative marker -*an*- in their independent processes of grammaticalization. In fact, it may be that "-*anana*" is nothing more than the negative plus a grammatical marker -*a* of some kind, followed by a particle or case marker -*an-a na*. Following this hypothesis, it is most reasonable to suppose that -*a* is an attributive marker, since this form is attested elsewhere in an attributive role. I believe that this -*a* was most likely produced by the assimilation of ô > a / aC__Ca. The first independent attestation of attributive -*a* is in poem 14:3526.2:

奴麻布多都 / 可欲波等里我栖 / 安我已許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曽祢
numa puta-tu / kayôp-a töri-Nka SU / a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ö tö / na yö [o]möp-ar-i-sö ne
marsh two-CL / come.and.go-ATTR bird-POSS nest / I-POSS heart / two go-ETENT-EATTR DV / NEGIMP PT think-EPROG-INF-NEGDES PT
'like the nests of a bird that comes and goes between (his nests at) two marshes – don't think that my heart will go in two (i.e., go after two women)!'

Besides the attributive marker in question, this poem contains three other unique Eastern Old Japanese features (viz., tentative marker -*unam*-, attributive -*o*, and progressive -*ar*-), indicating that it is most likely an authentic eastern verse. The verb *kayôp*- 'to come and go' is attested in Central Old Japanese, and appears in two other cases in the eastern corpus (14:3387.5 and 14:3549.5), always spelled as in this instance. If -*a* is taken as an attributive marker, the reading of this poem is quite unproblematic; in addition, it is quite difficult to imagine what else -*a* could represent, given its syntactic context. The only possibility that comes to mind involves a miscopying: it is possible that a character representing /mu/ is missing from the position immediately after /pa/. Inserting this, we would have the line:

可欲波牟等里我栖
kayôp-am-u töri-Nka SU
come.and.go-TENT-ATTR bird-POSS nest
'like the nests of a bird that seems to come and go (between them)'

Both of the other attestations of *kayôp-* are of this form, and are spelled identically. Nonetheless, I think it is better to interpret *-a* itself as an attributive, mainly because of the hypercatalexis that a reading with the tentative marker would entail. As pointed out in Chapter Five, true hypercatalexis of a line containing eight CV type syllables is extremely rare in the corpus (there are only two instances out of 1,730 lines). Since this example is sole of its kind, it is difficult if not impossible to determine the cause of its unique form. As mentioned above, I believe it is probably due to an irregular vowel alternation of /ô/ > /a/, though in this case there is no obvious phonological conditioning environment. Of course, the attributive *-o* also occurs in this poem, problematizing this interpretation.

A second instance of *-a* occurs in 14:3499.5:

> 乎可尓与西 / 和我可流加夜能 / 佐祢加夜能 / 麻許等奈其夜波 / 祢呂等敞奈香母
> woka-ni yöse / wa-Nka kar-u kaya n-ö / sa-ne kaya-nö / ma-kötö naNköya pa / ne-rö tö
> [i]p-ên-a kamö
> hill-LOC approach(INF) / I-POSS chop.down-ATTR thatching.reed DV-ATTR / *sane* thatching.reed-COMP / INT-words soft TOP / sleep-EIMP DV say-NEG-ATTR KPT
> 'your words are as soft as the '*sane*'[21] reeds (that are the reeds) which I cut near the hill: (but) won't you tell me to sleep (with you)?'

This requires us to posit an alternation of /a/ into /e/ in the negative marker, which manifests here as /en/ (this is not attested elsewhere in Easter Old Japanese); however, the interpretation of *-en-a* as negative plus attributive in this poem is justified by the resulting meaning and by the following particle *kamo*, which is usually preceded by an attributive. It is also possible to read it as *ip-e-n-a*, where "e" is an alternation of the infinitive marker *-î-* (the alternation of /î/ > /e/ is rather common in Eastern Old Japanese), and interpret the line as meaning, "oh, you told me to sleep with you!" Either way, I accept 3499.5 as containing a second instance of attributive *-a*.

To return to the issue of "*-anana*" and my proposal that this is a combination of the negative marker and an attributive, *-an-a*, followed by *-na*, which I believe is a unique Eastern Old Japanese cognate of the dative-locative particle *-ni* (this form is attested independently in simple post-nominal positions in 14:3447.2 and 14:3461.4). Such a reading has several advantages: (1) it gives a single explanation for all the observed phenomena; (2) it is identical, syntactically, to a common construction in Central Old Japanese, the combination of the attributive form and the locative particle (found elsewhere in Eastern Old Japanese as well, in morphologically regular forms); and (3) it relates the morphology of the construction in question to independently attested forms: the attributive *-a* (discussed above) and the locative particle *-na*. I will now present every instance of "*-anana*" to test if this theory is applicable, and at the same time I will apply Akiba's Generalization to the readings (Akiba's Generalization states that attributive-locative constructions, the subjects before and after the construction will usually be different (Akiba 1977)):

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[21] The meaning of s*ane* is unclear; *ne* could refer to a root of some kind. Whatever it may literally mean before *kaya* 'reed,' the whole is certainly a pun for *sa-ne* PREF-sleep, giving this poem an erotic touch.

1. *-an-a-na* 14:3408.1-5 Kamitsuke
   尓比多夜麻 / 祢尓波都可奈那 / 和尓余曽利 / 波之奈流兒良師 / 安夜尓可奈思母
   nipîta yama / ne-ni pa tuk-an-a-na / wa-ni yösör-i / pasi n-ar-u KÔ-ra si / aya n-i kanasi mö
   Nipita mountain / peak-LOC TOP touch-NEG-ATTR-ELOC / I-DAT rumored.to.have.liaison-INF / adorable DV-exist-ATTR girl-DIM PT / extremely DV-INF adorable PT
   'as Mt. Nipita does not touch the ridge of the mountains (i.e., it climbs above them), (so) the beloved girl, with whom they say I have a relationship, is extremely adorable (i.e., more so than other girls).'
   The reading is a little imperfect here, because the first two lines of this poem seem to function as a *joshi* 序詞 or 'prefatory analogy' for the rest of the verse; nonetheless, the subject is different before and after the attributive-locative construction, following Akiba's generalization.

2. *-n-a-na* 14:3436.2-5 Kamitsuke
   乎尓比多夜麻乃 / 毛流夜麻乃 / 宇良賀礼勢奈那 / 登許波尓毛我母
   wo-nipîta yama n-ö / môr-u yama-nö / ura-N-kare-se-n-a-na / tökö-pa n-i môNkamö
   DIM-*Nipita* mountain DV-GEN / guard-ATTR mountain-GEN / tip-GEN-wither(INF)-do-NEG-ATTR-ELOC / constant-leaves DV-INF PT
   'when the (leaves) do not wither (on the trees) of the guarded mountain that is Mt. Nipita, (then) I wish I had some ever-green leaves (i.e., something constant to hold on to; perhaps the poet means a lover; or, perhaps, life itself).'
   Again, the first four lines (the first line, containing a *makura kotoba*, is not reproduced here) are a *joshi* to the fifth line. Subject of the former and latter clauses is different.

3. *-n-a-ni* 14:3461.1-5 Unknown
   安是登伊敞可 / 佐宿尓安波奈久尓 / 真日久礼弖 / 与比奈波許奈尓 / 安家奴思太久流
   aNse tö ip-ê ka / sa-NE-ni ap-an-aku n-i / MA-PÎ kure-te / yöpî-na pa kö-n-a-ni / akê-n-u siNta k-uru
   why DV say-EV PT / PREF-sleep(NML)-LOC meet-NEG-NML DV-INF / INT-sun set(INF)-SUB / evening-ELOC TOP come-NEG-ATTR-LOC / brighten(INF)-PERF-ATTR time come-ATTR
   '(I) say, "the sun set without (our) meeting to sleep together; and since (my lover) didn't come in the evening (either), why should the time of dawn come?"'
   The attributive in the fifth line is triggered by the *kakari* particle *ka* in the first line, indicating that the scope of the initial question extends over all the actions described in the poem. This is the only example of the negative-attributive-locative construction using the regular locative particle *ni*. The subject is different in the preceding and following clauses.

4. *-n-a-na* 14:3487.1-5 Unknown

安豆左由美 / 須恵尓多麻末吉 / 可久須酒曽 / 宿莫奈那里尓思 / 於久乎可奴加奴

aNtusa yumî / suwe-ni tama mak-î / ka-ku s-u s-u sö / NE-N-A-na n-ar-i-n-i-si / oku-wo kan-u kan-u

catalpa bow / tip-LOC jade wind-(NML) / thus-INF do-FIN do-FIN KPT / sleep-NEG-ATTR-ELOC DV-exist-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR) / future-ACC expect-FIN expect-FIN

'(my) catalpa bow, its ends wrapped with jewels – it is just so – having not slept (together), (I'm) worried for (our) future.'

Were it not for this poem's inclusion among the love poems (*sōmonka*) of Book XIV, I would not interpret *ne-* as 'sleep together.' The semantographic writing in line four makes it plain that this construction involves a negative. It may be that the poet was worried for the future of his relationship with the addressee (perhaps his betrothed?) because they had not yet slept together; in this case, the attributive *-a* is serving to nominalize the verbal complex. Regardless, this example is different from the earlier ones, because it does not occur at the end of a clause, but is followed by another verb, in this case the commonly occurring compound of the defective verb *n-* and the existential verb *ar-*, 'to be' – as such, this particular example is not a case of the attributive-locative construction being used to indicate a cause or reason, and Akiba's generalization does not apply.

5. *-n-a-na* 14:3557.1-5 Unknown

奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母与 / 許具布祢能 / 和須礼波勢奈那 / 伊夜母比麻須尓

nayamasi-kê / pîtö-N-tuma kamö yö / köNk-u pune-nö / wasure pa se-n-a-na / iya [o]möp-î-mas-u n-i

distressing-ATTR / person-GEN-spouse KPT PT / row-ATTR boat-COMP / forget(NML) TOP do-NEG-ATTR-ELOC / extremely think-INF-increase-ATTR(NML) DV-INF

'(I) am distressed! (This) other man's wife – because (I) do not forget (her), (it is the case that) I think (of her) more and more, like a boat (that never stops) rowing.'

The reading works particularly well in this case. Vovin treats this as an example of a negative-desiderative construction (2005: 144), following Yamada's example, but I think explaining "ana" as a combination of attributive marker and locative particle works just as well, speaking both in terms of grammar and resulting meaning. The subject is the same in both clauses, though as Vovin points out (2005: 144), there are other examples in Eastern Old Japanese (not involving attributive *-a*) that also contradict Akiba's generalization.

6. *-n-a-na* 20:4418.1-5 Musashi

和我可度乃 / 可多夜麻都婆伎 / 麻己等奈礼 / 和我弖布礼奈々 / 都知尓於知母加毛

wa-Nka kaNtô-nö / kata yama tuNpakî / ma-kötö nare / wa-Nka te pure-n-a-na / tuti-ni oti-m-ö kamô

I-POSS gate-GEN / single mountain camellia / INT-words you / I-POSS hand touch-NEG-ATTR-ELOC / earth-LOC fall-TENT-ATTR KPT
'the single mountain-camellia at my gate – I wonder if it (or the blossoms) will really fall to the ground without (you ever) touching my hand?'

Fukuda seems to have missed the word *nare* 'you' in this poem, and believes that the poet wishes not to touch the camellia blossoms, for fear that they will fall to earth (1965: 374). Mizushima suggests that the camellia represents the poet's (female) lover, and 'fall to earth' is an analogy for losing her to another man (1996: 231). It is possible to strip away the metaphorical façade of this poem, and read it bare: 'since you don't sleep with me, I wonder if you'll sleep with someone else.' Grammatically, the subject of the second clause (the tree) is different from the first ("you"), although metaphorically they are identical.

7. *-an-a-na* 20:4422.1-5 Musashi
和我世奈乎 / 都久之倍夜里弖 / 宇都久之美 / 於妣婆等可奈々 / 阿也尓加母祢毛
wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukusi-pë yar-i-te / utukusi-mî / oNpî pa tök-an-a-na / aya n-i kamö ne-m-ô
I-POSS lover-EDIM-ACC / *Tukusi*-ALL make.go-INF-SUB / beloved-GER / sash TOP undo-NEG-ATTR-ELOC / strange DV-INF KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR
'my husband (or male lover) has been sent to Tukusi. Since (he) is (so) dear (to me), is it strange that I sleep without undoing my sash?'

8. *-an-a-na* 20:4428.1-5 Unknown
和我世奈乎 / 都久志波夜利弖 / 宇都久之美 / 叡比波登加奈々 / 阿夜尓可毛祢牟
wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukusi-pa yar-i-te / utukusi-mî / yeNpî pa tök-an-a-na / aya n-i kamô ne-m-u
I-POSS lover-EDIM-ACC / *Tukusi*-ALL make.go-INF-SUB / beloved-GER / sash TOP undo-NEG-ATTR-ELOC / strange DV-INF KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR
'my husband (or male lover) has been sent to Tukusi. Since (he) is (so) dear (to me), is it strange that I sleep without undoing my sash?'

Poems (7) and (8) are the same, practically speaking. They are syntactically identical, though they are noticeably different in orthography; verse (7) uses the attributive *-o* in line 5, while poem (8) has *-u*, and features a very unusual allative case marker *-pa* in the second line. Both poems fit the negative-attributive-locative interpretation nicely. The subject is the same in both clauses.

While there may be one or two examples that are debatable, I think the attributive-locative interpretation of "*-anana*" is the best available, because it fits the data well and makes the largest morphological generalization about the observed forms. As such, I have adopted all eight examples as instances of the attributive marker *-a*. This entire construction may have been wholly or partially grammaticalized in some Eastern Old Japanese dialects, which would explain why seven of eight instances involve the unique locative case marker *-na* rather than the more regular (and very well attested) *-ni*.

On the basis of these data, I propose the following allomorphy for the attributive marker in Eastern Old Japanese:

1. -*e*, after the negative marker -*anap*-
2. -*a,* after the negative marker -*an*-, and possibly after the bases of consonant-stem verbs (attested in one example)

3. -*u*, after consonant-stem verb bases and affixes
   in free variation with -*o*
   -*uru*, after vowel-stem verb bases and affixes

4. -*kî*, after adjective bases and adjective-like affixes in peripheral dialects
   -*ke* after adjective bases in heartland dialects (see section 6.3 below)

The dialect distribution of the unique Eastern Old Japanese attributive markers will be described in greater detail in the next section.

6.3 GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATTRIBUTIVES

I will conclude this chapter with an examination of the geographic distribution of the unique Eastern Old Japanese attributive allomorphs. Table 6.5 shows the number of tokens of each allomorph found in poems attributed to each province and region. Table 6.6 shows the same data figured as a percentage of the number of lines of verse in the corpus attributed to each region.

Table 6.5 Number of Unique Attributive Allomorphs by Province and Region

Allomorph	Totals	Unknown Region	Region C		Region B							Region A	
			Shinano	Tōtōmi	Kamitsuke	Suruga	Sagamu	Michinoku	Musashi	Hitachi	Shimotsufusa	Shimotsuke	Kamitsufusa
-o	52	24	1		6	1	2	1	6	3	3	1	4
-ke	18	9			1				3	2	1	2	
-e	5	5											
-a	10	6			2				2				
Total	85	44	1	0	9	1	2	1	11	5	4	3	4
Regional Totals			1		33							7	

The attributive allomorph -*e* is only attested in poems of unknown origin, making it problematic to account for as a dialect feature; nonetheless, since it only manifests after the unique negative marker -*anap*-, we may speculate that it would be found in any provincial dialect that also had that negative. Allomorph -*o* is attested in every province

except Tōtōmi; its one appearance in the poems of Shinano is not mentioned in Hino's article (2003), and makes his analysis of the spread of vowel-raising across the Kantō region problematic. In fact, my quantitative results, particularly regarding the allomorph *-o*, do not correspond to the numbers reported by Hino (2003): for example, although he included all instances of pre-raising vowel forms in his analysis, while I am in the present data looking only at instances of the attributive allomorph *-o*, still I have found more provincially-attributed instances than he. It may be that a difference in manuscript or other source text is to blame for this discrepancy (of course, my table also includes the one instance of *-o* found in *Hitachi Fudoki*).

Otherwise, the results indicate some expected and some unexpected patterns: as expected, unique Eastern Old Japanese attributives are proportionally most common in Region A, and proportionally least common in Region C (see Table 6.6), though the spread between Region A and Region B is minimal. The same Region B split that was observed in the alternation data of Chapter Four is repeated here: Musashi, Hitachi, and Shimotsufusa in the east of Region B share features not found in the more westerly provinces; moreover, it appears that the dialect(s) of Kamitsuke were more likely to manifest eastern features than the other western provinces of Region B, which is not surprising, since it shared substantial borders with Musashi (the most dialectally marked province in Region B) and Shimotsuke of Region A. But what is most impressive here is that the unique adjectival attributive *-ke* occurs exclusively in the provinces of my "U"-shaped dialect chain: Kamitsuke, Musashi, Shimotsufusa, and Hitachi; it is also attested in Shimotsuke, which as I described in Chapter Four, is also a member of this sub-continuum, sharing a certain degree of commonality with dialects in the four surrounding provinces. It is likely that the attributive *-ke* was not used outside of this Eastern Old Japanese 'heartland.'

Table 6.6 Proportional Eastern Attributives

Region	Lines of Verse	Alternations
Region C	90	1 (1.1%)
Region B	726	33 (4.6%)
Region A	145	7 (4.8%)
Regional Total	961	41 (4.3%)
Unknown	769	44 (5.7%)
Total	1730	85 (4.9%)

The last analysis I would like to perform is to give an exhaustive accounting of those provinces in which are found examples of apparent free-variation between the attributive allomorphs *-o* and *-u* or *-uru* (i.e., single poems that contain both allomorphs). In the above discussion of *-o*, five examples were cited where *-o* and *-u* contrasted in a single poem; in four of those cases, the morphological environments where the contrasting attributives manifested were identical; in the remaining instance, and in thirteen other cases I have discovered in the corpus, both *-o* and *-u/uru* appear in the same verse, but not in identical morphological environments. This apparent free variation (including all type of examples) is attested as follows:

In poems on unknown origin (8)
In Shinano (1)
In Kamitsuke (2)

In Sagamu (1)
In Musashi (2)
In Hitachi (1)
In Kamitsufusa (3)

This ‘free variation’ appears in poems from all three main dialect regions, though it only appears once in Region C and only once in the two ‘southern’ provinces of Region B, Suruga and Sagamu. The fact that this pattern is attested three times in Kamitsufusa of Region A is interesting, and, barring editorial revision, it indicates that even in the easternmost parts of the Kantō, mixing of *-o* and *-u/uru* occurred, at least in certain individual’s language in certain social registers. The texts of the eighteen poems containing variation can be found in Appendix F.

Chapter 7
Predicate Types and Predicate Functions

The last chapter described the types of unique attributive predicate markers that are found in Eastern Old Japanese, and presented theories on their historical origins and distribution relative to various verb types and verbal affixes. The present chapter will look into the functional roles performed by the attributive and the final forms, and will pay particularly close attention to the appearance of final forms in non-terminal predicates, and attributive forms in terminal positions. Because no unique forms of the final marker are seen in Eastern Old Japanese, there will be no discussion of orthography or phonology in this chapter. I accept that all allomorphs of the final marker are cognate with the Central Old Japanese forms with which they appear to be identical.

A brief overview of the final form and its allomorphy is, however, a necessary preliminary. There are only three final allomorphs observed in Eastern Old Japanese:

1. *-i* after the existential verb *ar-* and derived progressive marker *-er-* (*-ar-*)[22]
2. *-u* after all other verbs and verb-like affixes
3. *-si* after adjectives

The past tense marker only appears in the attributive form *-si* in Eastern Old Japanese, never in the final form *-kî*; presumably this final allomorph *-kî* would have existed in the language, but it is not attested even once in the extant corpus. Of the remaining three allomorphs shown above, *-i* only appears after the existential verb *ar-* and the progressive marker *-er-*, which is historically derived from it (the unique Eastern progressive allomorph *-ar-* still reflects the original phonological shape); this allomorph is ambiguous in that it could be confused for the infinitive form, though there do not appear to be any likely instances of this in the corpus (I believe that the token of *-ar-i* in 3529 could in theory be interpreted as infinitive, though I have treated it as a final in my reading. The form *-er-i* does not occur in Eastern Old Japanese). Allomorph *-si* appears after adjectives; there are no instances in the corpus of *-si* after the debitive mood marker *-uNpë-*. This allomorph is ambiguous in that it is impossible to identify with certainty after all adjectives ending in /si/, where haplology reduces the duplicate */sisi/ to /si/; in such cases, one cannot determine whether the observed form is final, or basic, though context will usually give clear advantage to one interpretation or the other. Allomorph *-u* is the most common, as it is found after all verbs except the existential *ar-*, and also after most verbal affixes. It, too, is ambiguous, and can be confused for the attributive allomorph *-u*, which occurs in most of the same positions. In fact, the final and attributive markers are more often ambiguous than clear, since in both cases, *-u* allomorphs are most common. It is believed that the final *-u* and attributive *-u* were accentually distinct after high register verbs (Martin 1987: 191-198; Whitman 1997: 166),

[22] Both allomorphs *-er-* and *-ar-* (the latter is unique to Eastern Old Japanese) occur in dialect poems. *-er-* can be seen in 3541, 3544, 4342, and 4431, all of which contain multiple Eastern features (it occurs four more times in poems without EOJ features). Allomorph *-ar-* occurs frequently in poems with multiple dialect features, but only once in a poem with no other features (3501).

though they are segmentally identical; whether they would have been similarly distinct after other types of verbs and verbal affixes in unclear, but either way, the orthography does not (to the best of current knowledge) reflect this suprasegmental distinction – thus, for my purposes, *-u* is often ambiguous, and may be either a final or an attributive marker. Despite these *formal* ambiguities, function in syntactic context often makes it possible to produce a strong claim for one reading or the other. Nonetheless, in the analyses below, I do my best to avoid interpreting ambiguous forms, and to rely instead on unambiguous examples as much as possible.

Descriptions of the functions of the final form have varied a great deal. Most early Japanese and Western scholars have treated it very simply: Yamada does not distinguish the final as a special form, comparable to the attributive or evidential; rather, what I call "final" he calls the "basic form," and states simply that it occurs at the end of sentences and before the "particles" *tö* (i.e., the defective verb 'to say') and *tömo* (1954: 154-157). Shirafuji adds that the final form is sometimes seen before substantives and before the terminative case marker *-maNte* (1987: 124-125). Chamberlain says the final forms "stand only at the end of a sentence" (1943: 44). Sansom makes the unusual claim that the final is "the true verb form" (1928: 90; repeated on 130), and notes that besides occurring at the ends of sentences, it appear before *tö* (the defective verb 'to say'), before interjections, and before the interrogative particles *ka* and *ya*. Vovin's discussion of the final form is more elaborate and gives attention to several earlier theories; he finds that the final is almost as simple as most Japanese philologists have treated it: without reference to tense, aspect, or mood, the final form acts only in the role of "final predication" (2003: 197-198); his examples all agree with previous studies showing that the final form occurs only at the ends of sentences or before the defective verb *tö*.

From the above, I find that the final form has only one primary role: predication at the end of a sentence. This allows the final to appear before the defective verb, which often (though by no means always) takes a complete sentence as its argument; it also allows the final form to appear before various particles traditionally regarded as sentence-final, including interrogative, exclamatory, and emotive particles (these will be discussed in Chapter Eight), though in contrast to Sansom, I do not find that the final ordinarily appears before interrogative *ka* (or the related particle *kamo*). In order to properly distinguish this function, I will henceforth refer to it as "terminal predication"; in this way, I can avoid confusing the form and the function: "final" means a formally distinct morpheme, while "terminal" means a type of predicate, namely, a predicate that occurs in any of the following positions:

1. As the last element in the syntax of a sentence.
2. Before the defective verb *tö*, and perhaps before defective verb *rö* (see discussion in Chapter Six and below).
3. Before any of the "final" particles *mo*, *ya*, *yamo*, *ka*, *kamo*, *yö*, etc.

The function of terminal predication described here may be fulfilled by a number of formally distinct entities, including the final, attributive, and evidential forms, the infinitive form (in the case of defective verb *n-*), and several types of affixes that can occur on their own at the end of a verbal complex (such as the desiderative *-ane*, the

negative-desiderative *-sö*, and the negative-tentative *-aNsi*). Since the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese is made up entirely of poetry, several other factors must be observed: terminal predication occurs most often in the fifth line of the *tanka*, but is still observed frequently in other positions; in particular, inversions involving a terminal predicate in the fourth line and an 'afterthought' in the fifth line (usually containing an argument or other qualification for the verb) are quite common. All terminal predicates *not* followed by a particle or by the defective verb occur at the end of verse lines.

The functions of the attributive form are considerably more diverse than with the final. Yamada identifies three functions: (1) substantive modification; (2) terminal predication after the *kakari* particles *ya*, *ka*, *kamo*, *namo*, and *(N)sö*; and (3) terminal predication without a *kakari* particle, used to give the sentence "special reverberation" (1954: 163-169) – this last phenomenon is often referred to as *rentaidome* 連体止 'ending with the adnominal (form)'. Saeki says that the use of the attributive in *rentaidome* has an emphatic connotation (1950: 134). Chamberlain observes one further role in additional to functions (1) and (2) above: (4) nominalization (1943: 44-46). Sansom identifies all of these except (3) (1928: 92-94, 133-136), while Bentley only notes functions (1) and (2) (2003: 127). Vovin identifies all four uses (2003: 204-211), and points out that the *rentaidome* function became more and more common in Japanese historically: it was rare in Old Japanese, but occurred commonly in written dialogue in Middle Japanese texts; in later stages of the language, the attributive continued to displace the final form in terminal predicates, so that in Modern Japanese, the final form itself is completely lost, and all of its functions are performed by the attributive.

As such, I identify four functions of the attributive:

1. Modification
2. Nominalization
3. *Musubi* (terminal predication after a *kakari* particle)
4. *Rentaidome* (terminal predication without a preceding *kakari* particle)

The primary area of functional overlap between the final and the attributive forms is in terminal predication: this function is ordinarily performed by the final form, however, in special situations (*kakari musubi* and *rentaidome*), the attributive form can also act as a terminal predicate. Furthermore, there appear to be rare instances when the final form can act in a modifying role, supplanting the functionality of the attributive. Below I will examine all of these special applications, with the exception of *kakari musubi*, which is discussed separately in Chapter Eight.

7.1 TERMINAL PREDICATION IN GENERAL

Unlike the formal analyses carried out earlier in this thesis, the analysis of linguistic functions is comparatively uncertain. To determine what constitutes a 'terminal predicate,' it has been necessary for me to interpret the meaning or meanings of the poems that constitute my corpus; and, as with all cases of necessary interpretation, there is a degree of ambiguity in the source material, which is difficult to account for in a quantitative study. With that caveat put forward, I will add that there is a great deal of

statistical regularity in the patterns of terminal predication that I have observed in Eastern Old Japanese, and that these patterns agree with the usual expectations of the *tanka* form.

In total, the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese contains 340 poems, of which only four are not *tanka*: there is one *chōka* (fifteen lines in length) in Book XX, and three poems of indeterminate meter (one is probably fragmentary) in *Hitachi Fudoki*. In addition, Book XIV contains nineteen lines of verse that record alternative versions of specific lines from nine different poems. Adding all of these together, there are approximately 1,730 lines of poetry in the corpus. In this volume of text, I have counted 413 terminal predicates, or approximately 1.2 terminal predicates per poem. Of course the actual number of predicates contained in a poem can be quite variable, and ranges from none to three at the maximum; the break-down is presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Number of Terminal Predicates per Poem, by Source Text

Number of Predicates	Book XIV (238 Poems)	Book XX (93 Poems)	Hitachi Fudoki (9 Poems)	Totals (340 Poems)
None	31 (13%)	13 (14%)	--	44 (13%)
One	129 (54.2%)	62 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	194 (57%)
Two	73 (30.7%)	16 (17.2%)	6 (66.7%)	95 (28%)
Three	5 (2.1%)	2 (2.1%)	--	7 (2%)
Totals	238	93	9	340

Out of 340 poems, 194 – slightly more than half of them – have only one terminal predicate; more than one-quarter of the total, ninety-five poems, contain two terminal predicates; forty-four poems contain no terminal predicate (i.e., they do not contain any complete sentence), and the remaining seven have three terminal predicates. The proportions are roughly equal across the three sources texts, although poems containing two predicates are more common than poems with one predicate in *Hitachi Fudoki*. Table 7.2 presents data on the last terminal predicate found in each poem. Each poem is counted only once, of course, including those that have no terminal predicates and those that have more than one. Most poems containing multiple terminal predicates also contain material that is offset by the defective verb *tö*, and so it is usually the last terminal predicate in the poem that predicates the matrix clause; as such, the data in Table 7.2 gives a very rough overview of poetic structure in Eastern Old Japanese, showing in which line matrix predication is most likely to take place in each of the source texts.

As we would expect, matrix predication is seen by far most often in fifth lines. The number of poems without any terminal predicate slightly exceeds the number of poems that have their last terminal predicate in the fourth line (last terminal predicates in fourth lines usually imply some sort of syntactic inversion, where the fifth line contains an argument of the verb found in the fourth line). There are no instances of first lines containing the last terminal predicate in a poem, and only two cases where the last terminal predicate occurs in the third line (the one instance from *Hitachi Fudoki* is in an apparently fragmentary poem). The fact that the last terminal predicate of a poem is more likely to appear in the second than in the third line suggests that there is often a

major syntactic or rhetorical break between the second and third lines, and that the language of third lines is very often continuous with fourth lines. Two of the three poems that exceed the *tanka* form in length have terminal predicates in higher line numbers (line fourteen in Book XX's *chōka*; and line six in one of the odd poems of *Hitachi Fudoki*).

Table 7.2 Line Location of the Last Terminal Predicate in each Poem

Line Number of Last Predicate	Book XIV (238 Poems)	Book XX (93 Poems)	Hitachi Fudoki (9 Poems)	Totals (340 Poems)
(None)	31 (13%)	13 (14%)	--	44 (13%)
Second	10 (4.2%)	2 (2.1%)	1 (11.1%)	13 (3.8%)
Third	1 (0.4%)	--	1 (11.1%)	2 (0.6%)
Fourth	25 (10.5%)	15 (16.1%)	1 (11.1%)	41 (12%)
Fifth	171 (71.9%)	62 (66.7%)	5 (55.5%)	238 (70%)
Other	--	1 (1.1%)	1 (11.1%)	2 (0.6%)
Totals	238	93	9	340

Finally, Table 7.3 below shows the distribution by line number and source text of *all* terminal predicates found in the corpus (not only the last terminal predicate of each poem). Since there are over one-hundred poems containing multiple terminal predicates, naturally there any many cases where the same poem will be counted more than once in the data in this table.

Table 7.3 All Terminal Predicates by Line Number and Source Text

Line Number	Book XIV (1209 Lines)	Book XX (475 Lines)	Hitachi Fudoki (46 Lines)	Totals (1730 Lines)
First	3 (0.2%)	3 (0.6%)	--	6 (0.3%)
Second	39 (3.2%)	9 (1.9%)	3 (6.5%)	51 (3%)
Third	9 (0.7%)	3 (0.6%)	2 (4.3%)	14 (0.8%)
Fourth	67+2[a] (5.7%)	21 (4.4%)	4 (8.7%)	92+2 (3.7%)
Fifth	173+5 (14.7%)	62 (13.1%)	5 (10.9%)	240+5 (14.2%)
Other	--	2 (0.4%)	1 (2.2%)	3 (0.2%)
Totals	297 (24.6%)	100 (21.1%)	15 (%)	413 (%)

[a] The numbers offset with plus signs represent terminal predicates found in the partial poems recorded in Book XIV. Most of these fragments contain two lines: however, they are entered in this table according to the line numbers they *represent*, if the poems were complete.

The data here agree with those presented in the previous table, though in this case the lower line numbers are swelled by additional terminal predicates that are not the last in their respective poems. The rates of terminal predicate attestation are roughly equal across the two *Man'yōshū* sources. The proportional rates for *Hitachi Fudoki* are deviant, but cannot be taken too seriously because of the extremely small number of lines of verse found in that source, which significantly skews the results of the statistical analysis.

Table 7.4 on the following page gives an overview of terminal predicates in Eastern Old Japanese, organized by predicate form and syntactic position. In the column headers, "End" means that the terminal predicate occurs at the end of a line (a line-by-line break-down of all terminal predicates is given in five tables in Appendix G); the next four columns list the four most common types of post-terminal predicate words: the defective verb *tö*, and the particles *mo*, *ya* and *ka* (*yamo* and *kamo* are subsumed under these heads). The "Other" column indicates that there is some other, more rarely occurring, type of post-terminal predicate morphology involved (these forms are specially cited in Appendix G). The predicate forms (shown in the rows of the table) are divided into three groups: (1) allomorphs of the final marker; (2) allomorphs of the attributive marker; and (3) evidential and other types of terminal predicate marking (such as the imperative, suppositional, and negative-tentative forms). The infinitive form of the defective verb *n-i* often acts like a copula after noun phrases to produce a terminal predication – these instances are listed in a special row. Among final allomorphs, three varieties are distinguished: (1) the unambiguous final allomorphs *-i*, *-si*, and *-u* (when the latter occurs after vowel-stem verbs); (2) the allomorph *-si* occurring after adjectives ending on the syllable /si/ are cited separately; almost all of these examples involve the word *kanasi* 'adorable' or 'sad,' and it is logical to believe that these predicates are in the final form: however, since the orthography is technically ambiguous, I prefer to err on the side of caution, and so treat them separately from the unambiguous predicates in (1); and (3), the ambiguous final allomorph *-u* occurring after consonant-stem verbs and affixes. Attributive morphology is divided into two classes: ambiguous *-u* after consonant-stem verbs and affixes, and the unambiguous attributive allomorphs *-kî*, *-ke*, *-uru*, and *-ô*.

Table 7.4 Terminal Predicates by Form and Syntactic Position

Predicate Form	Predicate Syntax						Totals
	End	__ *tö*	__ *mo*	__ *ya*	__ *ka*	Other	
Final *-u*, *-si*, *-i*	35	8	9	1	3	8	64
Ambiguous Adjective (*-si*)	6	1	12	--	--	--	19
Ambiguous Final *-u*	46	20	9	1	2	3	81
Ambiguous Attributive *-u*	47 (KM)	2 (KM)	2 (KM)	--	5	2	58
Attributive *-kî*, *-ke -uru*, *-ô*	28 (KM) 14 (RD)	1 (KM) 3 (RD)	1 (KM) 1 (RD)	1 (RD)	18	1 1 (RD)	69
Evidential *-e*, *-ure*, *-sika*	13 (KM)	1 (ID)	--	9	7	1	31
Defective Verb *n-i*	24	--	1	--	--	--	25
Other	52	5	6	1	--	2	66
Totals	265	41	41	13	34	18	413

Note: In this table, "KM" indicates *kakari musubi*; "RD" is *rentaidome*; "ID" *izendome*.

The data here show that terminal predication is accomplished almost equally by the final form (164 predicates) and the attributive form (127 predicates). Of terminal predicates in the attributive form, eighty-one were produced by *kakari musubi*, twenty-three occur before the interrogative particle *ka* (or *kamo*), and an additional twenty are *rentaidome*. The three remaining instances occur before the particles *Nkani* (one token) and *Nkape* (two tokens). Final predicate markers in the terminal predicate position are just as varied: they are more often ambiguous (100 examples) than not (sixty-four). Nonetheless, the unambiguous final forms do show some unusual distributions, occurring three times before the *kakari* particle *ka*, and once before the unique Eastern Old Japanese particle *Nkape*.

The evidential form occurs in terminal predicate positions thirty-one times in the corpus; thirteen of these examples are triggered by *kakari musubi*, seventeen are used in ironic questions before the particles *(N)sö*, *yamo* and *kamo*, and the remaining one is an illustration of the phenomenon known as *izendome* 'ending with the evidential (form).' All examples of *rentaidome* and *izendome* will be presented in section 7.2 below; applications of the final form in adnominal and other irregular positions will be discussed in section 7.3

7.2 RENTAIDOME AND IZENDOME

There are twenty instances of apparent *rentaidome* in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese. Poem 3476a – the most dialectally marked poem in the corpus (discussed in the previous chapter) – contains two instances of *rentaidome*; all other examples are one-per-poem. Since it can be at times difficult to ascertain what is and what is not *rentaidome*, I will cite all twenty instances in full (nineteen poems).

1. 14:3362b.5 Sagamu (one EOJ feature)
   武蔵祢能 / 乎美祢見可久思 / 和須礼遊久 / 伎美我名可氣弖 / 安乎祢思奈久流
   muSASI ne-nö / wo-mîne MÎ-kakus-i / wasure yuk-u / kîmî-Nka NA kakë-te / a-wo ne si nak-uru
   Musasi peak-GEN / DIM-peak see(INF)-hide-INF / forget(INF) go-ATTR / lord\you-POSS name call.out(INF)-SUB / I-ACC sound PT make.cry-ATTR
   'pretending not to see the smaller peak of Mt. Musashi – (I) call out your name, my husband, who forgot and went away: (you) make me weep!'
   Here the *rentaidome* occurs at the end of line five, making it completely unambiguous.

2. 14:3405a.4 Kamitsuke (one EOJ feature)
   可美都氣努 / 乎度能多杼里我 / 可波治尓毛 / 兒良波安波奈毛 / 比等理能未思弖
   kamîtukënô / woNtô-nö taNtöri-Nka / KApa-N-ti-ni mô / KÔ-ra pa ap-ana-m-ô / pîtö-ri nömï s-i-te
   Kamitukeno / *Wodo*-GEN *Tadori*-POSS / river-GEN-road-LOC PT / girl-DAT TOP meet-DES-TENT-EATTR / one-CL PT do-INF-SUB

'in Kamitsukeno, in Tadori of Odo, (I) want to meet my girl even at the river road, by herself.'

The fourth and fifth lines appear be inverted: 'being all alone, I want my girl to meet (me).' Hence, the matrix predicate of this one-sentence poem is contained in line four. The *rentaidome* is unambiguous.

3. 14:3405b.4 Kamitsuke (two EOJ features)
可美都氣乃 / 乎野乃多杼里我 / 安波治尓母 / 世奈波安波奈母 / 美流比登奈思尓
kamîtukënö / woNÔ-nö taNtöri-Nka / apa-N-ti-ni mö / se-na pa ap-ana-m-ö / mî-ru pîtö na-si-ni
Kamitukeno / *Wono*-GEN *Tadori*-POSS / millet-GEN-road-LOC PT / lover-ELOC TOP meet-DES-TENT-EATTR / see-ATTR person not.exist-FIN-LOC
'in Kamitsukeno, in Tadori of Ono, (I) want to meet my beloved, even at the millet-path – since there's no one there to see us.'

This is an alternative version of the previous poem; the syntactic situation is identical.

4. 14:3418.5 Kamitsuke (one EOJ feature)
可美都氣奴 / 佐野田能奈倍能 / 武良奈倍尓 / 許登波佐太米都 / 伊麻波伊可尓世母
kamîtukënô / saNÔ-TA-nö napë-nö / mura-napë-ni / kötö pa saNtamë-t-u / ima pa ika n-i se-m-ö
Kamitukeno / *Sano*-field-GEN seedling-GEN / fortunetelling-seedling-DAT / matter TOP determine(INF)-PERF-FIN / now TOP how DV-INF do-TENT-EATTR
'at the fortunetelling with seedlings from the fields in Sano of Kamitsukeno, the issue (of who will marry whom) has been decided – whatever shall (I) do now?'

Rentaidome at the end of the fifth line is unambiguous.

5. 14:3426.4 Michinoku (two EOJ features)
安比豆祢能 / 久尓乎佐杼抱美 / 安波奈波婆 / 斯努比尓勢毛等 / 比毛牟須婆佐祢
apîNtu ne-nö / kuni-wo sa-Ntöpo-mî / ap-anap-aNpa / sinôp-î n-i se-m-ô tö / pîmô musuNp-as-ane
Apidu peak-GEN / land-ACC PREF-far-GER / meet-ENEG-COND / long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-EATTR DV / cords tie-HON-DES
'if we do not meet because the land of Mt. Apidu (where I am traveling) is far away, then (I think you) should (wait) longingly (for me) – and (I'd) like (you) to keep the sash of your robes tied!'

In this case, the *rentaidome* occurs immediately before the defective verb *tö*, marking it as unambiguous.

6. 14:3469.2 Unknown (seven EOJ features)
由布氣尓毛 / 許余比登乃良路 / 和賀西奈波 / 阿是曽母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴

yupu kë-ni mô / kö-yöpî tö nör-ar-ô / wa-Nka se-na pa / aNse sö mö kö-yöpî / yös-i-rö-k-î-mas-an-u
evening fortunetelling-LOC PT / this-evening DV tell-EPROG-EATTR / I-POSS lover-EDIM TOP / why KPT PT this-evening / approach-INF-UNCLEAR-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
'even at the evening fortune-telling, (they) are telling (me) "(it will be) tonight!" (But) as for my beloved, why is it (he) does not come near me tonight?'

This instance of *rentaidome* in line two is ambiguous, and could also be treated as an adnominal form, i.e., 'as for my beloved, about whom (people) are saying "(it will be) tonight (that he comes)."' I will discuss this further below. This poem is very dialectally marked.

7. 14:3471.5 Unknown (one EOJ feature)
思麻良久波 / 祢都追母安良牟乎 / 伊米能未尓 / 母登奈見要都追 / 安乎祢思奈久流
simaraku pa / ne-tutu mö ar-am-u-wo / imë nömï n-i / mötöna MÎ-ye-tutu / a-wo ne si nak-uru
a.while TOP / sleep(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC / dream PT DV-INF / endlessly see-PASS-COOR / I-ACC voice PT make.cry-ATTR
'although I'd like to sleep for a while, again and again you appear, (if) only in my dreams – (and) you make me weep!'

The fifth line of this poem is identical to line five in example (1). Unambiguous.

8. 14:3476a.2,5 Unknown (twelve EOJ features)
宇倍兒奈波 / 和奴尓故布奈毛 / 多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敞由家婆 / 故布思可流奈母
uNpë KÔ-na pa / wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô / tat-ô tuku-nö / nôNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Npa / kôpusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
must girl-EDIM TOP / I-DAT love-ETENT-EATTR / rise-EATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER-INF-go-EV-CON / longed.for-INF-exist-ETENT-EATTR
'that girl whom (I) must (have) – (she) certainly will love me! When the moon that rises flows away (i.e., as months pass), (she) certainly will long for (me)!'

This poem contains two instances of *rentaindome* in lines two and five; the example in the fifth line is unambiguous, and that in line two is nearly so, as it is very difficult to interpret it as somehow modifying *tuku* 'moon' (here meaning 'month,' or more abstractly, time). Such a reading is not really semantically valid: 'because the time that she certainly loves me flows away, she will certainly long for me.' Therefore, I consider both examples of *rentaidome* in 3476a to be unambiguous.

9. 14:3494.4 Unknown (two EOJ features)
兒毛知夜麻 / 和可加敞流弖能 / 毛美都麻弖 / 宿毛等和波毛布 / 汝波安杼可毛布
KÔmôti yama / waka kapêruNte-nö / mômît-u-maNte / NE-m-ô tö wa pa [o]môp-u / NA pa aN-tö ka [o]môp-u
Komoti mountain / young maple-GEN / leaves.turn-ATTR-TERM / sleep-TENT-EATTR DV I TOP think-FIN / you TOP what-DV KPT think-ATTR

'I think (we) should sleep (together) until the leaves of the fresh-budding maples (on) Mt. Komochi turn red. What do you think?'

There are three terminal predicates in this poem: two in line four, including a *rentaidome* before the defective verb *tö* and a conventional terminal predicate in the final form at the end of the line; and one in the fifth line, an apparent *musubi* predicate in the attributive form. The *rentaidome* is unambiguous.

10. 14:3516.5 Unknown (two EOJ features)

對馬能祢波 / 之多具毛安良南敷 / 可牟能祢尓 / 多奈婢久君毛乎 / 見都追思努婆毛

TUSIma-nö ne pa / sita-N-kumô ar-anap-u / kamu n-ö ne-ni / tana-N-pîk-u kumô-wo / MÎ-tutu sinôp-am-ô

Tusima-GEN peak TOP / below-GEN-clouds exist-ENEG-FIN / divine DV-ATTR peak-LOC / PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR clouds-ACC / see(INF)-COOR long.for-TENT-EATTR

'there are no low (lying) clouds (around) the peak of Tsushima. (So) while (I) gaze at the clouds trailing (high) over the divine peak, (I) shall long (for you)!'

Unambiguous *rentaidome* at the end of the fifth line.

11. 14:3517.5 Unknown (three EOJ features)

思良久毛能 / 多要尓之伊毛乎 / 阿是西呂等 / 許已呂尓能里弖 / 許已婆可那之家

sira kumô-nö / taye-n-i-si imô-wo / aNse se-rö tö / kökörö-ni nör-i-te / kököNpa kanasi-kê

white clouds-COMP/ break(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR) darling-ACC / why do-EIMP DV / heart-LOC ride-INF-SUB / extremely adorable-EATTR

'what should (I) do about my darling, who broke up with me, just like a white cloud (that breaks apart) – (she) rides upon my heart and is so very dear (to me)!'

Again, the *rentaidome* is unambiguous. This is one of two examples involving adjectives, and the only one to feature the unique Eastern attributive allomorph *-ke*.

12. 14:3526.4 Unknown (four EOJ features)

奴麻布多都 / 可欲波等里我栖 / 安我已許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曽祢

numa puta-tu / kayôp-a töri-Nka SU / a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ö tö / na yö [o]möp-ar-i-sö ne

marsh two-CL / come.and.go-ATTR bird-POSS nest / I-POSS heart / two go-ETENT-EATTR DV / NEGIMP PT think-EPROG-INF-NEGDES PT

'like the nests of a bird that comes and goes between (his nests at) two marshes – don't think that my heart will go in two (i.e., go after two women)!'

The *rentaidome* before the defective verb in the fourth line is unambiguous.

13. 14:3531.5 Unknown (one EOJ feature)

伊母乎許曽 / 安比美尓許思可 / 麻欲婢吉能 / 与許夜麻敞呂能 / 思之奈須於母敞流

imö-wo kösö / ap-î-mî-ni kö-sika / mayo-N-pîk-î-nö / yökö yama pê-rö-nö / sisi-nasu omöp-êr-u
darling-ACC KPT / meet-INF-see(INF)-LOC come(INF)-PAST(EV) / eyebrows-GEN-pull-NML-COMP / horizontal mountain area-EDIM-GEN / wild.animals-COMP think-PROG-ATTR
'(I) came to have a tryst with my darling. (But she) was thinking of (me) like some wild beast that lives in those mountains that stretch 'like eyebrows' far out on the horizon.'

Unambiguous.

14. 14:3539.5 Unknown (four EOJ features)
安受乃宇敞尓 / 古馬乎都奈伎弖 / 安夜抱可等 / 比等豆麻古呂乎 / 伊吉尓和我須流
aNsu-nö upê-ni / kô-[u]MA-wo tunaNk-î-te / ayapo-ka-Ntö / pîtö-N-tuma kô-rö-wo / ikî-ni wa-Nka s-uru
crumbling.cliffs-GEN above-LOC / DIM-horse-ACC tie.up-INF-SUB / dangerous-EV-CONC / person-GEN-spouse girl-EDIM-ACC / breath-LOC I-POSS do-ATTR
'like leashing up my horse above the crumbling cliff – although it is dangerous, (still I) sigh for a girl who is some other man's wife.'

Unambiguous.

15. 14:3552.4 Unknown (four EOJ features)
麻都我宇良尓 / 佐和恵宇良太知 / 麻比等其等 / 於毛抱須奈母呂 / 和賀母抱乃須毛
matu-Nka ura-ni / sawa-we ura-N-tat-i / ma-pîtö-N-kötö / omôp-os-unam-ö rö / wa-Nka [o]möp-o-nösu mô
pine-POSS bay-LOC / UNCLEAR(noisy?) tip-LOC-rise-NML / INT-people-words / think-HON-ETENT-EATTR DV / I-POSS think-EATTR-ECOMP PT
'(you) surely think that people's rumors are like (noisy waves) raising to the tips (of the tree branches) in the bay of pines – just as my thoughts are.'

Lines four and five are inverted. Vovin has suggested (2006, p.c.) that /örö/ could be treated as a very unusual evidential marker. There is one example of evidential *-ôre-* in the corpus (20:4351.3), and one case of evidential *-o-* (40:4343.2; the preceding consonant is /p/), though both of these are found in Book XX. There are three examples of the unique tentative marker *-unam-* taking the usual attributive allomorph *-u* (14:3366.5, 14:3496.3, and 20:4391.4), and there are four other instances of allomorph *-o* after *-unam-* (14:3476a.2, 14:3476a.5, 14:3526.4, 14:3563.4). There is also one example of the evidential marker *-e* after *-unam-* (20:4390.5) where it is used to make an ironic question before the particle *kamo*. Given this evidence for the usual forms of the attributive and evidential after *-unam-*, I think it is extremely unlikely that *-örö* could be an evidential marker in this case. Mizushima considers *rö* to be an emotive particle that is unique to Eastern Old Japanese, although this is the only example of it in the corpus (1996: 173). If not the defective verb, it is probably a *hapax legomenon*. For the time being, I will consider this an ambiguous example of *rentaidome*.

16. 20:4321.1 Unknown (two EOJ features)
可之古伎夜 / 美許等加我布理 / 阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢牟 / 伊牟奈之尓志弖
kasikô-kî ya / mî-kötö ka-Nkapur-i / asu-yuri ya / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u / imu na-si-ni s-i-te
awesome-ATTR KPT / HON-words PREF-put.on-INF / tomorrow-ABL PT / reed-POSS together.with sleep-TENT-ATTR / darling not.exist-FIN-LOC do-INF-SUB
'ah, (the Imperial command) is awesome! – I obey my sovereign's orders, and from tomorrow I shall sleep together with the reeds, since I'll be without (my) darling.'
There is an inversion in the fourth and fifth lines: however, this does not directly affect the *rentaidome*, which stands apart in the first line. Since the *kakari* particle *ya* is usually preceded by the final form, I believe this example is unambiguous. The tentative form *ne-m-u* of the verb *ne-* 'to sleep (with)' is apparently in the attributive form, triggered by the *kakari* particle *ya* in line three.

17. 20:4415.5 Unknown (four EOJ features)
志良多麻乎 / 弖尓刀里母之弖 / 美流乃須母 / 伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弖毛母也
sira jewel-wo / te-ni tôr-i-mös-i-te / mî-ru-nösu mö / ipê-n-ar-u imö-wo / mata mî-te-m-ô mö ya
white pearl-ACC / hand-LOC take-hold-INF-SUB / see-ATTR-ECOMP PT / home-LOC-exist-ATTR darling-ACC / again see(INF)-PERF-TENT-EATTR PT KPT
'like gazing at the pearls (I) have taken up in my hands – (I) would like to see again my darling who is at home!'
This is an unusual case of a terminal predicate being followed by two particles in an irregular order. Nonetheless, since focus particle *mo* is usually preceded by verbs ending in the final form, I accept this as another unambiguous example of *rentaidome*.

18. 20:4419.5 Unknown (seven EOJ features)
伊波呂尓波 / 安之布多氣騰母 / 須美与氣乎 / 都久之尓伊多里弖 / 古布志氣毛波母
ipa-rö-ni pa / asi-N-pu tak-ë-Ntö mö / sum-î yö-kë-wo / tukusi-ni itar-i-te / kôpusi-kë [o]môp-am-ö
home-EDIM-LOC TOP / reed-GEN-fire burn-EV-CONC PT / reside-NML good-EATTR-ACC / *Tukusi*-LOC arrive-INF-SUB / longed.for-EATTR think-TENT-EATTR
'(I) burn a reed fire in my home, but (nonetheless), because it is a good home, (I) shall think of (it) longingly after I get to Tukusi.'
Unambiguous. This is another highly dialectally marked verse.

19. Hitachi Fudoki 7.5 (one EOJ feature)

伊夜是留乃 / 阿是乃古麻都爾 / 由布悉弖々 / 和乎布利彌由母 / 阿是古志麻波母
iyaNseru-nö / aNse-nö kô matu-ni / yupu siNte-te / wa-wo pur-i-mî-y-u mö / aNse kô si map-am-ö
Iyazeru-GEN / *Aze*-GEN girl pine-LOC / magic.charm hang(INF)-SUB / I-ACC wave-INF-see-PASS-FIN PT / *Aze* girl PT dance-TENT-EATTR
'the girl of Aze in Iyazeru has hung up some magic charms in the pine trees – (now) the Aze girl will dance, even while looking back at me.

This poem is rather unclear; nonetheless, the attributive *-o* at the end of line five *is* clear, and I therefore I consider this to be an unambiguous example of *rentaidome*.

There are, then, only two truly ambiguous examples here: 14:3469.2, where the attributive may be performing an adnominal function, and 14:3552.4, where the predicate is undoubtedly terminal, but where the attributive form is unclear because of the following *hapax legomenon*, *rö*. Nonetheless, that still leaves us with eighteen unambiguous examples of *rentaidome* in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese, containing, as mentioned before, 340 complete poems. Without a statistical study of *rentaidome* in Central Old Japanese, it is difficult to say whether this number is proportionally unusual; however, there are certain trends apparent even in this small sample. First, thirteen out of twenty tokens occur after tentative markers (nine with *-am-*, and four with *-unam-*); in five cases, the *rentaidome* predicate only includes a verb or adjective base and the attributive marker; and there are two examples involving the progressive marker. In most of the examples here involving tentative markers, the semantic role of the tentative is to indicate personal intention or strong supposition. Then, the high rate of coincidence of such tentative morphology in *rentaidome* predicates is some evidence in favor of the theories of Yamada (1954: 163-169) and Saeki (1950: 134) that *rentaidome* indicates a sort of emphatic statement. The emphatic reading works particularly well for one of the ambiguous examples:

14:3469.2 Unknown (seven EOJ features)
由布氣尓毛 / 許余比登乃良路 / 和賀西奈波 / 阿是曽母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴
yupu kë-ni mô / kö-yöpî tö nör-ar-ô / wa-Nka se-na pa / aNse sö mö kö-yöpî / yös-i-rö-k-î-mas-an-u
evening fortunetelling-LOC PT / this-evening DV tell-EPROG-EATTR / I-POSS lover-EDIM TOP / why KPT PT this-evening / approach-INF-UNCLEAR-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
'even at the evening fortune-telling (they) were telling (me) "(it will be) tonight!" (So) why is it that tonight my beloved does not come near (me)?'

It goes without saying that all instances of *rentaidome* involving the tentative markers also involve the attributive allomorph *-o*, which is necessary to disambiguate the attributive from the final form. Since *rentaidome* in Central Old Japanese can only be identified with adjectives, vowel-stem verbs, and a handful of affixes – though these make up only a minority of the total number of instances in *rentaidome* in Eastern Old Japanese – it is natural that this phenomenon is seen comparatively more rarely in texts

written in the Central dialect. On the other hand, it may be that *rentaidome* was simply more common in Eastern Old Japanese. Although only six of the above poems are attributed to specific provinces (one each to Sagamu, Hitachi, and Michinoku; three to Kamitsuke), almost all contain multiple Eastern dialect features; specifically, there are five poems containing two features, four poems containing four features, two poems with seven features, one poem with three, and one with twelve. The remaining six verses have only one feature each (in three of these cases, the one feature is attributive allomorph *-o* which is the unambiguous marker of the *rentaidome*). There are no instances in the corpus of *rentaidome* in poems without dialect features. The poem containing twelve dialect features is also interesting, in that it is the only example of a poem containing two *rentaidome* predicates. Although the evidence is still imperfect, there is a probable correlation between dialect-markedness and *rentaidome*.

There is only one example of *izendome* in the corpus:

> 14:3577.2 Unknown (no EOJ features)
> 可奈思伊毛乎 / 伊都知由可米等 / 夜麻須氣乃 / 曽我比尓宿思久 / 伊麻之久夜思母
> kanasi imô wo / iNtuti yuk-am-ë tö / yama suNkë-nö / sö-Nkap-î n-i NE-si-ku / ima si kuyasi mö
> adorable darling PT / which.way go-TENT-EV DV / mountain sedge-COMP / back-face-NML DV-INF sleep(INF)-PAST(ATTR)-NML / now PT regretful PT
> 'my adorable darling! – (no matter) which way (you) may have gone, the way (we) slept (together before), back-to-back like the mountain-sedge, (thinking about it) now fills me with regret.'

Line two contains an *izendome* predicate before the defective verb *tö*. This example is unambiguous, even though singular. Interestingly, this poem contains no Eastern features at all – it appears to have been written in Central Old Japanese. It is the only example of a *banka* 'elegy' in Book XIV, hence my translation of the tentative in line two as a past tense supposition.

7.3 APPARENT NOMINALIZATION AND MODIFICATION

As in Central Old Japanese, the most frequently observed function of the attributive form in Eastern Old Japanese is modification; apart from this and *musubi* predication, the other primary role of the attributive form is nominalization. There are, however, a number of cases in Eastern Old Japanese of what appears to be the final form performing these functions. There are three examples of the final form apparently engaging in modification (two of them involve the perfective marker *-n-*), and there are a further five instances of the final form acting in a nominalizing capacity before the terminative case marker *-maNte* – all of these involve the verb *kö-* 'to come,' which I believe makes the traditional interpretation of those poems problematic. I will first examine the cases of what appears to be the final form appearing in unusual positions after the perfective marker *-n-*; there are two instances of *-n-u* acting as a modifier:

1. 14:3461.5 Unknown (seven EOJ features)
   安是登伊敞可 / 佐宿尓安波奈久尓 / 真日久礼弖 / 与比奈波許奈尓 / 安家奴思太久流
   aNse tö ip-ê ka / sa-NE-ni ap-an-aku n-i / MA-PÎ kure-te / yöpî-na pa kö-n-a-ni / akê-n-u siNta k-uru
   why DV say-EV PT / PREF-sleep(NML)-LOC meet-NEG-NML DV-INF / INT-sun set(INF)-SUB / evening-ELOC TOP come-NEG-ATTR-LOC / brighten(INF)-PERF-FIN? time come-ATTR
   '(I) say, "the sun set without (our) meeting to sleep together; and since (my lover) didn't come in the evening (either), why should the time of dawn come?"'

2. 20:4432.1 Unknown (one EOJ feature)
   佐弁奈弁奴 / 美許登尓阿礼婆 / 可奈之伊毛我 / 多麻久良波奈礼 / 阿夜尓可奈之毛
   sapê-napê-n-u / mî-kötö-ni ar-e-Npa / kanasi imô-Nka / ta-makura panare / aya n-i kanasi mô
   obstruct-ENEG(INF)-PERF-FIN? / HON-words-LOC exist-EV-CON / adorable darling-POSS / hand-pillow part.from(NML) / extremely DV-INF sad PT
   'since there are these commands of my sovereign that I will not interfere with, the departure from my adorable darling's pillowing arms is very sad.'

Example (2) is slightly ambiguous, as the first line could be read as containing a terminal predicate: 'I will not interfere. Since there are these commands, my departure… is sad,' however, I think this reading is more problematic than treating the entire first line as a modifier for *mîkötö* 'imperial commands.' Example (1) could be interpreted as the negative marker *-an-* followed by the attributive marker *-u*, although I think that is semantically very unlikely (there are two problematic examples involving the verb *ake-* 'to brighten' – for the other, see example (4) below). Including the two adnominal appearances above, there are seven instances in the corpus of unusual behavior of the final form after the perfective marker *-n-*: in three cases of *kakari musubi*, the expected attributive forms *-uru* or *-o* do not appear, but instead *-u*, which is usually held to be unambiguously a final marker after perfective *-n-* (in 14:3425.4, 20:4401.4, and 20:4385.5; these are discussed in detail in Chapter Eight). There are also two cases where *-n-u* occurs before the *kakari* particle *kamo*, which is usually preceded by the attributive form:

3. 20:4364.5 Hitachi (three EOJ features)
   佐伎牟理尓 / 多々牟佐和伎尓 / 伊敞能伊牟何 / 奈流敞伎己等乎 / 伊波須伎奴可母
   sakîmuri-ni / tat-am-u sawak-î-ni / ipê-nö imu-Nka / nar-uNpê-kî kötö-wo / ip-aNs-u-k-î-n-u kamö
   sakimori-LOC / stand-TENT-ATTR shout-NML-LOC / home-GEN darling-POSS / make.living-DEB-ATTR words-ACC / say-NEG-INF-come-INF-PERF-FIN? KPT

‘in the bustle of the departure of the *Sakimori*, did I come without telling my darling at home what she must do to make a living?’

4. Hitachi Fudoki 3.6 (one EOJ feature)
   都久波尼爾 / 伊保利弖 / 都麻奈志爾 / 和我尼牟欲呂波 / 波夜母 / 阿氣奴賀母
   tukupa ne-ni / ipor-i-te / tuma na-si-ni / wa-Nka ne-m-u yô-rö pa / paya mö / akë-n-u kamö
   Tukupa peak-LOC / take.up.temporary.lodging-INF-SUB / spouse not.exist-FIN-LOC / I-POSS sleep-TENT-ATTR night-EDIM TOP / early PT / brighten(INF)-PERF-FIN? KPT
   ‘since I am without a spouse, camping on Mt. Tukupa—the night I sleep (alone) here dawns early!’

Example (3) is unambiguously in the final form; in example (4) it is again possible to interpret *-n-u* as a negative-attributive, although I think that reading is less likely than taking it as a perfective marker followed by the final form – for if the question were asked in the negative, we would expect it to be ironic, and be marked by the evidential form, since the hoped for answer is positive (for examples of *kamo* being preceded by the evidential in ironic questions, see Appendix H). Nonetheless, in both of these examples the final form would be unusual before *kamo* (which is ordinarily preceded by the attributive).

The interpretation I would like to propose is that these are not in fact instances of unusual behavior of the final form, but of usual behavior of the attributive. There is almost no evidence that the perfective marker was ever followed by the attributive allomorph *-uru* in Eastern Old Japanese – the only example of this allomorph in the corpus (in 14:3571.4) is in a poem with absolutely no dialect features. On the other hand, perfective *-n-* frequently occurs with the unique Eastern attributive allomorph *-o*, and often in poems with multiple Eastern features. Then, there are the odd situations in which *-n-u* appears, including the four examples just cited above (two of the poems contain multiple dialect features, and the other two still contain one feature each), and the three examples where *-n-u* occurs after a *kakari* particle that should be forcing the manifestation of the attributive form. There are not very many other examples of final forms behaving in these ways. As such, I believe that the perfective marker *-n-* was reinterpreted in Eastern Old Japanese as having perfect consonant-stem morphology, i.e., the attributive and final forms were identical, both being realized as *-n-u* (save in cases where the unique Eastern attributive *-o* occurred).

There is one other instance of what appears to be the final form manifesting in an adnominal position:

14:3488.1 Unknown (no EOJ features)
於布之毛等 / 許乃母登夜麻乃 / 麻之波尓毛 / 能良奴伊毛我名 / 可多尓伊弖牟可母
op-u simôtö / kö-nö mötö yama-nö / ma-siNpa n-i mô / nör-an-u imô-Nka NA / kata-ni iNte-m-u kamö

grow-FIN sapling / this-GEN *Moto* mountain-COMP / INT-frequently DV-INF PT / tell-NEG-ATTR darling-POSS name / omen.shape-LOC emerge-TENT-ATTR KPT
'like this Mt. Moto 'of the growing saplings,' will the name of my darling, who isn't much talked about, appear in the fortunetelling?'

Ōno Susuma has suggested that *op-u* is either "an old form of the attributive" or a dialect version of *opo* 'many' (1984: 234). Mizushima says this is an example of the "attributive function of the final form" (1996: 146-147). The verb *opï-* is well attested in the corpus; it appears with the attributive allomorph *-uru* in three poems (14:3359a.2, 14:3452.5 (where it also appears as conditional, *opï-Npa* – further evidence that it is a vowel-stem verb), and 14:3562.2), though there is also one example of it being followed by the unique Eastern progressive marker *-ar-*:

乎呂田尓於波流 14:3501.2 Unknown (one EOJ feature)
wo-rö TA-ni op-ar-u
mountain.ridge-GEN field-LOC grow(vi)-EPROG-ATTR
'(like the vines) that are growing in the fields on the mountain ridge'

In Middle Japanese, the progressive marker is used only with consonant-stem verbs; in Old Japanese, it could also appear after vowel-stem verbs ending in the Type-B vowel /ë/ (Tsukishima 1969: 527; reported in Vovin 2003: 314). As such, this example is most likely a case of the verb *opï-* being reinterpreted as a consonant-stem verb, *op-*. If this was a regular feature of Eastern Old Japanese, it would also explain the appearance of *op-u* in an adnominal position in 3488.1 above. There are no examples in Eastern Old Japanese of the progressive marker (either allomorph) occurring after a *shimo-nidan* verb, although there is one example of a contracted form *k[i]-ar-* resulting from the appearance of progressive *-ar-* after the base of the *ichidan* verb *kî-* 'to wear' (4431.3). The evidence, then, is ambivalent regarding the morphology of this verb *op-* or *opï-*: it is attested several times in cases where it clearly exhibits vowel-stem morphology; on the other hand, it also takes the progressive marker *-ar-* (perhaps the final vowel of the base was contracted as in 4431.3, though this contraction is unusual), and then there is the modifying use found in 3488.1. It may be that the verb was reanalyzed as consonant-stem in some dialects, though the two unusual examples cited above both come from poems containing one or fewer Eastern Old Japanese dialect features.

There are also five instances of what appears to be the final form of the verb *k-u* 'to come' occurring before the terminative case marker *-maNte*. In all other cases in Eastern Old Japanese, *-maNte* follows the attributive forms of verbs, which are in this case functioning as nominalizers. All of these examples occur in Book XX, which is perhaps a suspicious circumstance, though they come from poems attributed to several different provinces, which at least demonstrates that this 'phenomenon' is not limited to a single speaker or dialect sub-region. The regular attributive form *k-uru* is attested elsewhere in five examples, including in some strongly dialectal poems, and so it is unlikely that *k-u* represented an irregular attributive marker in these dialects. The examples are as follows:

1. 20:4339.4 Suruga (two EOJ features)
   久尓米具留 / 阿等利加麻氣利 / 由伎米具利 / 加比利久麻弖尓 / 已波比弖麻多祢
   kuni mëNkur-u / atöri kama këri / yuk-î-mëNkur-i / kapîr-i-k-u-maNte-ni / ipap-î-te mat-ane
   province encircle-ATTR / seagull duck plover / go-INF-encircle-INF / return-INF-come-FIN-TERM-LOC / perform.rites-INF-SUB wait-DES
   '(I) would like (you) to perform the rituals and wait for me – until I (have) gone around (to serve in Tukusi) and (finally) come (go?) back, (like) the seagulls, ducks, and plovers, that make circuits over the country.'

2. 20:4340.5 Suruga (one EOJ feature)
   知々波々江 / 已波比弖麻多祢 / 豆久志奈流 / 美豆久白玉 / 等里弖久麻弖尓
   titi papa ye / ipap-î-te mat-ane / tukusi n-ar-u / mî-N-tuk-u SIRA-TAMA / tör-i-te k-u-maNte-ni
   father mother PT / perform.rites-INF-SUB wait-DES / *Tukusi* LOC-exist-ATTR / water-LOC-immerge-ATTR white-pearl / take-INF-SUB come-FIN-TERM-LOC
   'father and mother! – (I) would like (you) to perform the rituals and wait for me, until I come (go?) back bearing white pearls from the waters of Tukusi!'

In both of these poems (1) and (2), the speaker (a *sakimori*) is addressing someone who will remain at home while he travels to Tsukushi; if we interpret the poems as literally speaking to those people, then the only verb that makes sense in context is 'come,' since we presume that the poem was produced in their presence, i.e., at the place to which the *sakimori*-poet will return. Allowing for more poetic license, we may speculate that the poem was actually recited after the *sakimori* had already set out on his journey, and that he was addressing, *in absentia*, someone he left behind. In these cases, it may have made more sense for him to use the verb *ik-* 'to go.' I will follow up on this idea after presenting the three remaining examples, two of which I think are quite clear.

3. 20:4350.5 Kamitsufusa (two EOJ features)
   尓波奈加能 / 阿須波乃可美尓 / 古志波佐之 / 阿例波伊波々牟 / 加倍理久麻泥尓
   nipa naka-nö / asupa-nö kamî-ni / kô-siNpa sas-i / are pa ipap-am-u / kapër-i-k-u-maNte-ni
   garden middle-GEN / *Asupa*-GEN god-DAT / DIM-bushes thrust-INF / I TOP perform.rites-TENT-FIN / return-INF-come-FIN-TERM-LOC
   'until I come (go?) back (home), I shall thrust out a sprig of *shiba* to worship the Asupa god 'of the center of the garden.'

4. 20:4372.12-15 Hitachi (seven EOJ features)
   阿例波伊波々牟 / 母呂々々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎須 / 可閇利久麻弖尓
   are pa ipap-am-u / mörö-mörö pa / sakêku tö mawos-u / kapër-i-k-u-maNte-ni

I TOP perform.rites-TENT-ATTR / many-many TOP / happily DV
say(HUM)-FIN / return-INF-come-FIN-TERM-LOC
'(in Tukusi), in the many rituals that I shall perform, I'll happily say (the prayers) until I come (go?) back.'

In these two poems (3) and (4), the speakers are not explicitly addressing anyone in their homeland, and only make reference to actions they themselves will undertake. As such, it is easier to imagine that in these poems, the verb used was *ik-* 'to go' rather than *kö-* 'to come.' The one remaining example is very difficult:

5. 20:4404.2 Kamitsuke (two EOJ features)
奈尓波治乎 / 由伎弖久麻弖等 / 和藝毛古賀 / 都氣之非毛我乎 / 多延尓氣流可母
nanipa-N-ti-wo / yuk-î-te k-u-maNte tö / wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-Nka / tukë-si pïmô-Nka wo / taye-n-i-kër-u kamö
Nanipa-GEN-road-ACC / go-INF-SUB come-FIN-TERM DV / I-POSS-darling-DIM-POSS / affix(INF)-PAST(ATTR) cords-POSS string / break(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR KPT
'(I) go along the road of Nanipa – will the sash that my darling girl tied (over her robes) be broken, before I come (go?) (back along this road)?'

In the case of (5), the poet has already used the verb *yuk-* 'to go' to indicate the manner of travel away from his home; as such, the only way he could return would be to 'come.' I believe that in this case, *k-u* most likely indicates the verb 'to come'; however, it is also possible to interpret this line as containing a repetition of the verb, i.e., *yuk-i-te [i]k-u*. This is the most ambivalent instance of the five: however, I believe that it may be possible to interpret this, too, as an instance of the verb *ik-* 'to go,' with the first vowel elided.

On the other hand, in examples (3) and (4), I think a reading with *ik-* 'to go' makes better sense than a reading with *kö-*. In (1) and (2), I believe that a reading with *ik-* is possible, and is more defensible than a theory suggesting that the verb *kö-* alone, apparently, is allowed to manifest in the final form before *-maNte* (although all five poems occur in Book XX, they are attributed to four different provinces, and so I believe they are composed in different dialects. These do not appear to be freak examples produced by one or two speakers from a single small area).

Although *yuk-* 'to go' is far more common in Eastern Old Japanese than *ik-*, there are, nonetheless, three independently attested examples of *ik-* 'to go' in the corpus, two in Book XIV and one in Book XX, proving that this verb does occur in Eastern Old Japanese:

1. 伊弖安礼波伊可奈 14:3496.5 Unknown (one EOJ feature)
iNte are pa ik-ana
well I TOP go-DES
'well, I want to go (to her)!'

2. 於伎弖伊可婆 14:3567.1 Unknown (no EOJ features)
   ok-î-te ik-aNpa
   leave.behind-INF-SUB go-COND
   'if (I) go and leave (my darling) behind…'

3. 佐之弖伊久和例波 20:4374.5 Shimotsuke (one EOJ feature)
   sas-i-te ik-u ware pa
   face.towards-INF-SUB go-ATTR I TOP
   'as for I, who will go off towards (Tukusi)…'

As we would expect for a word beginning with a vowel, all of these examples occur in hypercatalectic lines; similarly, in all of the above examples, if the verb *ik-* were written out, the result would be a hypercatalectic line. As such, I believe that in at least four of the five above examples of *k-u-maNte*, the verb is actually *ik-* 'to go,' not *kö-* 'to come,' and that the initial vowel has been elided to maintain correct meter. In three of those four cases, the verb is actually part of a compound, preceded by *kaper-i-*, the infinitive form of the verb 'to return'; that it is preceded by an infinitive ending in /i/ is significant to the process of elision: there are seventeen other instances in the corpus of two adjacent /i/ vowels eliding and leaving only a single /i/ behind (see Appendix E). There are six instances of elision where the verb *iNte-* 'to emerge' occurs as the second member of a compound verb, after an infinitive – I believe that the same process occurred with *ik-*, producing the forms seen in examples (1), (3) and (4) above. In example (2), *k-u* appears after the subordinative gerund of another verb; there are no similar examples of elision in this position in the corpus, although there is one case of an /i/-vowel-initial noun experiencing elision after /e/:

左射礼思母 14:3400.3 Shinano
saNsare [i]si mö
fine stones PT
'even the fine stones (at the river)'

I believe this also accounts for the data in example (2). This also means that the phonological situation in example (5) (which is identical to (2) in that it follows a subordinative gerund) could also have produced an elision of word-initial /i/. I still doubt that is the case in (5), for semantic reasons, as explained above.

Chapter 8
Kakari Musubi in Eastern Old Japanese

The previous two chapters have addressed the final and attributive predicate forms in broad terms, describing first the unique attributives that appear in Eastern Old Japanese, and then looking into the various functions performed by the attributive and final forms in various sentence positions. The last major phenomenon that I would like to study is an interesting form of syntactic agreement found in Central and Eastern Old Japanese, known in traditional scholarship as *kakari musubi* 係り結び, that directly conditions the form of following predicates. The term *kakari musubi* itself has been translated numerous ways, never very happily: Vovin, following Ikeda (1975: 7), calls it "the rule of linking" (2003: 208); Quinn, in different articles, has called it "take up-closure" (1996: 371) and "government-closure" (1997: 70); Hendriks does not translate but identifies *kakari musubi* as "a focus concord phenomenon" (1998: 197); more recent papers by Serafim and Shinzato also leave *kakari musubi* untranslated, choosing instead to explain its function at length (Shinzato 1998, Serafim and Shinzato 2000, Shinzato and Serafim 2003; finally they identify it as a kind of "syntactic agreement" in Serafim and Shinzato 2005: 1). The reticence of Western linguists to translate *kakari musubi* is understandable, given the complexity of the phenomenon, and the lack of any similar structure in familiar languages. Functional descriptions such as "focus concord" and "syntactic agreement" are more common and are, perhaps, the most practical option when addressing a linguistically-trained audience. In this chapter, as elsewhere in this thesis, I will leave *kakari musubi* untranslated; similarly, I will identify the relevant particles as "*kakari* particles," the predicate-concord effect as "*musubi*," and the predicate thus produced as a "*musubi* predicate."

Not surprisingly, the grammatical functions of *kakari musubi* have been described in several surprisingly different ways, depending often on the particular element of the phenomenon that is of interest to a given researcher. Nonetheless, the *formal* effects of *kakari musubi* are well known and comparatively easy to describe; it is the larger rhetorical or semantic roles of the phenomenon, and its historical origin(s), that cause so much heterogeneity among the descriptions and studies offered in recent scholarship. My primary interest throughout this paper has been formal rather than functional, and as such, my first goal in the present chapter is to describe the evidence for *kakari musubi* in the corpus of Eastern Old Japanese. Second, I will look into the appearance of unique eastern attributive forms in *musubi* predicates, which – because they are in all cases segmentally distinct from the final form – can give us an important alternative perspective on *kakari musubi* in Eastern Old Japanese.

8.1 KAKARI PARTICLES

There are five *kakari* particles in Central Old Japanese: *ka*, *ya*, *(N)sö*, *namo* (ancestral to Middle Japanese *namu*), and *kösö*. All of these with the exception of *namo* are found in Eastern Old Japanese. Grouping these five together represents a very formal approach to language, since they are fairly diverse in terms of functional roles – their one common

feature is that they usually trigger *musubi* in a following predicate. I will take up the particles one at a time, to describe their appearance in Eastern Old Japanese. Table 8.1 below gives an overview of the *kakari* particles by source text; the parenthesized values are the rates at which the various particles occur, measured as a percentage of the total number of lines of verse found in each source.

Table 8.1 *Kakari* Particles in Eastern Old Japanese

Particle	Book XIV (1209 lines)	Book XX (475 lines)	Hitachi Fudoki (46 lines)	Totals (1730 lines)	
ya	23 (1.9%)	11 (2.3%)	1 (2.2%)	35 (2.0%)	
ka	28 (2.3%)	7 (1.5%)	1 (2.2%)	36 (2.1)	
kamo	29 (2.4%)	17 (3.6%)	2 (4.3%)	48 (2.8)	
sö	16 (1.3%)	5 (1.1%)	--	21	29 (1.7%)
Nsö	--	2 (0.4%)	--	2	
Nse	--	1 (0.2%)	--	1	
tö	3 (0.2%)	2 (0.4%)	--	5	
kösö	13 (1.1%)	--	--	13	15 (0.9%)
kôsö	1 (0.1%)	--	--	1	
kös[o]	1 (0.1%)	--	--	1	
Totals	114 (9.4%)	45 (9.5%)	4 (8.7%)	163 (9.4%)	

The most frequently occurring *kakari* particle in Eastern Old Japanese is *ka*, at least if we include in our count the grammaticalized compound *kamo*. Together these account for eighty-four out of one-hundred and sixty-three instances of *kakari* particles in the source texts, or slightly over half of the total. *Kamo* is noticeably more common than plain *ka*. *Kösö* and *(N)sö* are not attested in the poems of *Hitachi Fudoki*, and *kösö* is also not found among the Sakimori Uta. Formal variety of individual *kakari* particles is very limited; *(N)sö* manifests far more often as /sö/ than as /Nsö/; the unique eastern form *tö* is found in both Book XIV and Book XX. *Kösö* is spelled once in the Azuma Uta, with a Type-A vowel in the first syllable, *kôsö* (14:3394.4).

8.1.1 KAKARI PARTICLE YA

Ya is the most functionally diverse of the *kakari* particles; in Western scholarship, it is usually identified as an interrogative (Whitman 1997; Bentley 2001; Vovin 2003); Whitman and Vovin correctly note that when asking questions, *ya* is never used together with a question word. Japanese philology usually identifies the role of *ya* as other-directed doubt (I regard Ōno 1984: 1452 as a typical example of this interpretation); i.e., it is used when asking questions of others rather than (rhetorical questions) of oneself. But as Vovin has clearly shown (2003: 432-433), this was not true of Middle Japanese – and it also does not hold in Old Japanese, as Ōno himself admits. Traditional Japanese philology often makes more precise distinctions in the use of *ya*, identifying at least four major functions:

1. as a simple interrogative
2. as an exclamatory or vocative particle
3. as a sentence final particle
4. as a marker of ironic questions

Clearly, these are not exclusive categories; whether ironic or plain, the interrogative use is primary, and the exclamatory or vocative use seems to be an extension of the primary interrogative function. The role of sentence final particle is also not distinct, and is based purely on syntactic position: it may be either interrogative or exclamatory in function.

In Eastern Old Japanese, all the basic uses of *ya* are attested. This *kakari* particle is very syntactically versatile and is able to follow most types of morphology, including nouns, the defective verb *tö* 'to say,' the infinitive, final, attributive, and evidential forms of verbs and adjectives, case markers, and several types of gerunds (see Appendix H), though it is most frequently attested after nouns and the evidential form of verbs. It can compound with the particle *mo* to produce *yamo* (attested in four poems), a special grammaticalized form indicating irony (i.e., *hango* 反語); *yamo* is always preceded by the evidential form in Eastern Old Japanese:

1. 刀尓多弖米也母 14:3386.5 Shimotsufusa
   tô-ni tate-m-ë yamö
   outside-LOC make.stand-TENT-EV KPT
   'will (her parents) make her stand outside (tonight)? – (no, they will not.)'

2. 和波麻可自夜毛 14:3464.5 Unknown
   wa pa mak-aNsi yamô
   I TOP pillow-NEGTENT KPT
   'should I *not* pillow (on the same pillow as you)? – (no, I should.)'

3. 伊呂尓弖米也母 14:3503.5 Unknown
   irö-ni [i]Nte-m-ë yamö
   colors-LOC emerge-TENT-EV KPT
   'will color appear (on my face if I love dispassionately)? – (no, it will not.)'

4. 安礼古非米夜母 14:3508.5 Unknown
   are kôpï-m-ë yamö
   I love-TENT-EV KPT
   'will (you) love me (if I do not see you)? – (no, you will not.)'

There is one example of *ya* following the focus particle *mo* in Book XX; this appears to be a special emphatic use:

麻多美弖毛母也 20:4415.5 Musashi
mata mî-te-m-ô mö ya
again see(INF)-PERF-TENT-EATTR PT KPT
'ah, how I'd like to see (her face) again!'

The attributive form of the verb is unusual here. It may serve to make the emphatic nature of the statement more marked.

8.1.2 KAKARI PARTICLES KA AND KAMO

The *kakari* particle *ka* is also usually described as an interrogative. Unlike *ya*, *ka* can be used with question words, and Whitman believes that after the eighth century, it always appeared with question words (1997: 161), though Vovin has shown that this was not always the case in Middle Japanese (2003: 434-435). In traditional philology, *ka* is seen primarily as marking self-directed questions, or expressions of personal doubt, though again, this is not always the case, and *ka*-questions are often addressed to third parties. *Ka* is considerably more limited than *ya* in its functional variety, and is rarely used in any other than an interrogative capacity. Mizushima mentions only three (out of thirty-seven) cases where *ka* is used as an "emotive final particle" *eitan-no shūjoshi* 詠嘆の終助詞, though I believe these are the same question marker, working obliquely:

1. 麻都之太須 / 安思我良夜麻乃 / 須疑乃木能末可 14:3363.3-5 Sagamu
   mat-u siNta s-u / asiNkara yama-nö / suNkï-nö KÖ-nö ma ka
   wait-ATTR time do-FIN / *Asigara* mountain-GEN / cedar-GEN tree-GEN space KPT
   '(will it be) among the cedars of Mt. Ashigara? – (I) will spend my time waiting (for my husband to return).'
   > This appears to be an inversion; in regular word order, the fourth and fifth lines would come before the third, which contains the matrix verb. Because of the inversion, there is no *musubi* in this example.

2. 苦不志久米阿流可 20:4345.5 Suruga
   kupusi-ku më ar-u ka
   lovely-INF PT exist-ATTR KPT
   'are (the peaks of Suruga not) lovely(?)'

3. 於不世他麻保加 20:4389.4 Shimotsufusa
   opuse-tamap-o ka
   assign(INF)-HON-EATTR KPT
   '(has the emperor so unexpectedly) drafted me (to be a *sakimori*?)'

Note that in examples (2) and (3), *ka* follows the attributive – this is only form of verbs and adjectives that may precede *ka*. Charles J. Quinn has proposed (1997) that the *kakari* particle *ka* is a grammaticalized form of the distal pronoun *ka* which originated as an after-thought appended to noun phrases, which later came to function as a sort of copula and, ultimately, as a question marker; he adds that the reason why *ka* is preceded by attributives (and by verbs nominalized by *-i*[23]) is because the attributive is acting to

[23] Interestingly, all examples of nominalizer *-i* before the *kakari* particle *ka* in Eastern Old Japanese are with vowel-stem verbs, where the nominalizer is lost by contraction.

nominalize the verb phrase. However, there is very little evidence to support Quinn's theory, and I am aware of no other instances of pronouns grammaticalizing as question markers. Otherwise, *ka* is found most frequently after nouns and question words, rarely after the defective verb *tö*, and also after case markers and gerunds. It is furthermore attested in three examples following the ablative case marker *-yu* acting as an instrumental marker:

1. 目由可汝乎見牟 14:3396.4 Hitachi
   MË-yu ka NA-wo MÎ-m-u
   eye-ABL KPT you-ACC see-TENT-ATTR
   'should (I merely) see you with my eyes?'

2. 麻由可西良布母 14:3541.5 Unknown
   ma-yu ka s-er-ap-u mö[24]
   eye-ABL KPT do-PROG-ITER-ATTR PT
   'should (I merely) keep looking (literally, 'doing') with my eyes (at that other man's wife)?'

3. 加志由加也良牟 20:4417.5 Musashi
   kasi-yu ka yar-am-u
   on.foot-ABL KPT make.go-TENT-ATTR
   '(my horse ran away) – will (he) make (me) go on foot?'

Ka can also follow the locative case marker *-ni* and the accusative marker *-wo*; these are attested by one example each (both from Book XIV):

4. 夜麻尓可祢牟毛 14:3442.4 Unknown
   yama-ni ka ne-m-u mô
   mountain-LOC KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR PT
   'shall I sleep in the mountains?'

5. 和乎可麻都那毛 14:3563.4 Unknown
   wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô
   I-ACC KPT wait-ETENT-EATTR
   'did (you) wait for me (last night)?'

In all five poems, there are no question words involved, and *ka* is acting either as a plain interrogative (in (3), (4) and (5) above) or as a marker of irony (in (1) and (2); I believe (3) is not ironic, but rather comedic). There is one example of *ka* following the inclusive

[24] Alexander Vovin has suggested that the appearance of the iterative marker *-ap-* after the progressive marker *-er-* in this poem is evidence that progressive *-ap-* is more flexible in Eastern than in Central Old Japanese, where it almost always follows the verb stem directly. If so, this is also strengthens the case for treating *-anap-* as a combination of negative and iterative (see Chapter Six).

focus particle *mo*, which seems to produce a simple coupling of their respective interrogative and inclusive functions:

> 許余比毛可 / 等能乃和久胡我 / 等里弖奈氣可武 14:3459.3-5
> kö-yöpî mô ka / tönö-nö waku-N-kô-Nka / tör-i-te naNkëk-am-u
> this-evening PT KPT / hall-GEN young-DV-child-POSS / take-INF-SUB lament-TENT-ATTR
> 'will my infant son (in the hall) grab my (chapped) hands and weep tonight too?'

The most commonly seen type of *kakari* particle is *kamo*, which is historically a compound of (interrogative) *kakari* particle *ka* with the inclusive focus particle *mo*, similar to *yamo*. *Kamo* is primarily interrogative, and can be used both with and without question words, though it is generally more versatile than simple *ka*, and – like *yamo* – it can be used to indicate ironic questions when preceded by a verbal complex ending in the evidential form. Quite often, *kamo* is used as a plain emphatic or emotive particle, with no interrogative intent; in this, it is rather more like the *kakari* particles *(N)sö* and *kösö* (discussed below), than like *ya* or *ka*. *Kamo* usually follows nouns and the attributive forms of verbs and adjectives; it can also appear after the evidential form (for ironic questions), and after gerunds. It is rarely used with case markers; there is one token of *kamo* occurring after the accusative case marker *wo*, and one after the ablative case marker *yu*:

1. 根乎可母乎布流 14:3500.2 Unknown
   NE-wo kamö wop-uru
   root-ACC KPT finish-ATTR
   '(I) have used up the roots (for dying fabric)'

2. 伊豆由可母 / 加奈之伎世呂我 / 和賀利可欲波牟 14:3549.3-5 Unknown
   iNtu-yu kamö / kanasi-kî se-rö-Nka / wa-Nkari kayôp-am-u
   where-ABL KPT / adorable-ATTR lover-EDIM-POSS / I-DIR come.and.go-TENT-ATTR
   'from where will my lovely beloved come to me?'

Kamo can be followed by the emotive particle *yö*, attested in three examples:

1. 与志奈之尓 / 許求良米可母与 / 余志許佐流良米 14:3430.3-5 Suruga
   yösi na-si n-i / köNk-uram-ë kamö yö / yösi kös[ö] ar-uram-ë
   reason not.exist-FIN DV-INF / row-TENT-EV KPT PT / reason KPT exist-TENT-EV
   'is it for no reason that (the boat) is rowing? – no, there must be (some) reason!'

2. 比登都麻可母与 14:3557.2 Unknown
   pîtö-N-tuma kamö yö
   person-GEN-spouse KPT PT
   '(you) other person's spouse! – (I think of you more and more…)'

3. 伊比祁婆賀母輿 / 和我惠比爾祁牟 Hitachi Fudoki 6.4-5
   ip-î-ky-eNpa kamö yö / wa-Nka wep-î-n-i-ky-em-u
   say-INF-PAST-COND KPT PT / I-POSS be.drunk-INF-PERF-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
   'if (you) had told me (to drink the wine), wouldn't I have gotten drunk?'

Example (1) is an ironic question, this time with an explicit response, where *kamo* is an interrogative and *yö* is acting as a simple emphatic; example (3) is similar, although not ironic. In example (2), *yö* appears to be a vocative, while *kamo* is emotive. *Kamo* can also act as either an emotive particle or as an interrogative after the emphatic particles *wo*[25] (two tokens) and *si* (one token):

1. 伊奈乎可母 14:3351.3 Hitachi (the third line of poem 14:3470 is identical)
   ina wo kamö
   no PT\ACC? KPT
   'oh no! (it is not so)'

2. 伊都之加毛 / 都加敞麻都里弖 / 久尓々閇牟可毛 20:4359.3-5 Kamitsufusa
   itu si kamô / tukapê-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pë muk-am-ô
   when PT KPT / serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB / province-LOC bow turn-TENT-EATTR
   'when, after I have done my service, will (this ship) turn its bow towards my homeland?'

8.1.3 KAKARI PARTICLES (N)SÖ AND KÖSÖ

The two remaining *kakari* particles found in Eastern Old Japanese, *(N)sö* and *kösö*, are both treated by Vovin (2003: 419) as focus particles (Bentley (2001: 220) describes *(N)sö* in similar terms), whose function is to draw attention to or otherwise emphasize the word or phrase they mark. In *kokugogaku* scholarship, their function is usually identified as 'emphasis' (*kyōchō* 強調) or 'designation' (*shitei* 指定). *Kösö* is the stronger of the two, and is, consequently, much rarer. It appears in only fifteen poems in Eastern Old Japanese, all of which are among the Azuma Uta. Both act similarly in the syntax as well: being focus particles rather than interrogatives they follow nouns or case markers much more often than verbs; when they do appear behind verbal complexes, the latter are usually gerunds. *(N)sö* can be used with question words, but there are no examples of this with *kösö*:

1. 奈仁曽許能兒乃 / 已許太可奈之伎 14:3373.4-5 Musashi
   nani sö kö-nö KÔ-nö / kököNta kanasi-kî
   what KPT this-GEN girl-GEN / greatly adorable-ATTR
   'why is it this girl is so very attractive (to me)?'

[25] Or, this may be the accusative case marker -*wo*, as in the earlier example 14:3500.2.

2. 阿是曽母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴 14:3469.4-5 Unknown
aNse sö mö kö-yöpî / yös-i-rö-k-î-mas-an-u
why KPT PT this-evening / approach-INF-COP-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
'why is it (he) does not come near me tonight?'

Example (2) is one of two instances in the corpus of focus particle *mo* following *(N)sö*, a usage attested in Central Old Japanese that adds further emphasis to the marked noun or phrase. The other involves the variant *tö* (a unique form of the *kakari* particle *(N)sö*, found in five tokens in Eastern Old Japanese):

於枳弖等母枳奴 20:4385.5 Shimotsufusa
ok-î-te tö mö k-î-n-u
leave.behind-INF-SUB KPT PT come-INF-PERF-FIN?
'I left (my wife and child) and came (here)'

Notice here the *apparent* failure of the particle to produce a *musubi* in the predicate ending in perfective *-n-*; however, as discussed in the previous chapter, I believe that perfective *-n-* had purely consonant-stem morphology in Eastern Old Japanese, and as such, this is in fact an example of successful *kakari musubi*. *Kakari* particle *(N)sö* can also be followed by emotive/vocative *yö*:

伊多良武等曽与 / 阿我之多波倍思 14:3381.4-5 Musashi
itar-am-u tö sö yö / a-Nka sita papë-si
arrive-TENT-FIN DV KPT PT / I-POSS below contemplate(INF)-PAST(ATTR)
'I secretly think that I'll reach (you)'

And *kösö* can appear before the topic marker, *pa*:

伎曽許曽波 / 兒呂等左宿之香 14:3522.1-2 Unknown
kîsö kösö pa / KÔ-rö-tö sa-NE-sika
last.night KPT TOP / girl-EDIM-COM PREF-sleep(INF)-PAST(EV)
'it was just last night that I slept with my girl (but I feel it was long ago)'

Both *(N)sö* and *kösö* occur after the accusative case marker *-wo*; *(N)sö* is also found after the ablative marker *-yu*, and *kösö* with the locative marker *-ni*; given their general grammatical similarities, it is likely that both *kakari* particles could follow both the ablative and the locative case markers, but that our corpus data are too limited to provide any examples. There are four instances of *-wo sö/tö* and two of *-wo kösö*:

1a. 余知乎曽母弖流 14:3440a.4 Unknown
yö-ti-wo sö möt-er-u
same-child-ACC KPT hold-PROG-ATTR
'(you and I both) have children of the same (age)'

1b. 哭乎曽奈伎都流 14:3485.4 Unknown
NE-wo sö nak-î-t-uru
voice-ACC KPT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR
‘(my girl) cried aloud (literally, ‘cried (her) voice’)’

1c. 物能乎曽於毛布 14:3511.4 Unknown
MOnö-wo sö omôp-u
things-ACC KPT think-ATTR
‘(I) think of (many) things (this time of year)’

1d. 伎美乎等麻刀母 14:3561.5 Unknown
kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö
lord\you-ACC KPT wait-EATTR PT
‘(I) will wait for you’

2a. 奈乎許曽麻多賣 14:3493a.2 Unknown
na-wo kösö mat-am-ê
you-ACC KPT wait-TENT-EV
‘(I) shall wait for you’

2b. 伊母乎許曽 / 安比美尓許思可 14:3531.1-2 Unknown
imö-wo kösö / ap-î-mî-n-i-kö-sika
darling-ACC KPT / meet-INF-see(INF)-PERF-INF-come(INF?)-PAST(EV)
‘(I) came for a tryst with my darling’

There is one instance of ablative case marker *-yu* followed by *kakari* particle *tö*:

伊之布麻受 / 蘂良由登伎奴与 14:3425.3-4 Shimotsuke
isi pum-aNs-u / sôra-yu tö k-î-n-u yö
stone step-NEG-FIN / sky-ABL KPT come-INF-PERF-FIN? PT
‘without stepping on the stones, (you) came (to me) through the sky’

And one of *kösö* following the dative/locative case marker *-ni*:

奈尓已曽与佐礼 14:3478.5 Unknown
na-ni kösö yös-ar-e
you-DAT KPT draw.towards-EPROG-EV
‘(even when we do not meet as well as when we meet) I am attracted to you’

Sö also appears after the focus particle *nömï*:

伊呂尓弖々 / 伊波奈久能未曽 / 安我古布良久波 14:3560.4 Unknown
irö-ni [i]Nte-te / ip-an-aku nömï sö / a-Nka kôp-ur[u]-aku pa

color-LOC emerge(INF)-SUB / say-NEG-NML PT KPT / I-POSS love-ATTR-NML TOP
'(when) color appears (on my face), (though I) do not even speak, (you know) I am thinking thoughts of love'

8.2 MUSUBI

Musubi, the second half of the *kakari musubi* phenomenon, refers to the change in form that takes place in a following predicate whenever a *kakari* particle appears in a sentence. The *kakari* particles *ya*, *ka*, *kamo*, and *(N)sö* (as well as *namo* in Central Old Japanese) trigger a following terminal predicate to change into the attributive form; *kösö*, on the other hand, triggers a change into the evidential or attributive forms (only evidential in Eastern Old Japanese). Where there are multiple predicates in the sentence or poem, the choice of which one undergoes *musubi* depends upon the scope of the question or focus (Whitman 1997). In the case of Eastern Old Japanese, the study of *kakari musubi* is further complicated by the nature of the texts: since all of our evidence comes in the form of verse, we are forced to deal with poetic language, which often uses syntactic inversions and other 'unusual' devices to create its effects; unfortunately, the unusual nature of poetic language makes it hard to determine what of the observed features may be considered typical of the language. In particular, since *kakari musubi* is dependent upon word order for its effects, the inverted or elliptical nature of poetic diction is likely to have had a direct bearing on the appearance or lack of *musubi* in some cases.

That said, the most obvious fact about the *kakari musubi* in Eastern Old Japanese is that very often, there are no *musubi*. In Table 8.2, I have accounted for all instances of *kakari* particles in the corpus according to the type of *musubi* that is subsequently observed: "none" means that there is no *musubi* at all in the poem; "unambiguous" indicates that there is certainly a *musubi* (i.e., the syntactic alternation is unambiguous); "ambiguous" means that there is probably a *musubi*, but that it is unclear due to the nature of Old Japanese orthography, which did not record any difference between the final- and the attributive-marking morphemes after consonant-stem verbs and like affixes. Because the evidential form is always orthographically distinguishable from the final form, the are no instances involving ambiguous *musubi* after the particle *kösö*: in all cases, there was either a clear *musubi*, or none at all. The tabular data are further organized according to the number of times a *kakari* particle of a given type appears in each line of the *tanka* form.

As can be seen from this table, there are obvious differences between the various *kakari* particles, both in terms of where in the poem structure they appear, and how regularly they produce a *musubi*. The particles *ya* and *kamo* are more likely than not to have no *musubi*, while *ka*, *(N)sö*, and *kösö* do produce *musubi* in the majority of cases. On the other hand, *musubi* triggered by *(N)sö* and *kösö* are generally unambiguous, while those triggered by *ka* are usually ambiguous. The case of *kösö* has already been explained – the evidential form which it triggers as a *musubi* cannot be ambiguous – however, why *ka* and *(N)sö* should have such a distinction is less obvious. It appears to depend largely on the type of verbal morphology involved; *(N)sö* occurs with many types of predicates, but *ka* occurs mostly with predicates ending on the tentative marker *-(a)m-*

(this occurs in twenty-six out of thirty *musubi* following *ka*), a phenomenon that is also observed in Central Old Japanese (Nomura 1995, reported in Shinzato and Serafim 2003: 199). Because *-(a)m-* takes the attributive marker *-u*, most examples of *musubi* after the tentative are ambiguous (there are exceptions where the Eastern Old Japanese attributive allomorph *-o* disambiguates; these are discussed in section 8.3).

Table 8.2 *Musubi* in Eastern Old Japanese, by Particle and *Musubi* Type

Kakari Particle	Type of Musubi	Totals	Line Number of *Tanka*				
			1	2	3	4	5
ya (35)	none	19+1 (57.1%)	6	3	--	3	7
	unambiguous	4 (11.4%)	--	3	1	--	--
	ambiguous	11 (31.4%)	--	2	2	5	2
ka (36)	none	6 (16.7%)	1	--	--	2	3
	unambiguous	5 (13.9%)	1	--	1	2	1
	ambiguous	25 (69.5%)	--	2	4	11	8
kamo (48)	none	33+1 (70.8%)	--	1	2	1	29
	unambiguous	6 (12.5%)	--	2	1	2	1
	ambiguous	8 (16.7%)	--	1	3	1	3
(N)sö (29)	none	7 (24.1%)	--	--	--	3	4
	unambiguous	16 (55.2%)	--	--	1	9	6
	ambiguous	6 (20.7%)	--	--	1	3	2
kösö (15)	none	2 (13.3%)	--	--	--	--	2
	unambiguous	13 (86.7%)	3	1	2	3	4
Totals (163)	none	67+2 (42.3%)	7	4	2	9	45
	unambiguous	44 (27%)	4	6	6	16	11
	ambiguous	50 (30.7%)	0	5	10	20	15
Composite		161+2	11	15	18	46	71

In large number of cases (42.3% of the total number), a *kakari* particle will not produce a *musubi*. There are several reasons why this may happen, but three are primary: (1) the language of the poem may be elliptical, lacking a suitable predicate, or the syntax may be inverted, placing the particle after the predicate; (2) the particle may occur in the final position of its clause (not necessarily at the end of the fifth line); (3) other morphology may interfere; for example, the conditional and conjunctive gerunds, and the nominalizer *-aku*, often appear on the predicate following a *kakari* particle, and where this occurs, there can be no change into the attributive form. There are also a handful of instances (described below) where the *kakari musubi* is simply defective, and no change in the predicate occurs although none of the above limitations are present.

8.2.1 MUSUBI AFTER YA

The *kakari* particle *ya* occurs in all lines of the *tanka*, and with roughly equal frequency, though it appears in third lines somewhat more rarely than elsewhere. Slightly over fifty-

percent of all occurrences of *ya* do not produce any *musubi*, and of those that do, nearly two-thirds of the time the *musubi* are ambiguous. As described in the previous section, traditional Japanese philology refers to several more or less distinct "*ya*'s," each of which has a unique role. The *ya* that occurs as a final particle is preceded by the evidential or final form, and of course does not produce a *musubi*; the *ya* that functions as an exclamatory or vocative particle also is not supposed to produce a *musubi*. This is a fairly artificial distinction, though when one looks at the variability of the data concerning *ya*, it is easy to see why such an analysis is often preferred.

There is one example of *ya* failing to produce a *musubi* where it would be expected; this poem occurs in *Hitachi Fudoki*, and contains only two eastern features (misspellings of *kôpï-* 'to love' and *sikö*, humble reflexive pronoun):

> 伊毛乎古比 / 川麻止伊波波夜 / 志古止賣志都毛 Hitachi Fudoki 5.3-5
> imô-wo kôpî / tuma tö ip-aNpa ya / sikô tö mês-i-t-u mô
> darling-ACC love(INF) / spouse DV say-COND KPT / self(HUM) DV take.as.spouse(HON)-INF-PERF-FIN PT
> '(I) love my darling, (but) if I call her "wife," will (she not then) have poor me for a husband (or 'see me as an ugly guy')?'

Here, *ya* fails to produce a *musubi* in the verb *mês-*, an honorific meaning 'to take as a spouse' or simply 'to see' or 'to call.' The attributive after perfective marker *-t-* is always realized allomorphically as *-uru* (see chapter six); in the case of this poem, that form would produce a hypercatalexis in the fifth line. It may be that this metrical consideration prevented the realization of *kakari musubi* in this verse, though I think a morphosyntactic process like *kakari musubi* should take priority over meter. Shinzato and Serafim (2003) have also proposed that *kakari musubi* with the particle *ya* developed in Japanese later than *kakari musubi* with *ka* (a cognate of which is found in Ryūkyūan and, therefore, probably in Proto-Japonic); if *ya*-type *kakari musubi* was a comparatively recent development in Old Japanese, it may be that the language of this poem reflects a dialect or a time in which the *kakari musubi* paradigm had not come into full effect.

8.2.2 MUSUBI AFTER KA

Particle *ka* also occurs in all five lines of the *tanka*, though it is far more frequent in fourth and fifth lines than elsewhere. There are only six examples of *ka* without an apparent *musubi*, and in five of these, *ka* is the last word in the fourth or fifth line of the poem. Most instances of *ka*-type *musubi* involve the tentative marker *-(a)m-*, accounting for twenty-six out of thirty apparent *musubi* (86.7%). However, almost all such instances must ultimately be considered ambiguous, since it is impossible to know for certain from the orthographic evidence whether the observed form is attributive or final. Nonetheless, the five examples of unambiguous *musubi*, coupled with the total lack of any clearly defective instances (as with *ya* above), indicate that *kakari musubi* involving *ka* was very regular in Eastern Old Japanese.

8.2.3 MUSUBI AFTER KAMO

Kamo is the most frequently seen *kakari* particle (forty-eight tokens), though it rarely produces *musubi*. There are only fourteen examples in the corpus of apparent *musubi* after *kamo* (six that are unambiguous) – just one more than after *kösö*, the rarest *kakari* particle. This can be explained fairly easily: the vast majority of instances of *kamo* occur at the end of poems; specifically, there are twenty-nine instances of *kamo* as the last word in the fifth line of a *tanka*; and there is one example in *Hitachi Fudoki* of *kamo* occurring at the end of a poem, in what appears to be the sixth line. This accounts for all but four examples of particle *kamo* occurring *without* a following *musubi*. The four remaining instances are stereotypical – two involve the emphatic expression *ina wo kamo* 'oh no (it is not so),' and in the other two cases, *kamo* is followed by the emotive particle *yö*; either way, there is a marked linguistic break after *kamo* (or after *kamo yö*); that is, any following predicates belong to a different clauses, and are not governed by the *kakari* particle. Since *kamo* is not usually discussed in the literature on *kakari musubi*, I think it is worthwhile for me to present in full the evidence for *musubi* after *kamo*. There are six unambiguous examples:

1. 由伎可母布良留 14:3351.2 Hitachi (four EOJ features)
   yukî kamö pur-ar-u
   snow KPT fall-EPROG-ATTR
   'is there snow falling (on Mt. Tukupa)?'

2. 安杼世呂登可母 / 安夜尓可奈之伎 14:3465.4-5 Unknown (two EOJ features)
   aN-tö se-rö tö kamö / aya n-i kanasi-kî
   what-DV do-IMP DV KPT / extremely DV-INF adorable-ATTR
   '(besides sleeping together) what would you have me do? – (for you) are extremely attractive'

3. 阿比与流等可毛 / 欲流等家也湏家 14:3483.4-5 Unknown (seven EOJ features)
   ap-î-yör-u kamô / yôru tökê-yasu-kê
   meet-INF-approach-FIN KPT / night come.undone(INF)-easy-EATTR
   'will (we) meet together, at night when the (sash of my lover's robe) is easily undone?'

4. 根乎可母乎布流 14:3500.2 Unknown (two EOJ features)
   NE-wo kamö wop-uru
   root-ACC KPT finish-ATTR
   '(I) have used up the roots (for dying fabric)'

5. 伊都之加毛 / 都加敞麻都里弖 / 久尓々閇牟可毛 20:4359.3-5 Kamitsufusa (four EOJ features)
   itu si kamô / tukapê-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pë muk-am-ô
   when PT KPT / serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB / province-LOC bow turn-TENT-EATTR

‘when, after I have done my service, will (this ship) turn its bow towards my homeland?’

6. 阿也尓加母祢毛 20:4422.5 Musashi (five EOJ features)
   aya n-i kamö ne-m-ô
   strange DV-INF KPT sleep-TENT-EATTR
   ‘is it strange that (I) sleep (without undoing my sash)?’

I have cited the number of unique Eastern Old Japanese features found in each poem to show that all of these verses are apparently genuine; all have multiple features, and several are obviously and abundantly eastern. It may be merely coincidental, or it may indicate that the compound *kamo* was less completely grammaticalized in Eastern Old Japanese, and was perhaps still being analyzed as *kakari* particle *ka* followed by *mo* at the time when these poems were recorded. Two of the above examples involve the tentative *-(a)m-*, which also occurs with very high frequency after the particle *ka*. Then, including numbers (5) and (6), nine out of fourteen examples of apparent *kakari musubi* after *kamo* involve this tentative.

There are eight ambiguous examples of apparent *kakari musubi* with particle *kamo*. Several of them occur in structures similar or identical to those observed in the unambiguous examples above.

7. 阿波受可母安良牟 14:3355.5 Suruga (no EOJ features)
   ap-aNs-u kamö ar-am-u
   meet-NEG-FIN? KPT exist-TENT-ATTR
   ‘will it be that (we) will not meet?’
   This is similar to number (6) above.

8. 和我世故乎 / 安杼可母伊波武 14:3379.2 Musashi (one EOJ feature)
   wa-Nka se-kô-wo / aN-tö kamö ip-am-u
   I-POSS man-DIM-ACC / what-DV KPT say-TENT-ATTR
   ‘what should I call my beloved?’

9. 麻許登可聞 / 和礼尓余須等布 14:3384.3-4 Shimotsufusa (two EOJ features)
   ma-kötö kamo / ware-ni yös-u tö [i]p-u
   INT-words KPT / I-DAT draw.near-ATTR DV say-FIN
   ‘(people) say, is (she) really intimate with me?’

10. 伊豆由可母 / 加奈之伎世呂我 / 和賀利可欲波牟 14:3549.3-5 Unknown (one EOJ feature)
    iNtu-yu kamö / kanasi-kî se-rö-Nka / wa-Nkari kayôp-am-u
    where-ABL KPT / adorable-ATTR lover-EDIM-POSS / I-DIR come.and.go-TENT-ATTR
    ‘from where will my lovely beloved come to me?’
    Similar to number (5).

11. 那乎杼可母思武 14:3556.5 Unknown (three EOJ features)
na-wo [a]N-tö kamö si-m-u
you-ACC what-DV KPT do-TENT-ATTR
'what should (I) do about you?'

12. 曽和敞可毛 / 加未尓於保世牟 14:3566.3-4 Unknown (no features; one *hapax*)
söwapê kamô / kamï-ni opose-m-u
make.noise? KPT / god-DAT blame-TENT-ATTR
'should I scream (?) and blame the gods (if my love for her should die)?'
Söwapê is a *hapax legomenon*, for which several theories have been put forth, explaining it as an alternation of such forms as *sa-N-pape* 'summer flies,' *sawap-e* infinitive of *sawak-* 'to be raucous' or 'to be noisy,' and *söNpap-e* infinitive of *söNpap-* 'to play' (Mizushima 1996: 178). 'Be noisy' seems most appropriate in this context.

13. 阿夜尓可毛祢牟 20:4428.5 Unknown (five EOJ features)
aya n-i kamô ne-m-u
strange DV-INF KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR
'is it strange that (I) sleep (without undoing my sash)?'
This is nearly identical to number (6), but with ambiguous attributive allomorph *-u* instead of *-o*.

14. 伊比祁婆賀母輿 / 和我惠比爾祁牟 Hitachi Fudoki 6.4-5
ip-î-ky-eNpa kamö yö / wa-Nka wep-î-n-i-ky-em-u
say-INF-PAST-COND KPT PT / I-POSS be.drunk-INF-PERF-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
'if (you) had told me (to drink the wine), wouldn't I have gotten drunk?'

8.2.4 MUSUBI AFTER (N)SÖ

After interrogative *ka*, the focus particles *(N)sö* and *kösö* are the most reliable producers of *musubi*; but in contrast to *ka*, the *musubi* observed after the focus particles are for the most part unambiguous (over 55% are such). *(N)sö* has the most skewed distribution of any of the *kakari* particles: it does not occur in the first or second lines of *tanka*, and is vastly more common in fourth and fifth lines than in third. There are four apparent examples of failed *kakari musubi* involving *(N)sö*, more than for any other particle – an odd fact, considering that *(N)sö* is, in so many other situations, a very reliable trigger for *musubi*:

1. 伊之布麻受 / 蘇良由登伎奴与 14:3425.3-4 Shimotsuke (two EOJ features)
isi pum-aNs-u / sôra-yu tö k-î-n-u yö
stone step-NEG-FIN / sky-ABL KPT come-INF-PERF-FIN? PT
'without stepping on the stones, (you) came (to me) through the sky'

2. 意伎弖曽伎奴也 / 意母奈之尓志弖 20:4401.4-5 Shinano (one EOJ feature)

ok-î-te sö k-î-n-u ya / oMÖ na-si n-i s-i-te
leave.behind-INF-SUB KPT come-INF-PERF-FIN? KPT / mother not.exist-FIN DV-INF do-INF-SUB
'I left (my girl) and came (here), (and I'll) be (here) without my mother'

3. 奈伎志曽母波由 20:4357.5 Kamitsufusa (no EOJ features)
nak-î-si sö [o]möp-ay-u
cry-INF-PAST(ATTR) KPT think-PASS-FIN
'I think about how (my darling) wept (so that her sleeves were soaked)'

4. 於枳弖等母枳奴 20:4385.5 Shimotsufusa (four EOJ features)
ok-î-te tö mö k-î-n-u
leave.behind-INF-SUB KPT PT come-INF-PERF-FIN?
'I left (my wife and child) and came (here)'

This is an interesting group. In three cases, the verbal complex which does not manifest *musubi* is *k-î-n-u* 'came'; two of the poems include the unique eastern *kakari* particle *tö*; and two of the poems, examples (2) and (4), involve nearly identical structures in the lines in question, though one uses particle *sö*, and the other, *tö*. Furthermore, two of the poems have multiple eastern features, while the other two have but one or none. All of these lines are acatalectic, and if the expected attributive *musubi* were to appear (in all four examples, we would expect *-uru*), the lines would be hypercatalectic. On the other hand, the unique eastern attributive allomorph *-o* is often seen after the perfective *-n-*, so it is a mystery why it would not be used here, to complete the *kakari musubi* while at the same time retaining proper meter. It is also possible in (1) and (2) that the following particle had priority and was conditioning the appearance of the final form, though I am aware of one counter example in a dialect poem, involving the particle *mo*:

阿米乎万刀能須 / 伎美乎等麻刀母 14:3561.4-5 Unknown (five EOJ features)
amë-wo mat-ô-nösu / kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö
rain-ACC wait-EATTR(NML)-ECOMP / lord\you-ACC KPT wait-EATTR PT
'(I) will wait for you, like waiting for the rain (to fall)'

In this example, the *kakari* particle *tö* triggers a *musubi* in the following verb, despite the presence of final particle *mo* (usually preceded by the final form). There is also one further example, similar to numbers (2) and (4), that does complete the *musubi*:

見都々曽伎奴流 14:3571.4 Unknown (no EOJ features)
MÎ-tutu sö k-î-n-uru
see(INF)-COOR KPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR
'(I) keep looking (back to the village where I left my wife) while coming (on this road)'

However, this is one of the *sakimori-uta* found in Book XIV, and contains no eastern features whatever. Following the theory I developed in Chapter Seven, I believe that the

three examples of apparently failed *kakari musubi* in numbers (1), (2) and (4) above are not in fact failures, but are simply orthographically ambiguous examples of the attributive form. Since there is only the one example of perfective-attributive *-n-uru* in the corpus, I believe that in Eastern Old Japanese, the perfective marker *-n-* had been reanalyzed and exhibited purely consonant-stem morphology, that is, it had an attributive form *-u*, which is orthographically indistinguishable from the final form. As such, the examples above are not actual instances of failed *musubi*, but simply of formally ambiguous *musubi*.

8.2.5 MUSUBI AFTER KÖSÖ

Although *kösö* is the rarest of the *kakari* particles in Eastern Old Japanese, it is the best producer of *musubi*: over eighty-six percent of all occurrences of *kösö* (thirteen of fifteen tokens) are followed by a *musubi* in the evidential form. In Central Old Japanese, adjectives, which do not have a proper evidential form, usually follow *kösö* in the attributive form: however, this is not seen in my data; instead, there is one example of an apparently defective *kakari musubi*:

> 古呂賀於曽伎能 / 安路許曽要志母 14:3509.5 Unknown (six EOJ features)
> kô-rö-Nka osö kî-n-ö / ar-ô kösö ye-si mö
> girl-EDIM-POSS garments wear(INF)-PERF-EATTR(NML) / exist-EATTR KPT good-FIN PT
> 'it is good that (I) am wearing my girl's robes'

Ye- is an eastern dialect form of *yö-* 'good,' here unambiguously in the final form, despite the preceding *kakari* particle *kösö*. Ōno Susumu suggests that when *mo* is used as a final particle, it is usually preceded by the final form of adjectives, at least in the Nara period (1983: 1460). As in some of the examples of apparent failure of *musubi* after *(N)sö*, it may be that these final particles had priority and conditioned the verbal complex into the final form, despite the presence of a *kakari* particle.

The status of *kösö* as a cause of *musubi* in Central Old Japanese is sometimes questioned, and it is usually suggested that the connection between *kösö* and the evidential form was weak until the period of Middle Japanese. This is clearly not the case in Eastern Old Japanese, where eighty-percent of all tokens of *kösö* are unambiguously followed by a predicate in the evidential form. Of the thirteen poems containing *kösö*, some have many eastern features, and some have none, as follows:

No features:	six poems
One feature:	two poems
Two features:	three poems
Six features:	two poems

As such, it is hard to say whether the occurrence of evidential *musubi* after *kösö* was limited to pure Eastern Old Japanese or not; almost half of the time it occurs in poems without any distinctive eastern features. Nonetheless, it is certain that *kösö*-type *kakari*

musubi producing the evidential form was common throughout eastern Japan. The full data set for *kösö* (and the other *kakari* particles) can be found in Appendix H.

8.3 UNIQUE EASTERN ATTRIBUTIVES IN MUSUBI PREDICATES

As John Whitman has observed (1997: 166-7), the segmental homophony of the Central Old Japanese final marker *-u* and the attributive marker *-u*, both of which can appear after the base of consonant-stem verbs and most common affixes (including the tentative maker *-am-*), in many cases makes unambiguous identification of the *musubi* of the particles *ka*, *ya*, and *(N)sö* impossible. The advantage which Eastern Old Japanese presents to the study of the *kakari musubi* phenomenon is an additional chance for disambiguation of *musubi* due to the presence of the segmentally distinct attributive allomorph *-o*. Unfortunately, there are very few examples of such disambiguation in the corpus. I have found seven: two involving *kakari* particle *ya*, two involving *ka*, two with *kamo*, and one with *tö*.

1. with *kakari* particle *ya*
   宇都也乎能登乃 / 等抱可騰母 / 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 於母尓美要都留 14:3473.2-5 Unknown (three EOJ features)
   ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö / töpo-ka-Ntö mö / ne-m-ô tö ka KÔ-rö-Nka / omö-ni mî-ye-t-uru
   hit-FIN KPT axe sound-COMP / distant-EV-CONC PT / sleep-TENT-EATTR DV KPT girl-EDIM-POSS / face-DAT see-PASS-PERF-ATTR
   ‘like the sound of a striking axe—though she is far away, just when I think to go to sleep, I can see my girl’s face (as in a dream or reverie, and so I cannot sleep)’

2. with *kakari* particle *ya*
   余曽尓能美 /々弖夜和多良毛 20:4355.1-2 Kamitsufusa (two EOJ features)
   yö-sö-ni nömî / mî-te ya watar-am-ô
   other-place-LOC PT / see(INF)-SUB KPT cross-TENT-EATTR
   ‘(I) will gaze far away at other places…’

3. with *kakari* particle *ka*
   和乎可麻都那毛 / 伎曽毛已余必母 14:3563.4 Unknown (five EOJ features)
   wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô / kîsö mô kö-yöpî mö
   I-ACC KPT wait-ETENT-EATTR / last.night PT this-evening PT
   ‘will (you) wait for me tonight too, (as you waited) last night?’

4. with *kakari* particle *ka*
   志可良波加 / 刀奈里乃伎奴乎 / 可里弖伎奈波毛 14:3472.3-5 Unknown (two EOJ features)
   sika-[a]r-aNpa ka / tônari-nö kînu-wo / kar-i-te kî-n-ap-am-ô
   thus-exist-COND KPT / neighbor-GEN robes-ACC / borrow-INF-SUB wear(INF)-PERF-ITER-TENT-EATTR

‘if it is so, then (I’ll) borrow my neighbor’s robes and wear them all the time (i.e., I’ll impersonate him).’

5. with *kakari* particle *kamo*
   伊都之加毛 / 都加敞麻都里弖 / 久尓々閇牟可毛 20:4359.3-5 Kamitsufusa
   itu si kamô / tukapê-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pë muk-am-ô
   when PT KPT / serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB / province-LOC bow turn-TENT-EATTR
   ‘when, after I have done my service, will (this ship) turn its bow towards my homeland?’

6. with *kakari* particle *kamo*
   阿也尓加母祢毛 20:4422.5 Musashi
   aya n-i kamö ne-m-ô
   strange DV-INF KPT sleep-TENT-EATTR
   ‘is it strange that (I) sleep (without undoing my sash)?’

7. with *kakari* particle *tö*
   伎美乎等麻刀母 14:3561.5 Unknown
   kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö
   lord\you-ACC KPT wait-EATTR PT
   ‘(I) will wait for you’

Although these unambiguous forms are intrinsically valuable because they allow us to more clearly interpret these poems, there is little matter of direct relevance to my thesis in these particular coincidences of *kakari* particle in attributive allomorph *-o*, as none of these verses reveal a type of *kakari musubi* not attested elsewhere. Examples (1) and (2) are, however, clear instances of *kakari* particle *ka* acting as an emotive particle and at the same time triggering a *musubi* in the following predicate; these are especially useful because the unambiguous *musubi* predicate allows us to parse the poem more clearly than we could without.

Chapter 9
Summary and Conclusion

The main goal of this thesis has been to describe and analyze, as exhaustively as possible, the attributive and final predicate forms in Eastern Old Japanese. To do this, I composed three focused studies: one to examine the unique attributive forms seen in Eastern Old Japanese (Chapter Six), another on the various functions – particularly the *irregular* functions – performed by the final and attributive forms (Chapter Seven), and a third to examine the phenomenon known as *kakari musubi* (Chapter Eight). As a preliminary to this, I also engaged in a number of additional analyses of the language of the Eastern Old Japanese textual corpus, including studies of its orthography and phonology, focusing on semantographic writing and consonant and vowel alternations (Chapter Four); and a study of certain highly marked and systematic prosodic phenomena, namely, hypercatalexis and vowel elision (Chapter Five). In the introductory pages of this thesis, I reviewed much of the relevant literature (Chapter Three), and provided a thorough description of the Eastern Old Japanese source texts and manuscripts (Chapter Two). The conclusions and major findings of this thesis are as follows:

1. Based on data from shared consonant and vowel alternations, and shared attributive allomorphs, I produced a new dialect division for the Eastern Old Japanese-speaking region of eighth-century Azuma. My data show that four provinces – Kamitsuke, Musashi, Shimotsufusa, and Hitachi – stretching in a "U" shape across the middle of the Kantō plain form a clearly marked dialect chain; the dialect of the province of Shimotsuke which fills the open part of the "U" is also related, albeit more distantly, to dialects in each of the other four surrounding provinces (Chapter Four, using additional data presented in Chapter Six).

2. I have proposed that for the central or 'heartland' Eastern Old Japanese dialects described in point (1), the consonant phoneme /t/ was palatalized before the high front vowel /î/. This, along with the manifestation of attributive allomorph *-ke*, appears to be one of the diagnostic features of the heartland dialect chain (Chapter Four).

3. Through an investigation of the distribution of the diminutive suffixes of Eastern Old Japanese, I have proposed that the unique Eastern diminutive *-na* is cognate to Central Old Japanese diminutive *-ra*; to demonstrate this, I have supplied evidence showing that only *-ra* is used in the westernmost provinces, and only *-na* in the easternmost, while in between, both forms are used, but only after different nouns. As such, there is a complementary distribution of *-ra* and *-na* in Eastern Old Japanese, suggesting that they have a common origin.

4. By exhaustively studying the meter of the poems in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, and by looking through all examples of adjacent vowels therein, I have discovered that adjacent vowel pairs occurring in odd-numbered lines of poems in over eighty-percent of cases produce hypercatalexis, though in even-numbered

lines, adjacent pairs produce hypercatalexis less than seven-percent of the time. This is a remarkably clear pattern that deserves further study (Chapter Five).

5. I posited the existence of a unique Eastern Old Japanese attributive allomorph *-a*, derived from *-o*, which occurs in positions after the negative marker *-(a)n-*, and usually before a locative marker. This is an innovative reading that makes possible a new and, in my opinion, more satisfying interpretation of one feature of Eastern Old Japanese that was heretofore inaccurately described, further improving our understanding of these poems (Chapter Six).

6. I have shown that the presence of the unique attributive allomorph *-o* reveals a comparatively large number of instances of *rentaidome* in Eastern Old Japanese. This may indicate that *rentaidome* is more common than previously suspected in Central Old Japanese as well, but that it cannot be seen in the records of that dialect due to orthographic ambiguity (Chapter Seven).

7. By taking evidence from proportional rates of attributive allomorphy, from instances of apparently failed *kakari musubi*, and from what appear to be unusual instances of the final form in adnominal and pre-particle positions, I have attempted to show that the perfective marker *-n-* had been reanalyzed in Eastern Old Japanese as having pure consonant-stem morphology (Chapters Seven and Eight).

8. Through an exhaustive investigation of the phenomenon of *kakari musubi*, I have shown that the historically composite *kakari* particle *kamo* regularly produces a *musubi* predicate in the attributive form, and that the *kakari* particle *kösö* always produces a *musubi* in the evidential form in Eastern Old Japanese (Chapter Eight).

Appendix A
Man'yōshū Book XIV (Azuma Uta)

The following convensions are observed in Appendices A, B, and C:

1. In the reproduction of characters, I have tried to follow the Nishihonganji manuscript as closely as possible. This introduces several important convensions (Appendices A and B only):

   a. I have reproduced 'traditional' and 'simplified' characters exactly as they appear in the Nishihonganji manuscript, even when that source is inconsistent and sometimes uses both forms; e.g., I have used 万 and 萬 following the manuscript; likewise with 与 and 與, and 余 and 餘. In other cases, the manuscript uses only the simplified forms, e.g., with 尓 (never 爾), 礼 (never 禮), 来 (never 來), 為 (never 爲), and 弁 (never 辨 or any of the other traditional variants).

   b. Certain high-frequency characters appear consistently in rare graphic variants; I have followed the Nishihongaji manuscript in using the following four characters: 蘇 (for 蘇), 敵 (for 敵), 湏 (for 須), and 竒 (for 奇).

   c. The Nishihonganji manuscript makes no graphic distinction between the following three characters: 己, 巳, and 巳. All three are used as phonograms for the syllable /kö/, and the latter two are also used to spell the syllable /i/ in Book XX (in Book XIV, all three characters are used interchangeably to write /kö/ *only*). I have reproduced this graphic ambiguity as accurately as possible.

2. Limitations of computer fonts have forced me to adopt in two cases a digraphic representation for single characters. I use the symbol (亻弓) – including parentheses – to represent a single character that combines the 'person' radical with a right-hand element 'te'. Similarly, I use (石弓) to represent a combination of the same right-hand phonetic with the 'stone' radical.

3. In the data from Book XIV and Book XX, each poem is counted as part of a group, usually defined geographically. In Book XIV, the inclusion of numerous alternative versions of poems – sometimes cited in full, and sometimes only in line fragments – introduces several irregularities into the count. To handle this, I use periods and plus signs to accurately indicate the total volume of poetry contained in a given group; e.g. 6+2.1 (from the Shinano group of Book XIV) indicates that this group contains six full poems, plus two full variants (i.e., complete *tanka* in five lines), and one additional variant line. The number to the right of the period is not a decimal, but an integer indicating the total number of additional *lines* included in that group.

4. All instances of apparent hypercatalexis are cited by line number, in a note found in the first line of a given poem's entry. There are also several other phenomena which

receive similar annotation: (1) “extra characters” are characters which appear to be mistakenly inserted into a line; I have reproduced these characters, following the manuscript, but do not include them in the transliteration or subsequent analyses. (2) “mistakes in character order” indicate that two or more characters have been reversed or otherwise written out of order; as above, I reproduce the orthography exactly as it appears in the Nishihonganji manuscript, but revise the text in transliteration. (3) “headline characters” and “interlinear characters” are characters written into the upper margin of the manuscript, or between the main lines of the text, usually in a second hand and sometimes in red or blue ink; these usually appear to be ‘interpretations’ that change not only the phonology, but the morphology and meaning of the poems as well; I have reproduced these characters and indicated which characters they are intended to replace.

Zōka from Kamitsufusa Province

14:3348 – (Kamitsufusa, 1 of 3)
奈都素妣久 / 宇奈加美我多能 / 於伎都渚尓 / 布祢波等杼米牟 / 佐欲布氣尓家里
natu sô-N-pîk-u / unakamîNkata-nö / okî-tu SU-ni / pune pa töNtömë-m-u / sa-yô pukë-n-i-kêr-i
summer hemp-GEN-pull-ATTR / PN-GEN / offing-GENLOC sandbar-LOC / boat TOP stay-TENT-FIN / PREF-night deepen(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
the night deepened, and the boat shall stop in the shallows of the offing in ‘summer hemp-pulling’ Unakamigata.

Zōka from Shimotsufusa Province

14:3349 – (Shimotsufusa, 1 of 5)
可豆思加乃 / 麻萬能宇良末乎 / 許具布祢能 / 布奈妣等佐和久 / 奈美多都良思母
kaNtusika-nö / mama-nö ura-ma-wo / köNk-u pune-nö / puna-N-pîtö sawak-u / namî tat-urasi mö
PN-GEN / PN-GEN bay-curve-ACC / row-ATTR boat-GEN / boat-GEN-people shout-FIN / wave rise-SUP PT
the boatmen shout boisterously on the boat that is rowing around the bay of Mama in Kadzushika—the waves seem to be rising.

Zōka from Hitachi Province

14:3350a – (Hitachi, 1a of 12+0.2) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
筑波祢乃 / 尓比具波麻欲能 / 伎奴波安礼杼 / 伎美我美家思志 / 安夜尓伎保思母
TUKUpa ne-nö / nipî-N-kupa mayô-nö / kînu p(a a)r-e-Ntö / kîmî-Nka mî-kêsi si / aya n-i kî-posi mö

PN peak-GEN / new-DV-mulberry cocoon-GEN / robes TOP exist-EV-CONC / lord\you-POSS HON-clothes PT / extremely DV-INF wear-DES PT
although I have robes (spun) from the cocoons (of silkworms fed on) fresh mulberry leaves from the peak of Tukupa—yet I really want to put on my lord's robes.

14:3350b – (Hitachi, 1b of 12+0.2, representing lines 1 and 5)
或本歌曰「多良知祢能」又云「安麻多伎保思母」
taratine-nö \ amata kî-posi mö
mother\wet.nurse-GEN \ many wear-DES PT
my mother's… \ I really want to put on… (However, Mizushima suggests the first line is merely a corruption of tukupa ne-nö).

14:3351 – (Hitachi, 2 of 12+0.2) (headlined with character 企, for mistake in line 5?)
筑波祢尓 / 由伎可母布良留 / 伊奈乎可母 / 加奈思吉兒呂我 / 尓努保佐流可母
TUKUpa ne-ni / yukî kamö pur-ar-u / ina wo kamö / kanasi-kî KÔ-rö-Nka / ninô pos-ar-u kamö
or (5): kînu pos-ar-u kamö
PN peak-LOC / snow KPT fall-EPROG-ATTR / 'no' PT KPT / adorable-ATTR girl-EDIM-POSS / {cloth} dry-EPROG-ATTR KPT
or (5): robes dry-EPROG-ATTR KPT
I wonder if snow is falling on Mt. Tsukupa?—oh, no!—my beloved girl is hanging her snow-white linens (or, robes) out to bleach (or perhaps simply to dry).

Zōka from Shinano Province

14:3352 – (Shinano, 1 of 5)
信濃奈流 / 須我能安良能尓 / 保登等藝須 / 奈久許恵伎氣波 / 登伎須疑尓家里
SINANO n-ar-u / suNka-nö ara-nö-ni / potötöNkîsu / nak-u köwe kîk-ë-Npa / tökî suNkï-n-i-kêr-i
PN LOC-exist-ATTR / PN-GEN rough-field-LOC / cuckoo / cry-ATTR voice hear-EV-CON / time pass(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
in the wild fields of Suga in Shinano, when I hear the cry of the the *hototogisu* singing, (I know that) the season has past by.

Sōmonka from Tōtōmi Province

14:3353 – (Tōtōmi, 1 of 3)
阿良多麻能 / 伎倍乃波也之尓 / 奈乎多弖天 / 由伎可都麻思自 / 移乎佐伎太多尼
aratama-nö / kîpë-nö payasi-ni / na-wo tate-te / yuk-î-kat-umasiNsi / i-wo sakî-N-tat-ane
PN-GEN / PN-GEN forest-LOC / you-ACC raise(INF)-SUB / go-INF-be.able-NEGDEB / sleep-ACC before-LOC-go.about-DES

you have been put in the forest of Kipe in Aratama, but there is no way I can go (there)—I want you to go to bed before me!

14:3354 – (Tōtōmi, 2 of 3) (headlined with character 伎, for mistake in line 3?)
伎倍比等乃 / 萬太良夫須麻尓 / 和多佐波太 / 伊利奈麻之母乃 / 伊毛我乎杼許尓
kîpë pîtö-nö / maNtara-N-pusuma-ni / wata sapaNta / ir-i-n-amasi mönö / imô-Nka woN-tökö-ni
PN person-GEN / mixed.colors-GEN-bed.clothes-LOC / cotton many / enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ(ATTR) thing / darling-POSS DIM-bed-LOC
like the multi-colored beddings of the people of Kipe, which are stuffed with much cotton—I (too) would like to go in: into the bed of my darling.

Sōmonka from Suruga Province

14:3355 – (Suruga, 1 of 6+2.1) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
安麻乃波良 / 不自能之婆夜麻 / 已能久礼能 / 等伎由都利奈波 / 阿波受可母安良牟
ama-nö para / puNsi-nö siNpa yama / kö-nö kure-nö / tökî yutur-i-n-aNpa / ap-aNs-u kam(ö a)r-am-u
heaven-GEN plain / PN-GEN bushes mountain / tree-GEN darkness-GEN / time move-INF-PERF-COND / meet-NEG-NML KPT exist-TENT-ATTR
if this time passes—this time of shade under the trees in the forested region on Mt. Fuji ‘soaring into the wide sky’—then I wonder if we shall not meet?

14:3356 – (Suruga, 2 of 6+2.1)
不盡能祢乃 / 伊夜等保奈我伎 / 夜麻治乎毛 / 伊母我理登倍婆 / 氣尓餘婆受吉奴
puNsi-nö ne-nö / iya töpo-naNka-kî / yama-N-ti-wo mô / imö-Nkari tö [i]p-ë-Npa / kë-ni [o]yöNp-aNs-u k-î-n-u
PN-GEN peak-GEN / extremely distant-long-ATTR / mountain-GEN-road-ACC PT / darling-DIR DV say-EV-CON / days(PLUR)-LOC exceed-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-FIN
even on the extremely long road to the peak of Mt. Fuji—since I tell myself I am going to where my darling is, the days seem short.

14:3357 – (Suruga, 3 of 6+2.1)
可須美為流 / 布時能夜麻備尓 / 和我伎奈婆 / 伊豆知武吉弖加 / 伊毛我奈氣可牟
kasumî wi-[u]ru / puNti-nö yama-N-pï-ni / wa-Nka k-î-n-aNpa / iNtuti muk-î-te ka / imô-Nka naNkëk-am-u
mist be.at-ATTR / PN-GEN mountain-GEN-foothills-LOC / I-POSS come-INF-PERF-COND / which.way turn-INF-SUB KPT / darling-POSS lament-TENT-ATTR
if I come through the mist-cloaked foothills of Mt. Fuji, turning in which way, then, will (make) my darling weep?

14:3358a – (Suruga, 4a of 6+2.1)
佐奴良久波 / 多麻乃緒婆可里 / 古布良久波 / 布自能多可祢乃 / 奈流佐波能其登

sa-n-ur[u]-aku pa / tama-nö WO Npakari / kôp-ur[u]-aku pa / puNsi-nö taka-ne-nö / narusapa-nö Nkötö
PREF-sleep-ATTR-NML TOP / jade-GEN string PT / love-ATTR-NML TOP / PN-GEN high-peak-GEN / PN-GEN resemblance
my sleeping with you, it was only (for as long as) a thread (is thick)—but my longing for you is like (the) Narusapa (dangerous ravines?) on the high peak of Mt. Fuji.

14:3358b – (Suruga, 4b of 6+2.1) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
或本歌曰「麻可奈思美 / 奴良久波思家良久 / 佐奈良久波 / 伊豆能多可祢能 / 奈流佐波奈須与」
ma-kanasi-mî / n-ur[u]-aku pa s-i-kêr-aku / sa-nar-aku pa / iNtu-nö taka-ne-nö / narusapa-nasu yö
INT-adorable-GER / sleep-ATTR-NML TOP do-INF-RETR-NML / PREF-make.sound-NML TOP / PN-GEN high-peak-GEN / PN-COMP PT
since you are so adorable, I did some sleeping with you—but the rumors that circulate about us, they are like (the) Narusapa (dangerous ravines?) on the high peaks of Izu.

14:3358c – (Suruga, 4c of 6+2.1)
一本歌曰「阿敞良久波 / 多麻能乎思家也 / 古布良久波 / 布自乃多可祢尓 / 布流由伎奈須毛」
ap-êr-aku pa / tama-nö wo sik-ê ya / kôp-ur[u]-aku pa / puNsi-nö taka-ne-ni / pur-u yukî-nasu mô
meet-PROG-NML TOP / jade-GEN string reach-EV KPT / love-ATTR-NML TOP / PN-GEN high-peak-LOC fall-ATTR snow-COMP PT
our meeting together lasted only as long as a thread (is wide)—but my longing for you is like the snow falling on the high peak of Mt. Fuji.

14:3359a – (Suruga, 5a of 6+2.1)
駿河能宇美 / 於思敞尓於布流 / 波麻都豆良 / 伊麻思乎多能美 / 波播尓多我比奴
suruNka-no umî / osi-pê-ni op-uru / pama-tuNtura / imasi-wo tanöm-î / papa-ni taNkap-î-n-u
PN-GEN sea / {boulder}-shore-LOC grow-ATTR / beach-kudzu / you-ACC trust-NML / mother-DAT betray-INF-PERF-FIN
like the beach-vine growing on the rocky shore of the sea of Suruga—by trusting you, I have become estranged from my mother.

14:3359b – (Suruga, 5b of 6+2.1, reprenting line 5)
一云「於夜尓多我比奴」
oya-ni taNkap-î-n-u
parents-DAT betray-INF-PERF-FIN
…I have become estranged from my parents.

Sōmonka from Izu Province

14:3360a – (Izu, 1a of 1+0.4) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
伊豆乃宇美尓 / 多都思良奈美能 / 安里都追毛 / 都藝奈牟毛能乎 / 美太礼志米梅楊
iNtu-n(ö u)mî-ni / tat-u sira-namî-nö / ar-i-tutu mô / tuNk-î-n-am-u mônö-wo / mîNtare-simë-m-ë ya
PN-GEN sea-LOC / rise-ATTR white-waves-GEN / exist-INF-COOR PT / continue-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR thing-ACC / confuse-CAUS-TENT-EV KPT
will you mess up this thing, that has continued for as long as there have been white waves rising in the sea of Izu?

14:3360b – (Izu, 1b of 1+0.4, representing lines 2 (partial), 3, 4, and 5)
或本歌曰「之良久毛能 / 多延都追母 / 都我牟等母倍也 / 美太礼曽米家武」
sira-kumô-nö / taye-tutu mö / tuNk-am-u tö [o]möp-ë ya / mîNtare-sömë-k(y-e)m-u
white-clouds-GEN / break(INF)-COOR PT / continue-TENT-FIN DV think-EV KPT / confuse(INF)-do.for.the.first(INF)-PAST-TENT-ATTR
will you start to mess up this thing, that I think should remain (i.e., continue), like how the white clouds (over the sea of Izu will remain), even as they break apart?

Sōmonka from Sagamu Province

14:3361 – (Sagamu, 1 of 15+1.3) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
安思我良能 / 乎弖毛許乃母尓 / 佐須和奈乃 / 可奈流麻之豆美 / 許呂安礼比毛等久
asiNkara-nö / wote [o]mô kö-nö [o]mö-ni / sas-u wana-nö / kanarumasiNtumî / kö-r(ö a)re pîmô tök-u
PN-GEN / there face this-GEN face-LOC / thrust.out-ATTR trap-COMP / UNCLEAR(make.noise-ATTR duration grow.quiet-INF) / girl-EDIM I cords undo-FIN
like traps set here and there around Mt. Ashigara—she unties the sash of my robes…

14:3362a – (Sagamu, 2a of 15+1.3)
相模祢乃 / 乎美祢見所[26]久思 / 和須礼久流 / 伊毛我名欲妣弖 / 吾乎祢之奈久奈
SANKAMU ne-nö / woN-mîne MÎ-kakus-i / wasure-k-uru / imô-Nka NA yôNp-î-te / A-wo ne si nak-una
PN peak-GEN / DIM-peak see(INF)-hide-INF / {forget(INF)-come-ATTR} / darling-POSS name call-INF-SUB / I-ACC voice PT {make.cry}-NEGIMP
pretending not to see the smaller peak of Mt. Sagamu, I call the name of my darling who forgot to come—don't make me cry out!

14:3362b – (Sagamu, 2b of 15+1.3)
或本歌曰「武蔵祢能 / 乎美祢見可久思 / 和須礼遊久 / 伎美我名可氣弖 / 安乎祢思奈久流」
muSASI ne-nö / woN-mîne MÎ-kakus-i / wasure yuk-u / kîmî-Nka NA kakë-te / a-wo ne si nak-uru

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[26] This is the only appearance of the character 所 in the corpus; it is believed to be a mistake for 可.

PN peak-GEN / DIM-peak see(INF)-hide-INF / forget(INF) go-ATTR / lord\you-POSS name call.out(INF)-SUB / I-ACC voice PT {make.cry}-ATTR
pretending not to see the smaller peak of Mt. Musashi—I call out your name, my husband (Mizushima suggests it is a woman, however), who forgot and went away: (you) make me weep!

14:3363 – (Sagamu, 3 of 15+1.3)
和我世古乎 / 夜麻登敞夜利弖 / 麻都之太須 / 安思我良夜麻乃 / 須疑乃木能末可
wa-Nka se-kô-wo / yamatö-pê yar-i-te / mat-u siNta s-u / asiNkara yama-nö / suNkï-nö KÖ-nö ma ka
I-POSS lover-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL make.go-INF-SUB / UNCLEAR(wait-ATTR {time} do-FIN) / PN mountain-GEN / cedar-GEN tree-GEN space KPT
my husband was sent to Yamato; (now I) spend my time waiting (for him to return)—will it be among the cedars of Mt. Ashingara?

14:3364a – (Sagamu, 4a of 15+1.3) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
安思我良能 / 波祜祢乃夜麻尓 / 安波麻吉弖 / 實登波奈礼留乎 / 阿波奈久毛安夜思
asiNkara-nö / pakône-nö yama-ni / apa mak-î-te / MÏ-tö pa nar-er-u-wo / ap-an-aku m(ô a)yasi
PN-GEN / PN-GEN mountain-LOC / millet plant-INF-SUB / fruit-COM TOP ripen-PROG-ATTR-ACC / meet-NEG-NML PT strange(FIN)
I planted the millet on Mt. Hakone of Ashigara—it is strange, to not 'meet' the fruit (i.e., the millet) even though it is ripe…

14:3364b – (Sagamu, 4b of 15+1.3, representing lines 3, 4, and 5)
或本歌末句曰「波布久受能 / 比可波与利已祢 / 思多奈保那保尓」
pap-u kuNsu-nö / pîk-aNpa yör-i-kö-ne / sita naponapo n-i
stretch-ATTR vine-COMP / pull-COND approach-INF-come-IMP / below obedient DV-INF
…if I pluck (you) like the spreading kudzu vines, then come near to me—be obedient.

14:3365 – (Sagamu, 5 of 15+1.3)
可麻久良乃 / 美胡之能佐吉能 / 伊波久叡乃 / 伎美我久由倍伎 / 已許呂波母多自
kamakura-nö / mîkôsi-nö sakî-nö / ipa kuye-nö / kîmî-Nka kuy-uNpë-kî / kökörö pa möt-aNsi
PN-GEN / PN-GEN cape-GEN / rock crumble(NML)-COMP / lord\you-POSS regret-DEB-ATTR / heart TOP hold-NEGTENT
like to the crumbling rocks on the cape of Mikoshi in Kamakura, I do not think you should regret it.

14:3366 – (Sagamu, 6 of 15+1.3)
麻可奈思美 / 佐祢尓和波由久 / 可麻久良能 / 美奈能瀬河泊尓 / 思保美都奈武賀
ma-kanasi-mî / sa-ne-ni wa pa yuk-u / kamakura-nö / mînanöSE KApa-ni / sipo mît-unam-u ka

INT-adorable-GER / PREF-sleep(NML)-LOC I TOP go-ATTR / PN-GEN / PN river-LOC / tide fill-ETENT-ATTR KPT
because you are truly adorable, to sleep with you I go—to Kamakura's Minanose river: will the tide be full?

14:3367 – (Sagamu, 7 of 15+1.3) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
母毛豆思麻 / 安之我良乎夫祢 / 安流吉於保美 / 目許曽可流良米 / 已許呂波毛倍杼
mömô-Ntu sima / asiNkara woN-pune / aruk-(î o)po-mî / MË kösö kar-uram-ë / kökörö pa [o]môp-ë-Ntö
hundred-SUF islands / PN DIM-boat / move-NML many-GER / eye KPT be.distant-TENT-EV / heart TOP think-EV-CONC
since (I) often go out, like the many departures of the boat of (that is, made of timber from) Mt. Ashigara of 'the hundred-islands', we'll probably not have many chances to meet—though as for my feelings, I love you.

14:3368 – (Sagamu, 8 of 15+1.3) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
阿之我利能 / 刀比能可布知尓 / 伊豆流湯能 / 余尓母多欲良尓 / 故呂河伊波奈久尓
asiNkari-nö / tôpî-nö kap[a]-uti-ni / iNt-uru YU-nö / yö-ni mö tayôra n-i / kô-rö-Nk(a i)p-an-aku n-i
PN-GEN / PN-GEN river-inner.part-LOC / emerge-ATTR hot.water-COMP / world-LOC PT be.aflutter DV-INF / girl-EDIM-POSS say-NEG-NML DV-INF
like the hot-springs that shoot out from within the river of Topi in Ashigari—I feel very uneasy, and my girl isn't saying anything.

14:3369 – (Sagamu, 9 of 15+1.3)
阿之我利乃 / 麻萬能古須氣乃 / 須我麻久良 / 安是加麻可左武 / 許呂勢多麻久良
asiNkari-nö / mama-nö kô-suNkë-nö / suNka-makura / aNse ka mak-as-am-u / kö-rö se ta-makura
PN-GEN / PN-GEN DIM-sedge-GEN / sedge-pillow / {why} KPT pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR / girl-EDIM do hand-pillow
why should I pillow myself with a sedge-pillow made of sedge from Mama in Ashigari?—for my darling pillows me in her arms.

14:3370 – (Sagamu, 10 of 15+1.3)
安思我里乃 / 波故祢能祢呂乃 / 尓古具佐能 / 波奈都豆麻奈礼也 / 比母登可受祢牟
asiNkari-nö / pakône-nö ne-rö-nö / nikô-N-kusa-nö / pana-tuN-tuma nar-e ya / pîmö tök-aNs-u ne-m-u
PN-GEN / PN-GEN peak-EDIM-GEN / soft-DV-grass-COMP / blossoms-UNCLEAR(pluck-NML?(-GEN?))-spouse become-EV KPT / cords undo-NEG-INF3 sleep-TENT-ATTR
will she become a 'Blossom-Spouse' as soft as the grasses on the peak of Mt. Hakone in Ashigari?—(no, she will not), for she will sleep without undoing her sash.

14:3371 – (Sagamu, 11 of 15+1.3)
安思我良乃 / 美佐可加思古美 / 久毛利欲能 / 阿我志多婆倍乎 / 許知弖都流可母

asiNkara-nö / mî-saka kasikô-mî / kumôr-i yô-nö / a-Nka sita-N-papë-wo / köt[ö]-iNte-t-uru kamö
PN-GEN / HON-hill awesome-GER / becloud-INF night-GEN / I-POSS below-GEN-contemplate(NML)-ACC / words-emerge(INF)-PERF-ATTR KPT
awesome are the hallowed hills of Ashigara—and will I tell (her) about my longings, that I nurse as secretly as a cloudy night?

14:3372 – (Sagamu, 12 of 15+1.3)
相模治乃 / 余呂伎能波麻乃 / 麻奈胡奈須 / 兒良波可奈之久 / 於毛波流留可毛
SANKAMU-N-ti-nö / yörökî-nö pama-nö / manaNkô-nasu / KÔ-ra pa kanasi-ku / omôp-ar-uru kamô
PN-GEN-road-GEN / PN-GEN beach-GEN / fine.sand-COMP / girl-PLUR TOP adorable-INF / think-PASS-ATTR KPT
do I not feel that my girl is (or: my children are) as adorable as the fine sands on the beach of Yoroki on the 'road of Sagamu' (possibly referring to the province itself)?

Sōmonka from Musashi Province

14:3373 – (Musashi, 1 of 9+1)
多麻河泊尓 / 左良須弖豆久利 / 佐良左良尓 / 奈仁曽許能兒乃 / 已許太可奈之伎
tama KApa-ni / saras-u te-N-tukur-i / sara-sara n-i / nani sö kö-nö KÔ-nö / kököNta kanasi-kî
PN river-LOC / bleach-ATTR hand-GEN-make-NML / more-more DV-INF / what KPT this-GEN girl-GEN / greatly adorable-ATTR
like the hand-woven fabrics bleaching in the Tama river—why does this girl seem more and more to me to be very attractive?

14:3374 – (Musashi, 2 of 9+1)
武蔵野尓 / 宇良敞可多也伎 / 麻左弖尓毛 / 乃良奴伎美我名 / 宇良尓(イ弖)尓家里
muSASI NÔ-ni / urapê kata yak-î / masaNte n-i mô / nör-an-u kîmî-Nka NA / ura-ni [i]Nte-n-i-kêr-i
PN moor-LOC / divine(INF) shoulder burn-NML / certainly DV-INF PT / tell-NEG-ATTR lord\you-POSS name / divination-LOC emerge(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
burning a deer shoulder for fortunetelling on Musashi Plain—although the answer is certain, when your name was not told to me, I left the fortunetelling.

14:3375 – (Musashi, 3 of 9+1) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
武蔵野乃 / 乎具奇我吉藝志 / 多知和可礼 / 伊尓之与比欲利 / 世呂尓安波奈布与
muSASI NÔ-nö / woN-kukï-Nka kîNkîsi / tat-i-wakare / in-i-si yöpî-yôri / se-rö-n(i a)p-anap-u yö
PN moor-GEN / DIM-cave-POSS pheasant / rise-INF-separate(INF) / leave-INF-PAST(ATTR) evening-ABL / lover-EDIM-DAT meet-ENEG-FIN PT
like the pheasants of the small caves on Musashi Plain, we up and part ways—and since that evening when he left, I have not once met my beloved.

14:3376a – (Musashi, 4a of 9+1) (woman's poem)
古非思家波 / 素弖毛布良武乎 / 牟射志野乃 / 宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尓豆奈由米
kôpïsi-kê-Npa / sôNte mô pur-am-u-wo / muNsasi NÔ-nö / ukêra-Nka pana-nö / irö-ni [i]Nt-una yumë
longed.for-EV-CON / sleeves PT wave-TENT-ATTR-ACC / PN moor-GEN / *okera*-POSS blossoms-COMP / color-LOC emerge-NEGIMP certainly.not
because I love you, then even though I'll wave my sleeves (at our parting), I'll not show my feelings at all—just as the blossoms of *okera* on Musashi Plain do not reveal their colors.

14:3376b – (Musashi, 4b of 9+1) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
或本歌曰「伊可尓思弖 / 古非波可伊毛尓 / 武蔵野乃 / 宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尓(イ弖)受安良牟」
ika n-i s-i-te / kôpï-Npa ka i<u>mô-ni</u> / muSASI NÔ-nö / ukêra-Nka pana-nö / irö-ni [i]Nte-Ns-(u a)r-am-u
how DV-INF do-INF-SUB / love-COND KPT darling-DAT / PN moor-GEN / *okera*-POSS blossoms-COMP / color-LOC emerge-NEG-INF3 exist-TENT-ATTR
how shall I love her, if she doesn't show her feelings—just as the blossoms of *okera* on Musashi Plain have not revealed their colors?

14:3377 – (Musashi, 5 of 9+1)
武蔵野乃 / 久佐波母呂武吉 / 可毛可久母 / 伎美我麻尓末尓 / 吾者余利尓思乎
muSASI NÔ-nö / kusa pa mörö muk-î / ka mô kaku mö / kîmî-Nka manimani / A PA yör-i-n-i-si-wo
PN moor-GEN / grass TOP many turn-INF / that PT thus PT / lord\you-POSS as / I TOP approach-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC
like the grasses on Musashi Plain that blow this way and that—since I've followed you here and there as you list…

14:3378 – (Musashi, 6 of 9+1)
伊利麻治能 / 於保屋我波良能 / 伊波為都良 / 比可婆奴流々々 / 和尓奈多要曽祢
irima-N-ti-nö / opoYA-Nka para-nö / ipawi tura / pîk-aNpa nur-u nur-u / wa-ni na taye-sö ne
PN-GEN-road-GEN / PN-POSS plain-GEN / UNCLEAR vine / pull-COND untangle-FIN untangle-FIN / I-DAT NEGIMP break(INF)-NEGDES PT
don't break up with me—like how the 'ipawi' vines on the plain of Opoya, along the road to Irima, will come untangled if they're pulled up.

14:3379 – (Musashi, 7 of 9+1)
和我世故乎 / 安杼可母伊波武 / 牟射志野乃 / 宇家良我波奈乃 / 登吉奈伎母能乎
wa-Nka se-kô-wo / aNtö kam<u>ö i</u>p-am-u / muNsasi NÔ-nö / ukêra-Nka pana-nö / tökî na-kî mönö-wo
I-POSS man-DIM-ACC / {what} KPT say-TENT-ATTR / PN moor-GEN / *okera*-POSS blossoms-COMP / time not.exist-ATTR thing-ACC

what should I call my beloved? I will call him a thing which is as timeless as the blossoms of the *okera* herb upon Musashi Plain.

14:3380 – (Musashi, 8 of 9+1) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
佐吉多萬能 / 津尓乎流布祢乃 / 可是乎伊多美 / 都奈波多由登毛 / 許登奈多延曽祢
sakîtama-nö / TU-ni wor-u pune-nö / kaNse-w(o i)ta-mî / tuna pa tay-u tö mô / kötö na taye-sö ne
PN-GEN / harbor-LOC be.at-ATTR boat-GEN / wind-ACC painful-GER / rope TOP break-FIN DV PT / words NEGIMP break(INF)-NEGDES PT
although our boat, staying in the harbor of Sakitama, is battered by the wind—even if the lines should break, don't you break your word.

14:3381 – (Musashi, 9 of 9+1)
奈都蕪妣久 / 宇奈比乎左之弖 / 等夫登利乃 / 伊多良武等曽与 / 阿我之多波倍思
natu sô-N-pîk-u / unapî-wo sas-i-te / töNp-u töri-nö / itar-am-u tö sö yö / a-Nka sita papë-si
summer hemp-GEN-pull-ATTR / PN-ACC face.towards-INF-SUB / fly-ATTR bird-COMP / arrive-TENT-FIN DV KPT PT / I-POSS below contemplate(INF)-PAST(ATTR)
like the birds that fly towards 'sumer hemp-pulling' Unapi—I think in secret that I will reach you.

Sōmonka from Kamitsufusa Province

14:3382 – (Kamitsufusa, 2 of 3)
宇麻具多能 / 祢呂乃佐左葉能 / 都由思母能 / 奴礼弖和伎奈婆 / 汝者故布婆曽毛
umaNkuta-nö / ne-rö-nö sasa-PA-nö / tuyu simö-nö / nure-te wa k-î-n-aNpa / NA PA kôp-u-Npa sö-mô
PN-GEN / peak-EDIM-GEN bamboo.grass-leaves-GEN / dew frost-GEN / be.wet(INF)-SUB I come-INF-PERF-COND / you TOP love-{EV}-CON UNCLEAR-UNCLEAR
if I come, (with my clothes) dampened by dew and frost from the leaves of the bamboo grass on the peaks of Umaguta, will you love me, or not?

14:3383 – (Kamitsufusa, 3 of 3)
宇麻具多能 / 祢呂尓可久里為 / 可久太尓毛 / 久尓乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟
umaNkuta-nö / ne-rö-ni kakur-i-wi / kaku Ntani mô / kuni-nö töpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MË por-i-se-m-u
PN-GEN / peak-EDIM-LOC hide-INF-be.at(NML) / thus PT PT / province-GEN distant-{EV}-CON / you-POSS eyes desire-INF-do-TENT-FIN
as though (you are) hiding up in the hills of Umaguta—since it is so far to the province (of my home), I hope to see your face (i.e., to meet with you).

Sōmonka from Shimotsufusa Province

14:3384 – (Shimotsufusa, 2 of 5)
可都思加能 / 麻末能手兒奈乎 / 麻許登可聞 / 和礼尓余須等布 / 麻末乃弖胡奈乎
kaNtusika-nö / mama-nö TEKÔ-na-wo / ma-kötö kamo / ware-ni yös-u tö [i]p-u / mama-nö tekô-na-wo
PN-GEN / PN-GEN {maiden}-EDIM-ACC / INT-words KPT / I-DAT have.relations-ATTR DV say-FIN / PN-GEN {maiden}-EDIM-ACC
people say I really have a relationship with a pretty girl of Mama in Kadzushika… with a pretty girl of Mama in Kadzushika…

14:3385 – (Shimotsufusa, 3 of 5)
可豆思賀能 / 麻萬能手兒奈我 / 安里之可婆 / 麻末乃於須比尓 / 奈美毛登杼呂尓
kaNtusika-nö / mama-nö TEKÔ-na-Nka / ar-i-sika-Npa / mama-nö osu pî-ni / namî mô töNtörö n-i
PN-GEN / PN-GEN maiden-EDIM-POSS / exist-INF-PAST(EV)-CON / PN-GEN {boulder} {shore}-LOC / waves PT booming DV-INF
because I have a pretty girl in Mama of Kadzushika—the waves are rumbling on the rocky coast of Mama.

14:3386 – (Shimotsufusa, 4 of 5)
尓保杼里能 / 可豆思加和世乎 / 尓倍須登毛 / 曽能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尓多弖米也母
nipo-N-töri-nö / kaNtusika wase-wo / nipë s-u tö mô / sö-nö kanasi-kî-wo / tô-ni tate-m-ë ya mö
grebe-DV-bird-GEN / PN early.rice-ACC / grain.offering do-FIN DV PT / that-GEN adorable-ATTR-ACC / outside-LOC make.stand-TENT-EV KPT PT
although they say she is making an offering of some new rice from ‘grebe’ Kadzushika—the one who is adorable to me, will she be put outside (during the ritual, tonight)?

14:3387 – (Shimotsufusa, 5 of 5) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
安能於登世受 / 由可牟古馬母我 / 可豆思加乃 / 麻末乃都藝波思 / 夜麻受可欲波牟
a-n(ö o)tö se-Ns-u / yuk-am-u kô-[u]MA möNka / kaNtusika-nö / mama-nö tuNk-î pasi / yam-aNs-u kayôp-am-u
foot-GEN sound do-NEG-INF2 / go-TENT-ATTR DIM-horse PT / PN-GEN / PN-GEN continue-NML bridge / stop-NEG-INF2 come.and.go-TENT-FIN
I wish I had a horse that would go, without making any sounds of hoof-beat—then over the footbridge of Mama in Kadzushika I would come and go (to my darling’s home) without (ever) stopping.

Sōmonka from Hitachi Province

14:3388 – (Hitachi, 3 of 12+0.2)
筑波祢乃 / 祢呂尓可須美為 / 須宜可提尓 / 伊伎豆久伎美乎 / 為祢弖夜良佐祢
TUKUpa ne-nö / ne-rö-ni kasumî wi / suNkï-kate-n-i / ikî-N-tuk-u kîmî-wo / wi-ne-te yar-as-ane

PN peak-GEN / peak-EDIM-LOC mist be.at(INF) / pass(INF)-be.able-NEG-INF3 / breath-GEN-breathe-ATTR lord\you-ACC / bring(INF)-sleep(INF)-SUB make.go-HON-DES
among the peaks of Mt. Tukupa there is standing mist, and I am unable to get through—I want someone to send my lord, who sighs (for longing), to lead me to his bed.

14:3389 – (Hitachi, 4 of 12+0.2)
伊毛我可度 / 伊夜等保曽吉奴 / 都久波夜麻 / 可久礼奴保刀尓 / 蕪提婆布利弖奈
imô-Nka kaNtô / iya töpo sök-î-n-u / tukupa yama / kakure-n-u poNtô-ni / sôNte pa pur-i-te-na
darling-POSS gate / extremely distant be.distant-INF-PERF-FIN / PN mountain / hide-NEG-ATTR while-LOC / sleeves TOP wave-INF-PERF-DES
I am so very far away from the gate of my darling's (home)—yet so long as it is not hid on Mt. Tukupa, I want to wave (to her) with my sleeves.

14:3390 – (Hitachi, 5 of 12+0.2)
筑波祢尓 / 可加奈久和之能 / 祢乃未乎可 / 奈伎和多里南牟 / 安布登波奈思尓
TUKUpa ne-ni / kaka nak-u wasi-nö / ne nömï wo ka / nak-î-watar-i-n-am-u / ap-u tö pa na-si-ni
PN peak-LOC / ONO cry-ATTR eagle-COMP / voice PT PT KPT / cry-INF-cross-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR / meet-FIN DV PT not.exist-FIN LOC
like the eagles that cry 'ka— ka—' over the peaks of Tukupa, shall I cross (over the mountains) just crying aloud (lit., 'with only my voice'), and have no meeting with her?

14:3391 – (Hitachi, 6 of 12+0.2)
筑波祢尓 / 曽我比尓美由流 / 安之保夜麻 / 安志可流登我毛 / 左祢見延奈久尓
TUKUpa ne-ni / söNkapî-ni mî-y-uru / asipo yama / asi-k[u]-ar-u töNka mô / sane MÎ-ye-n-aku n-i
PN peak-LOC / facing.backwards-LOC see-PASS-ATTR / PN mountain / hateable-INF-exist-ATTR fault PT / certainly see-PASS-NEG-NML DV-INF
Mt. Asipo, which I can see over my back from Mt. Tukupa, certainly does not appear to have any awful faults.

14:3392 – (Hitachi, 7 of 12+0.2) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
筑波祢乃 / 伊波毛等杼呂尓 / 於都流美豆 / 代尓毛多由良尓 / 和我於毛波奈久尓
TUKUpa ne-nö / ipa mô töNtörö n-i / ot-uru mîNtu / YÖ-ni mô tayura n-i / wa-Nk(a o)môp-an-aku n-i
PN peak-GEN / rock PT booming DV-INF / fall-ATTR water / world-LOC PT shake DV-INF / I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF
like the water that falls thunderously amid the rocks of the peaks of Mt. Tukupa—I do not think I'll ever waver in my love.

14:3393 – (Hitachi, 8 of 12+0.2) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
筑波祢乃 / 乎弖毛許能母尓 / 毛利敞須恵 / 波播已毛礼杼母 / 多麻曽阿比尓家留

TUKUpa ne-nö / wote [o]mô kö-nö [o]mö-ni / môr-i-N-pê suwe / papa i-môr-e-Ntö mö / tama s(ö a)p-î-n-i-kêr-u
PN peak-GEN / there face this-GEN face-LOC / guard-NML-GEN-group leave(INF) / mother PREF-guard-EV-CONC PT / spirit KPT meet-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR
although my mother watches over this place—like watchmen dispatched to the mountains, who look this way and that among the peaks of Mt. Tukupa—(yet my lover and I) have met in spirit.

14:3394 – (Hitachi, 9 of 12+0.2) (line 4 apparent extra character)
左其呂毛能 / 乎豆久波祢呂能 / 夜麻乃佐吉 / 和須良延許婆古曽 / 那乎可家奈波賣
sa-N-körömô-nö / woN-tukupa ne-rö-nö / yama-nö sakî / wasura-kö-Npa kôsö / na-wo kakê-nap-am-ê
fifth-GEN-robes-COMP / DIM-PN peak-EDIM-GEN / mountain-GEN prominence / {forget}(INF)-come-COND KPT / name\you-ACC call.out-ENEG-TENT-EV
to the mountainous prominence of the smaller (female) peak of Mt. Tukupa ‘of the fifth-month-robes’: if you forget to come, I will not call your.name/you!

14:3395 – (Hitachi, 10 of 12+0.2) (line 4 apparent extra character)
乎豆久波乃 / 祢呂尓都久多思 / 安比太欲波 / 佐波太尓奈利努乎 / 萬多祢天武可聞
woN-tukupa-nö / ne-rö-ni tuku tas-i / apîNta yô pa / sapaNta nar-i-n-ô-wo / mata ne-te-m-u kamo
DIM-PN-GEN / peak-EDIM-LOC {moon} {rise}-INF / interval night TOP / many become-INF-PERF-VEATTR-ACC / again sleep(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR KPT
the moon rises on the smaller peak of Mt. Tukupa—as the nights in between have become many, I wonder if I shall sleep (with her) again…

14:3396 – (Hitachi, 11 of 12+0.2)
乎都久波乃 / 之氣吉許能麻欲 / 多都登利能 / 目由可汝乎見牟 / 左祢射良奈久尓
woN-tukupa-nö / siNkë-kî kö-nö ma-yô / tat-u töri-nö / MË-yu ka NA-wo MÎ-m-u / sa-ne-Ns-[u]-ar-an-aku n-i
DIM-PN-GEN / lush-ATTR tree-GEN space-ABL / rise-ATTR birds-COMP / eye-ABL KPT you-ACC see-TENT-ATTR / PREF-sleep-NEG-INF-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF
like birds that fly up from among the verdant trees on Mt. Tukupa—shall I merely see you with my eyes… will we not not sleep together?

14:3397 – (Hitachi, 12 of 12+0.2)
比多知奈流 / 奈左可能宇美乃 / 多麻毛許曽 / 比氣波多延須礼 / 阿杼可多延世武
pîtati n-ar-u / nasaka-nö umî-nö / tama mô kösö / pîk-ë-Npa taye-s-ure / aNtö ka taye-se-m-u
PN LOC-exist-ATTR / PN-GEN sea-GEN / jade seaweed KPT / pull-EV-CON break(INF)-CAUS-EV / {what} KPT break(INF)-CAUS-TENT-ATTR
were I to pluck the very jade-seaweed of the sea by Nasaka in Hitachi, it would fall apart (in my hands)—(but) why should we break up like that?

Sōmonka from Shinano Province

14:3398 – (Shinano, 2 of 5)
比等未奈乃 / 許等波多由登毛 / 波尓思奈能 / 伊思井乃手兒我 / 許登奈多延曽祢
pîtö mïna-nö / kötö pa tay-u tö mô / panisina-nö / isiWI-nö TEKÔ-Nka / kötö na taye-sö ne
people all-GEN / words TOP break-FIN DV PT / PN-GEN / PN-GEN maiden-POSS / words NEGIMP break-NEGDES PT
talk of every person will (eventually) cease—nonetheless, do not stop talking about the lovely maiden of Ishiwi in Panishina!

14:3399 – (Shinano, 3 of 5) (line 4 apparent mistake in character order)
信濃道者 / 伊麻能波里美知 / 可里婆祢尓 / 安思布麻之牟奈 / 久都波氣和我世
SINANO-N-TI PA / ima-nö par-i mîti / kar-i-N-pane-ni / asi pum-as-i-n-am-u / kutu pak-ë wa-Nka se
PN-GEN-road TOP / now-GEN reclaim.land-NML road / chop.down-NML-GEN-stump-LOC / foot step-HON-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN / shoes put.on-IMP I-POSS lover
put on those shoes, my lover—(for) you probably will step on the left-over tree stumps, on the newly-made road of Shinano.

14:3400 – (Shinano, 4 of 5)
信濃奈流 / 知具麻能河泊能 / 左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美弖婆 / 多麻等比呂波牟
SINANO n-ar-u / tiNkuma-nö KApa-nö / saNsare [i]si mö / kîmî si pum-î-te-Npa / tama tö pîröp-am-u
PN LOC-exist-ATTR / PN-GEN river-GEN / fine stones PT / lord\you PT step-INF-PERF-COND / jade DV pick.up-TENT-FIN
if you should step on the fine stones of the Chiguma river in Shinano, I will pick them up, thinking they (have become) jewels.

14:3401 – (Shinano, 5 of 5) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
中麻奈尓 / 宇伎乎流布祢能 / 許藝弖奈婆 / 安布許等可多思 / 家布尓思安良受波
NAKAmana-ni / uk-î-wor-u pune-nö / köNk-î-[i]Nte-n-aNpa / ap-u kötö kata-si / kêpu-ni s(i a)r-aNs-u pa
PN-LOC / float-INF-be.at-ATTR boat-GEN / row-INF-emerge(INF)-PERF-COND / meet-ATTR matter difficult-FIN / today-LOC PT exist-NEG-FIN TOP
should the boat that is floating in Nakamana row out, it will be difficult for us to meet (for I must leave)—if it is not today.

Sōmonka from Kamitsukeno Province

14:3402 – (Kamitsukeno, 1 of 25+1)
比能具礼尓 / 宇須比乃夜麻乎 / 古由流日波 / 勢奈能我素(イ弖)母 / 佐夜尓布良思都

pî-nö Nkure-ni / usupî-nö yama-wo / kôy-uru PÎ pa / se-na-nö-Nka sôNte mö / saya n-i pur-as-i-t-u
sun-GEN darken(NML)-LOC / PN-GEN mountain-ACC / get.past-ATTR sun TOP / lover-EDIM-DIM-POSS sleeves PT / clearly DV-INF wave-HON-INF-PERF-FIN
as the sun at sunset was setting below Mt. Usupi, my dear lover was clearly waving his sleeves.

14:3403 – (Kamitsukeno, 2 of 25+1)
安我古非波 / 麻左香毛可奈思 / 久佐麻久良 / 多胡能伊利野乃 / 於父[27]母可奈思母
a-Nka kôpï pa / masaka mô kanasi / kusa makura / taNkô-nö ir-i NÔ-nö / oku mö kanasi mö
I-POSS love(NML) TOP / present PT sad(FIN) / grass pillow / PN-GEN enter-NML moor-GEN / center\future PT sad(FIN) PT
presently, my love is a sorrow—but sleeping under the stars, the center of the mountain-plain of Tago is also also sad (i.e., the future or end of my love will also be sorrowful).

14:3404 – (Kamitsukeno, 3 of 25+1)
可美都氣努 / 安蘂能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎 / 奴礼杼安加奴乎 / 安杼加安我世牟
kamîtukënô / asô-nö ma-sô mura / kak-î-muNtak-î / n-ure-Ntö ak-an-u-wo / aNtö ka a-Nka se-m-u
PN / PN-GEN INT-hemp group / move.with.hands-INF-embrace-NML / sleep-EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR-ACC / {what} KPT I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
like holding in both arms a (big) bundle of hemp from the fields of Aso in Kamitsukeno—since I am unsatisfied even though we (thus embracing,) slept together, what should I do?

14:3405a – (Kamitsukeno, 4a of 25+1) (man's poem)
可美都氣努 / 乎度能多杼里我 / 可波治尓毛 / 兒良波安波奈毛 / 比等理能未思弖
kamîtukënô / woNtô-nö taNtöri-Nka / KApa-N-ti-ni mô / KÔ-ra pa ap-ana-m-ô / pîtö-ri nömï s-i-te
PN / PN-GEN PN-POSS / river-GEN-road-LOC PT / girl-PLUR TOP meet-DES-TENT-VEATTR / one-CL PT do-INF-SUB
in Kamitsukeno, even on the river road of Tadori in Wodo, I want to encounter my girl—when she's all by herself.

14:3405b – (Kamitsukeno, 4b of 25+1) (woman's reply)
或本歌曰「可美都氣乃 / 乎野乃多杼里我 / 安波治尓母 / 世奈波安波奈母 / 美流比登奈思尓」
kamîtukënö / woNÔ-nö taNtöri-Nka / apa-N-ti-ni mö / se-na pa ap-ana-m-ö / mî-ru pîtö na-si-ni
PN / PN-GEN PN-POSS / millet-GEN-road-LOC PT / lover-EDIM TOP meet-DES-TENT-VEATTR / see-ATTR person not.exist-FIN-LOC

[27] The character 父 is believed to be a mistake for 久.

in Kamitsukeno, even on the millet-path of Tadori in Wono, I want to encounter my beloved—since there's no one there to see us. ('apandi' may also be a place name, or a mistake for 'river-road')

14:3406 – (Kamitsukeno, 5 of 25+1) (headlined with character 弥, for mistake in line 5?)
可美都氣野 / 左野乃九久多知 / 乎里波夜志 / 安礼波麻多牟恵 / 許登之許受登母
kamîtukëNÔ / saNÔ-nö kuku tat-i / wor-i payasi / are pa mat-am-u we / kö tösi kö-Ns-u tö mö
or (5): kö tösi mî-Ns-u tö mö
PN / PN-GEN {stem} rise-NML / snap-INF prepare / I TOP wait-TENT-FIN PT / this year come-NEG-FIN DV PT
or (5): this year see-NEG-FIN DV PT
like waiting to pick and prepare the fresh turnips and leeks that grow in the fields of Sano in Kamitsukeno—I am waiting (for you), even though this year you do not come (or, … this year I do not see you).

14:3407 – (Kamitsukeno, 6 of 25+1)
可美都氣努 / 麻具波思麻度尓 / 安佐日左指 / 麻伎良波之母奈 / 安利都追見礼婆
kamîtukënô / ma-N-kupasi maNtô-ni / asa PÎ sas-i / maNkîrapasi mö na / ar-i-tutu MÎ-[u]re-Npa
PN / eye-LOC-beautiful(FIN) window-LOC / morning sun shine-NML / dazzling(FIN) PT PT / exist-INF-COOR see-EV-CON
as dazzling as when the morning sun shines into the beautiful windows of Kamitsukeno—(so it is) when I look at you while you are here.

14:3408 – (Kamitsukeno, 7 of 25+1)
尓比多夜麻 / 祢尓波都可奈那 / 和尓余曽利 / 波之奈流兒良師 / 安夜尓可奈思母
nipîta yama / ne-ni pa tuk-an-a-na / wa-ni yösör-i / pasi n-ar-u KÔ-ra si / aya n-i kanasi mö
PN mountain / peak-LOC TOP touch-NEG-{ATTR}-ELOC / I-DAT rumored.to.have.liaison-INF / adorable(FIN) DV-exist-ATTR girl-PLUR PT / extremely DV-INF adorable(FIN) PT
as Mt. Nipita does not touch the ridge of the mountains (i.e., it climbs above them), (so) the beloved girl, whom they say has a relationship with me, is extremely adorable (i.e., more so than other girls).

14:3409 – (Kamitsukeno, 8 of 25+1)
伊香保呂尓 / 安麻久母伊都藝 / 可奴麻豆久 / 比等登於多波布 / 伊射祢志米刀羅
ikapo-rö-ni / ama-kumö i-tuNk-î / kanumaNtuku / pîtö tö otapap-u / iNsa ne-simë tô-ra
PN-EDIM-LOC / heaven\rain-clouds PREF-continue-INF / UNCLEAR / person {KPT} UNCLEAR-ATTR? / 'well' sleep-CAUS(INF) {girl?}-PLUR
the heavenly clouds stretch out across the sky at Mt. Ikapo… (This poem is very unclear.)

14:3410 – (Kamitsukeno, 9 of 25+1)
伊香保呂能 / 蘇比乃波里波良 / 祢毛已呂尓 / 於久乎奈加祢曽 / 麻左可思余加婆

ikapo-rö-nö / sôpî-nö pari para / nemôkörö-ni / oku-wo na kane-sö / masaka si yö-k-aNpa
PN-EDIM-GEN / steep.slope-GEN birch plain / intimacy-LOC / future-ACC NEGIMP think.ahead(INF)-NEGDES / present PT good-ADTHG-COND
like the birchs standing on the steep slopes of Mt. Ikapo—don't worry about the future (of our relationship), if the present is good.

14:3411 – (Kamitsukeno, 10 of 25+1)
多胡能祢尓 / 与西都奈波倍弖 / 与湏礼騰毛 / 阿尓久夜斯豆之 / 曽能可把[28]与吉尓
takô-nö ne-ni / yöse tuna papë-te / yös-ure-Ntö mô / anikuyasiNtusi / sö-nö kapo yö-kî-ni
PN-GEN peak-LOC / approach(NML) rope stretch(INF)-SUB / have.relations-EV-CONC PT / UNCLEAR / that-GEN face good-ATTR-LOC
on the peak of Mt. Tako I have stretched out a rope to draw you in; although people say I have a relationship with you… (unclear)… since that face is beautiful…

14:3412 – (Kamitsukeno, 11 of 25+1)
賀美都家野 / 久路保乃祢呂乃 / 久受葉我多 / 可奈師家兒良尓 / 伊夜射可里久母
kamîtukêNÔ / kurôpo-nö ne-rö-nö / kuNsu-PA-N-kata / kanasi-kê KÔ-ra-ni / i-ya-N-sakar-i-[i]k-u mö
PN / PN-GEN peak-EDIM-GEN / kudzu-leaves-GEN-vine / adorable-AEATTR girl-PLUR-DAT / PREF-house-LOC-be.far.from-INF-go-FIN PT
like the vines of kudzu leaves on the peaks of Kuropo in Kamitsukeno (that stretch out far)—I am going away, far from my home and my adorable girl (or, 'children').

14:3413 – (Kamitsukeno, 12 of 25+1)
刀祢河泊乃 / 可波世毛思良受 / 多太和多里 / 奈美尓安布能湏 / 安敞流伎美可母
tône-N-KApa-nö / kapa-se mô sir-aNs-u / taNta watar-i / namî-ni ap-u-nösu / ap-êr-u kîmî kamö
PN-GEN-river-GEN / river-rapids PT know-NEG-FIN / direct cross-INF / waves-DAT meet-ATTR-ECOMP / meet-PROG-ATTR lord\you KPT
not knowing where are the rapids of the Tonè River, I go straight across—ah, my lord, whom I am meeting like meeting with the waves!

14:3414 – (Kamitsukeno, 13 of 25+1)
伊香保呂能 / 夜左可能為提尓 / 多都努自能 / 安良波路萬代母 / 佐祢乎佐祢弖婆
ikapo-rö-nö / yasaka-nö wiNte-ni / tat-u nôNsi-nö / arapar-ô-maNte mö / sa-ne-wo sa-ne-te-Npa
PN-EDIM-GEN / PN-GEN dam-LOC / rise-ATTR {rainbow}-GEN / appear-VEATTR-TERM PT / PREF-sleep(NML)-ACC PREF-sleep(INF)-PERF-COND
if I had slept a sleep, with you, until appears the rainbow that rises at the dam of Yasaka of Ikapo…

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[28] Various manuscripts have different characters here, but the consensus of modern scholarship is that 把 is a typographical variant for 抱.

14:3415 – (Kamitsukeno, 14 of 25+1)
可美都氣努 / 伊可保乃奴麻尓 / 宇恵古奈伎 / 可久古非牟等夜 / 多祢物得米家武
kamîtukënô / ikapo-nö numa-ni / uwe kô-na-N-kî / kaku kôpï-m-u tö ya / tane motömë-k(y-e)m-u
PN / PN-GEN swamp-LOC / sow(NML) DIM-water-GEN-leeks / thus love-TENT-FIN DV KPT / seed search.for(INF)-PAST-TENT-ATTR
like the water-leeks that are planted in the wetlands of Ikapo in Kamitsukeno—were we looking for seeds (when) we loved thus?

14:3416 – (Kamitsukeno, 15 of 25+1)
可美都氣努 / 可保夜我奴麻能 / 伊波為都良 / 比可波奴礼都追 / 安乎奈多要曽祢
kamîtukënô / kapoya-Nka numa-nö / ipawi tura / pîk-aNpa nure-tutu / a-wo na taye-sö ne
PN / PN-POSS swamp-GEN / UNCLEAR vine / pull-COND untangle(INF)-COOR / I-ACC NEGIMP break(INF)-NEGDES PT
don't break up with me!—even as the '*ipawi*' vines from the wetlands of Kapoya in Kamitsukeno will come untangled if they're pulled up.

14:3417 – (Kamitsukeno, 16 of 25+1) (柿本朝臣人麿歌集出也)
可美都氣努 / 伊奈良能奴麻乃 / 於保為具左 / 与曽尓見之欲波 / 伊麻許曽麻左礼
kamîtukënô / inara-nö numa-nö / opo-wiNkusa / yö-sö-ni MÎ-si-yô pa / ima kösö mas-ar-e
PN / PN-GEN swamp-GEN / great-rush / other-place-LOC see(INF)-PAST(ATTR(NML))-ABL TOP / now KPT be.superior-EPROG-EV
like the great rushes in the swamp of Inara in Kamitsukeno, now is even better than the time when I looked (at you) from another place (i.e., when we weren't having relations).

14:3418 – (Kamitsukeno, 17 of 25+1) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
可美都氣奴 / 佐野田能奈倍能 / 武良奈倍尓 / 許登波佐太米都 / 伊麻波伊可尓世母
kamîtukënô / saNÔ-TA-nö napë-nö / mura-napë-ni / kötö pa saNtamë-t-u / ima p(a i)ka n-i se-m-ö
PN / PN-field-GEN seedling-GEN / fortunetelling-seedling-DAT / matter TOP determine(INF)-PERF-FIN / now TOP how DV-INF do-TENT-VEATTR
at the fortunetelling with seedlings from the fields in Sano of Kamitsukeno, the issue (of who will marry who) has been decided—whatever shall I do now?

14:3419 – (Kamitsukeno, 18 of 25+1)
伊可保世欲 / 奈可中次下 / 於毛比度路 / 久麻許曽之都等 / 和須礼西奈布母
ikapo seyô / na-Nka nak-as-i-si mo / omôp-î-Ntôro / kuma kösö s-i-tutö / wasure-se-nap-u mö
PN UNCLEAR / UNCLEAR / think-INF-UNCLEAR / UNCLEAR / forget(INF)-do-ENEG-FIN PT
(This poem is unintelligible to me.)

14:3420 – (Kamitsukeno, 19 of 25+1)
可美都氣努 / 佐野乃布奈波之 / 登里波奈之 / 於也波左久礼騰 / 和波左可流賀倍

kamîtukënô / saNÔ-nö puna-pasi / tör-i-panas-i / oya pa sak-ure-Ntö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapë
PN / PN-GEN boat-bridge / take-INF-separate-NML / parents TOP {let.go}-EV-CONC / I TOP be.far.from-ATTR {PT}
like how the pontoon (lit., boat) bridge of Sano in Kamitsukeno is pulled apart—although (our) parents keep us apart, will I stay away (from you)?—(no, I will not.)

14:3421 – (Kamitsukeno, 20 of 25+1)
伊香保祢尓 / 可未奈那里曽祢 / 和我倍尓波 / 由恵波奈家杼母 / 兒良尓与里弖曽
ikapo ne-ni / kamï na nar-i-sö ne / wa-Nka [u]pë-ni pa / yuwe pa na-kê-Ntö mö / KÔ-ra-ni yör-i-te sö
PN peak-LOC / thunder NEGIMP make.sound-INF-NEGDES PT / I-POSS above-LOC TOP / reason TOP not.exist-EV-CONC PT / girl-PLUR-DAT approach-INF-SUB KPT
thunder on the peak of Ikapo!—don't rumble!—it is not for me, but for my girl (or, 'children').

14:3422 – (Kamitsukeno, 21 of 25+1) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
伊可保可是 / 布久日布加奴日 / 安里登伊倍杼 / 安我古非能未思 / 等伎奈可里家利
ikapo kaNse / puk-u PÎ puk-an-u PÎ / ar-i t(ö i)p-ë-Ntö / a-Nka kôpï nömï si / tökî na-k[u]-ar-i-kêr-i
PN wind / blow-ATTR day blow-NEG-ATTR day / exist-FIN DV say-EV-CONC / I-POSS love(NML) PT PT / time not.exist-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN
you say there are days when the winds of Ikapo blow, and days when they blow not—but (unlike those winds) my love only will never stop!

14:3423 – (Kamitsukeno, 22 of 25+1) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
可美都氣努 / 伊可抱乃祢呂尓 / 布路与伎能 / 遊吉湏宜可提奴 / 伊毛賀伊敞乃安多里
kamîtukënô / ikapo-nö ne-rö-ni / pur-ô yökî-nö / yuk-î-suNkï-kate-n-u / imô-Nk(a i)pê-n(ö a)tari
PN / PN-GEN peak-EDIM-LOC / fall-VEATTR {snow}-COMP\GEN / go-INF-pass(INF)-be.able-NEG-ATTR / darling-POSS home-GEN environs
like the falling snow, that cannot get pass the peak of Ikapo in Kamitsukeno—so is the vicinity of the home of my darling, which I cannot go past.

Sōmonka from Shimotsukeno Province

14:3424 – (Shimotsukeno, 1 of 2)
之母都家野 / 美可母乃夜麻能 / 許奈良能湏 / 麻具波思兒呂波 / 多賀家可母多牟
simötukêNÔ / mîkamö-nö yama-nö / kö-nara-nösu / ma-N-kupasi KÔ-rö pa / ta-Nka kê ka möt-am-u
PN / PN-GEN mountain-GEN / DIM-oak-ECOMP / eye-LOC-beautiful(FIN) girl-EDIM TOP / who-POSS ricebowl KPT hold-TENT-ATTR

like the little oaks on the mountain of Mikamo in Shimotsukeno—such is this beautiful girl… but who's (rice)bowl does she have (i.e., who will she marry)?

14:3425 – (Shimotsukeno, 2 of 2) (line 3 apparent extra character)
志母都家努 / 安素乃河泊良欲 / 伊之布麻努受 / 蘰良由登伎奴与 / 奈我已許呂能礼
simötukênô / asô-nö KApa-[pa]ra-yô / isi pum-aNs-u / sôra-yu tö k-î-n-u yö / na-Nka kökörö nör-e
PN / PN-GEN river-plain-ABL / stone step-NEG-FIN / sky-ABL {KPT} come-INF-PERF-FIN PT / you-POSS heart tell-IMP
from the riverbank of Aso in Shimotsukeno, (I dreamt that) without even touching the stones (by the riverside), you came (flying) through the sky! Let me know your feelings!

Sōmonka from Michinoku Province

14:3426 – (Michinoku, 1 of 4)
安比豆祢能 / 久尓乎佐杼抱美 / 安波奈波婆 / 斯努比尓勢毛等 / 比毛牟須婆佐祢
apîNtu ne-nö / kuni-wo sa-Ntöpo-mî / ap-anap-aNpa / sinôp-î n-i se-m-ô tö / pîmô musuNp-as-ane
PN peak-GEN / land-ACC PREF-far-GER / meet-ENEG-COND / long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-VEATTR DV / cords tie-HON-DES
if we still do not meet because the land of the peaks of Apindu (where I am travelling) is far, then I think you should wait for me, longingly—and I want you to keep the sash of your robes tied!

14:3427 – (Michinoku, 2 of 4)
筑紫奈留 / 尓抱布兒由恵尓 / 美知能久乃 / 可刀利乎登女乃 / 由比思比毛等久
TUKUsi n-ar-u / nipop-u KÔ yuwe-ni / mîtinöku-nö / katôri wotöMÊ-nö / yup-î-si pîmô tök-u
PN LOC-exist-ATTR / be.splendid-ATTR girl reason-LOC / PN-GEN / PN virgin-GEN / bind-INF-PAST(ATTR) cords undo-FIN
for the beautiful girl in Tukushi, I'll untie the sash that's tied around the virgin of Katori in Michinoku.

14:3428 – (Michinoku, 3 of 4)
安太多良乃 / 祢尓布須思之能 / 安里都々毛 / 安礼波伊多良牟 / 祢度奈佐利曽祢
aNtatara-nö / ne-ni pus-u sisi-nö / ar-i-tutu mô / are pa itar-am-u / ne-N-tô na sar-i-sö ne
PN-GEN / peak-LOC lie.down-ATTR game.animals-COMP / exist-INF-COOR PT / I TOP arrive-TENT-ATTR / sleep(NML)-GEN-place NEGIMP leave-INF-NEGDES PT
like the game animals that lie on the peak of Adatara, but always in the same spot—so with you: (until) I get there, don't leave our bed!

Hiyuka from Tōtōmi Province

14:3429 – (Tōtōmi, 3 of 3) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
等保都安布美 / 伊奈佐保曽江乃 / 水乎都久思 / 安礼乎多能米弖 / 安佐麻之物能乎
töpot(ua)pumî / inasa posö-YE-nö / MÎ-wo-tu kusi / are-wo tanömë-te / asamasi MOnö-wo
{PN} / PN narrow-estuary-GEN / water-string-GENLOC skewer / I-ACC trust(INF)-SUB / UNCLEAR thing-ACC
like (trusting) the way-marking buoys on the inlet of Inasa (into lake Hamanako) in Tōtōmi—trusting me…

Hiyuka from Suruga Province

14:3430 – (Suruga, 6 of 6+2.1) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
斯太能宇良乎 / 阿佐許求布祢波 / 与志奈之尓 / 許求良米可母与 / 余志許佐流良米
siNta-n(ö u)ra-wo / asa köNk-u pune pa / yösi na-si-ni / köNk-uram-ë kamö yö / yösi kös[ö] ar-uram-ë
PN-GEN bay-ACC / morning row-ATTR boat TOP / reason not.exist-FIN-LOC / row-TENT-EV KPT PT / reason KPT exist-TENT-EV
as for the boat rowing in the morning through the bay of Shida, does it row out for no reason?—(no), there *must* be a reason (why I should come out to see you).

Hiyuka from Sagamu Province

14:3431 – (Sagamu, 13 of 15+1.3) (headlined with character 女, for mistake in line 4?)
阿之我里乃 / 安伎奈乃夜麻尓 / 比古布祢乃 / 斯利比可志母與 / 許己波故賀多尓
asiNkari-nö / akîna-nö yama-ni / pîk-ô pune-nö / siri pîk-asi mö yö / kököNpa kô-Nka ta n-i
or (4): siri pîk-asi MÊ yö
or (5): kököNpa kô-Nkata n-i
PN-GEN / PN-GEN mountain-LOC / pull-VEATTR boat-COMP\GEN / behind pull-ADJ PT PT / extremely girl-POSS cause DV-INF
or (4): behind pull-ADJ woman PT
or (5): (extremely come-difficult DV-INF)
pulling the back of the boat which is pulled on Mt. Akina of Ashigara—this is really for my girl.

14:3432 – (Sagamu, 14 of 15+1.3)
阿之賀利乃 / 和乎可鷄夜麻能 / 可頭乃木能 / 和乎可豆佐祢母 / 可豆佐可受等母
asiNkari-nö / wawokakê yama-nö / kaNtu-nö KÏ-nö / wa-wo kaNtus-ane mö / kaNtu sak-aNs-u tö mö
PN-GEN / PN mountain-GEN / {mulberry}-GEN tree-COMP / I-ACC entice-DES PT / {mulberry} tear-NEG-FIN DV PT

like the mulberry trees on the mountain of Wawokake in Ashigari, though I'd like you to entice me (to be your wife), don't break the mulberry tree. (A pun on 'kaNtu'.)

14:3433 – (Sagamu, 15 of 15+1.3) (lines 4 and 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
多伎木許流 / 可麻久良夜麻能 / 許太流木乎 / 麻都等奈我伊波婆 / 古非都追夜安良牟
tak-î-N-KÏ kör-u / kamakura yama-nö / köNtar-u KÏ-wo / matu tö na-Nk(a i)p-aNpa / kôpï-tutu y(a a)r-am-u
burn-NML-GEN-tree chop-ATTR / PN mountain-GEN / grow-ATTR tree-ACC / pine DV you-POSS say-COND / love(INF)-COOR KPT exist-TENT-ATTR
if you say that the trees growing thickly in the mountains of 'kindling-harvest' Kamakura are 'pines', does that mean that you love me (because you are 'waiting' for me)?

Hiyuka from Kamitsukeno Province

14:3434 – (Kamitsukeno, 23 of 25+1)
可美都家野 / 安蘇夜麻都豆良 / 野乎比呂美 / 波比尓思物能乎 / 安是加多延世武
kamîtukêNÔ / asô yama tuNtura / NÔ-wo pîrö-mî / pap-î-n-i-si MOnö-wo / aNse ka taye-se-m-u
PN / PN mountain kudzu / moor-ACC wide-GER / stretch-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR) thing-ACC / {why} KPT break-CAUS-TENT-FIN
like the kudzu vines of Mt. Aso in Kamitsukeno that can stretch out far because the plain is so wide, (so will our love extend)—(then) why might you make us break apart?

14:3435 – (Kamitsukeno, 24 of 25+1) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis; headlined with character 女, for mistake in line 4?)
伊可保呂乃 / 蘇比乃波里波良 / 和我吉奴尓 / 都伎与良之母与 / 比多敞登於毛敞婆
ikapo-rö-nö / sôpî-nö pari para / wa-Nka kînu-ni / tuk-î-yör-asi mö yö / pita-pê t(ö o)môp-ë-Npa
or (4): tuk-î-yör-asi MÊ yö
PN-EDIM-GEN / steep.slope-GEN birch plain / I-POSS robes-LOC / attach-INF-approach-ADJ PT PT / {one}-CL DV think-EV-CON
or (4): attach-INF-approach-ADJ woman\darling PT
even though the (colors of the) birchs standing on the steep slopes of Mt. Ikapo are in my robes—since I thought it was one layer… (very unclear)

14:3436 – (Kamitsukeno, 25 of 25+1)
志良登保布 / 乎尓比多夜麻乃 / 毛流夜麻乃 / 宇良賀礼勢奈那 / 登許波尓毛我母
siratöpopu / woN-nipîta yama-nö / môr-u yama-nö / ura-N-kare-se-n-a-na / tökö-pa n-i môNkamö
MK / DIM-PN mountain-GEN / guard-ATTR mountain-GEN / tip-GEN-wither(INF)-do-NEG-{ATTR}-ELOC / constant-leaves DV-INF PT

when the (leaves) do not whither (on the trees) of the guarded mountain that is ‘siratopopu’ Mt. Nipita, (then) I wish I had some ever-green leaves (i.e., something constant to hold on to; perhaps the poet means a lover; or, perhaps, life itself).

Hiyuka from Michinoku Province

14:3437 – (Michinoku, 4 of 4) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
美知乃久能 / 安太多良末由美 / 波自伎於伎弖 / 西良思馬伎那婆 / 都良波可馬可毛
mîtinöku-nö / aNtatara ma-yumî / paNsik-(î-o)k-î-te / ser-asimê-[o]k-î-n-aNpa / tura pak-am-ê kamô
PN-GEN / PN INT-bow / pluck-INF-leave.behind-INF-SUB / {deviate}-CAUS(INF)-leave.behind-INF-PERF-COND / string string-TENT-EVD KPT
like taking off the string from my bow made of wood from Adatara in Michinoku—if I leave it warped like that, should I put the string back on?—(no, it’s hard to bend the two ends together again, i.e., it’s hard to restart a relationship).

Zōka of Unkown Provenance

14:3438a – (Zōka, 1a of 17+0.5) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
都武賀野尓 / 湆受我於等伎許由 / 可牟思太能 / 等能乃奈可知師 / 登我里湆良思母
tumuNkaNÔ-ni / suNsu-Nk(a o)tö kîk-öy-u / kamu-siNta-nö / tönö-nö naka-ti si / töN-kar-i s-urasi mö
PN-LOC / bell-POSS sound hear-PASS-FIN / upper-PN-GEN / hall-GEN middle-child PT / bird-hunt-NML do-SUP PT
in Tumugano, I can hear the sound of bells—it seems that the middle child of some rich man is out falconing in Upper Shida.

14:3438b – (Zōka, 1b of 17+0.5, representing lines 1 and 4 (partial))
或本歌曰「美都我野尓」又曰「和久胡思」
mîtuNkaNÔ-ni \ waku-kô si
PN-LOC \ young-boy PT
in Mitugano \ a young boy…

14:3439 – (Zōka, 2 of 17+0.5)
湆受我祢乃 / 波由馬宇馬夜能 / 都追美井乃 / 美都乎多麻倍奈 / 伊毛我多太手欲
suNsu-Nka ne-nö / pay[a]-uMA uMA-ya-nö / tutumî WI-nö / mîNtu-wo tamapë-na / imô-Nka taNta TE-yô
bell-POSS sound-GEN / quick-horse horse-shed-COMP / embankment well-GEN / water-ACC receive(HUM)-DES / darling-POSS direct hand-ABL
like the relay horse stables with their sounds of bells, I would like to get some water from the well—but I would take it directly from my darling’s hands!

14:3440a – (Zōka, 3a of 17+0.5) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)

許乃河泊尓 / 安佐菜安良布兒 / 奈礼毛安礼毛 / 余知乎曽母弖流 / 伊(イ弖)兒多婆里尓
kö-nö KApa-ni / asa NA arap-u KÔ / nare m(ô a)re mô / yö-ti-wo sö möt-er-u / iNte KÔ taNpar-i-n-i
this-GEN river-LOC / morning herbs wash-ATTR girl / you PT I PT / same-child-ACC KPT hold-PROG-ATTR / 'well' girl receive(HUM)-INF-PERF-{IMP}
you woman washing vegetables in this river—you and I both have children of the same age—well, let me take your child.

14:3440b – (Zōka, 3b of 17+0.5, representing line 3) (apparent hypercatalexis)
一云「麻之毛安礼母」
masi m(ô a)re mö
you PT I PT
you and I both

14:3441a – (Zōka, 4a of 17+0.5)
麻等保久能 / 久毛為尓見由流 / 伊毛我敞尓 / 伊都可伊多良武 / 安由賣安我古麻
ma-töpo-ku-nö / kumô wi-n-i MÎ-y-uru / imô-Nka [i]pê-ni / itu ka itar-am-u / ayum-ê a-Nka kô-[u]ma
INT-distant-NML-GEN / clouds be.at(INF)-PERF-NML see-PASS-ATTR / darling-POSS home-LOC / when KPT arrive-TENT-ATTR / walk-IMP I-POSS DIM-horse
clouds I see, hanging in the distant sky over my darling's home—when will I arrive there? Walk onward, my little horse!

14:3441b – (Zōka, 4b of 17+0.5, representing lines 1 and 5)
柿本朝臣人麿歌集曰「等保久之弖」又曰「安由賣久路古麿」
töpo-ku s-i-te \ ayum-ê kuro kô-[u]ma
distant-INF do-INF-SUB \ walk-IMP black DIM-horse
being far away… \ walk onward, black horse!

14:3442 – (Zōka, 5 of 17+0.5)
安豆麻治乃 / 手兒乃欲妣左賀 / 古要我祢弖 / 夜麻尓可祢牟毛 / 夜杼里波奈之尓
aNtuma-N-ti-nö / TEKÔ-nö yôNp-î-saka / kôye-Nkane-te / yama-ni ka ne-m-u mô / yaNtör-i pa na-si-ni
PN-GEN-road-GEN / maiden-GEN UNCLEAR(call-NML-hill) / get.past(INF)-NEGPOT-SUB / mountain-LOC KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR PT / lodge-NML not.exist-FIN-LOC
I cannot get past 'maiden's yobisaka' ('Maiden-Calling Hill'?) on the road to Azuma—shall I sleep in the mountains, then, since there is no place to stay here?

14:3443 – (Zōka, 6 of 17+0.5) (headlined with character 豆, for mistake in line 5?)
宇良毛奈久 / 和我由久美知尓 / 安乎夜宜乃 / 波里弖多弖礼波 / 物能毛比弖都母
ura mô na-ku / wa-Nka yuk-u mîti-ni / awo yaNkï-nö / par-i-te tat-er-e-Npa / MOnö [o]môp-î-[i]Nte-t-u mö

or (5): MOnö [o]môp-î-tutu mö
feelings PT not.exist-INF / I-POSS go-ATTR road-LOC / green willow-GEN / bloom-INF-SUB rise-PROG-EV-CON / thing think-INF-emerge(INF)-PERF-FIN PT
or (5): thing think-INF-COOR PT
when I saw the green willow trees in full bud along the road I where I went without a care—suddenly then I thought of (you).

14:3444 – (Zōka, 7 of 17+0.5)
伎波都久乃 / 乎加能久君美良 / 和礼都賣杼 / 故尓毛乃多奈布 / 西奈等都麻佐祢
kîpatuku-nö / woka-nö kuku-mîra / ware tum-ê-Ntö / kô-ni mô nöt-anap-u / se-na-tö tum-as-ane
PN-GEN / hill-GEN {stem}-leek / I pluck-EV-CONC / basket-LOC PT {fill.up}-ENEG-FIN / lover-EDIM-COM pluck-CAUS-DES
although I pluck the stem-leeks on the hills of Kipatuku, the basket does not get full—I'd like to be able to pluck with my lover!

14:3445 – (Zōka, 8 of 17+0.5)
美奈刀能也 / 安之我奈可那流 / 多麻古須氣 / 可利已和我西古 / 等許乃敞太思尓
mîna-tô-nö ya / asi-Nka naka n-ar-u / tama kô-suNkë / kar-i kö wa-Nka se-kô / tökö-nö pêNtas-i n-i
water-door-GEN KPT / reed-POSS inside LOC-exist-ATTR / jade DIM-sedge / chop.down-INF come I-POSS lover-DIM / bed-GEN {partition}-INF DV-INF
go and cut the beautiful sedge grasses that grow among the reeds at the mouth of the river, my love, to make a screen for our bed.

14:3446 – (Zōka, 9 of 17+0.5)
伊毛奈呂我 / 都可布河泊豆乃 / 佐左良乎疑 / 安志等比等其等 / 加多理与良斯毛
imô-na-rö-Nka / tukap-u KApa-N-tu-nö / sasara woNkï / asi tö pîtö-N-kötö / katar-i-yör-[ur]asi mô
darling-EDIM-EDIM-POSS / use-ATTR river-GEN-harbor-GEN / fine water.plants / reed\bad(FIN) DV people-GEN-words / tell-INF-approach-SUP PT
the delicate plants that grow by the river at the spot my darling uses (for washing)—it seems that people are saying they are reeds (saying she is bad).

14:3447 – (Zōka, 10 of 17+0.5)
久佐可氣乃 / 安努奈由可武等 / 波里之美知 / 阿努波由加受弖 / 阿良久佐太知奴
kusa kaNkë-nö / anô-na yuk-am-u tö / par-i-si mîti / anô pa yuk-aNs-u-te / ara kusa-N-tat-i-n-u
grass shade-GEN / PN-ELOC go-TENT-FIN DV / reclaim.land-INF-PAST(ATTR) road / PN TOP go-NEG-INF-SUB / rough grass-GEN-rise-INF-PERF-FIN
I thought that I would go on the newly built road to 'grass-shade' Ano—but, without reaching Ano, (there are) wild grasses growing everywhere. (So I guess I'll just take a siesta here… who need's Ano anyway? And so much for new roads! Good riddance!)

14:3448 – (Zōka, 11 of 17+0.5)

波奈治良布 / 已能牟可都乎乃 / 乎那能乎能 / 比自尓都久麻提 / 伎美我与母賀母
pana-N-tir-ap-u / kö-nö muka-tu wo n-ö / wona-nö wo-nö / pîNsi-ni tuk-u-maNte / kîmî-Nka yö möNkamö
blossoms-GEN-scatter-ITER-ATTR / this-GEN across-GENLOC mountain.ridge DV-ATTR / PN-GEN mountain.ridge-GEN / sandbar-LOC flood-ATTR-TERM / lord\you-POSS life PT
I wish your life to last until the peak of Wona is but a sandbar, flooded over—(Wona), which is the peak across from here, where (presently) the flower petals fall.

14:3449 – (Zōka, 12 of 17+0.5)
思路多倍乃 / 許呂母能素(イ弖)乎 / 麻久良我欲 / 安麻許伎久見由 / 奈美多都奈由米
sirô tapë-nö / körömö-nö sôNte-wo / makuraNka-yô / ama kök-î-[i]k-u MÎ-y-u / namî tat-una yumë
white tapa-GEN / robes-GEN sleeves-ACC / PN-ABL / divers row-INF-go-ATTR(NML) see-PASS-FIN / waves rise-NEGIMP certainly.not
oh, the sleeves of my robes of white tapa-cloth—I see the divers rowing out from Makuraga—waves, don't rise up!

14:3450 – (Zōka, 13 of 17+0.5) (headlined with character 知, for mistake in line 5?)
乎久佐乎等 / 乎具佐受家乎等 / 斯抱布祢乃 / 那良敞弖美礼婆 / 乎具佐可利馬利
wokusa wo-tö / woNkusa-N-sukê-wo-tö / sipo pune-nö / naraNpê-te mî-[u]re-Npa / woNkusa kat-imêr-i
PN man-COM / PN-GEN-help-man-COM / tide boat-GEN / line.up(INF)-SUB see-EV-CON / PN win-{CONJ}-FIN
when I see the the man 'Wokusa' and the youth 'Wongusa' lining up their boats near the shore (to race), (I think) 'Wongusa' will probably win.

14:3451 – (Zōka, 14 of 17+0.5)
左奈都良能 / 乎可尓安波麻伎 / 可奈之伎我 / 古麻波多具等毛 / 和波素登毛波自
sanatura-nö / woka-ni apa mak-î / kanasi-kî-Nka / kô-[u]ma pa taNk-u tö mô / wa pa sô tö mô [o]p-aNsi
PN-GEN / hill-LOC millet plant-INF / adorable-ATTR(NML)-POSS / DIM-horse TOP eat-FIN DV PT / I TOP ONO DV PT chase-NEGTENT
planting millet on the hills of Sanatura… so adorable is the colt that is feeding (on our seed), I will not even chase him away by saying 'shoo'!

14:3452 – (Zōka, 15 of 17+0.5) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
於毛思路伎 / 野乎婆奈夜吉曽 / 布流久佐尓 / 仁比久佐麻自利 / 於非波於布流我尓
omôsirô-kî / NÔ woNpa na yak-î-sö / puru kusa-ni / nipî-kusa maNsir-i / opï-Np(a o)p-uru Nkani
pleasant-ATTR / moor PT NEGIMP burn-INF-NEGDES / old grass-LOC / new-grass mix-INF / grow-COND grow-ATTR {PT}
do not burn the pleasant fields! (For) it seems it will (still) grow, if new grasses grow and mix with the old grasses.

14:3453 – (Zōka, 16 of 17+0.5)
可是乃等能 / 登抱吉和伎母賀 / 吉西斯伎奴 / 多母登乃久太利 / 麻欲比伎尓家利
kaNse-nö [o]tö-nö / töpo-kî wa-Nk[a]-îmö-Nka / kî-se-si kînu / ta-mötö-nö kuNtar-i / mayôp-î-k-î-n-i-kêr-i
wind-GEN sound-COMP / distant-ATTR I-POSS-darling-POSS / wear-CAUS-PAST(ATTR) robes / hand-base-GEN descend-NML / fray-INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
the (threads) have become frayed in the warp of the sleeve of the robe that my darling made me wear—my darling, who is as far away now as the sound of wind!

14:3454 – (Zōka, 17 of 17+0.5)
尓波尓多都 / 安佐提古夫須麻 / 許余比太尓 / 都麻余之許西祢 / 安佐提古夫須麻
nipa-ni tat-u / asate kô-Npusuma / kö-yöpî Ntani / tuma yös-i-köse ne / asate kô-Npusuma
garden-LOC rise-ATTR / hemp DIM-covers / this-evening PT / spouse approach-INF-DES PT / hemp DIM-covers
our bed-covers of ‘garden-grown’ hemp—tonight, at least, I wish my spouse (presumably, husband) could come near—our hempen covers…

Sōmonka of Unknown Provenance

14:3455 – (Sōmonka, 1 of 112+3.4)
古非思家婆 / 伎麻世和我勢古 / 可伎都楊疑 / 宇礼都美可良思 / 和礼多知麻多牟
kôpïsi-kê-Npa / k-î-mas-e wa-Nka se-kô / kaki-tu YANkï / ure tum-î-kar-as-i / ware tat-i-mat-am-u
longed.for-EV-CON / come-INF-HON-IMP I-POSS lover-DIM / fence-GENLOC willow / tip pluck-INF-wither-CAUS-NML / I stand-INF-wait-TENT-FIN
since you love me, then come to me, my beloved—I shall stand, and wait (for you until) the boughs of willows that grow around the fence should wither.

14:3456 – (Sōmonka, 2 of 112+3.4)
宇都世美能 / 夜穊許登乃敞波 / 思氣久等母 / 安良穊比可祢弖 / 安乎許登奈須那
utuSEmî-nö / ya-sô kötö-nö pê pa / siNkë-ku tö mö / arasôp-î-kane-te / a-wo kötö nas-una
the.world-GEN / eight-ten words-GEN {leaves} TOP / lush-INF DV PT / resist-INF-NEGPOT-SUB / I-ACC words produce-NEGIMP
although rumors are rampant in the world, I cannot resist them—don’t make me into an object of rumor.

14:3457 – (Sōmonka, 3 of 112+3.4)
宇知日佐須 / 美夜能和我世波 / 夜麻等女乃 / 比射麻久其登尓 / 安乎和須良須奈
uti-PÎ sas-u / mîya-nö wa-Nka se pa / yamatö MÊ-nö / pîNsa mak-u Nkötö n-i / a-wo wasur-as-una
PREF-sun shine.in-ATTR / palace-GEN I-POSS lover TOP / PN woman-GEN / knee pillow-ATTR resemblance DV-INF / I-ACC try.to.forget-HON-NEGIMP

my husband, who is at the ‘sunlit’ palace—it seems that you are pillowing on the knees of some girl from the capital—but don’t you forget about me!

14:3458 – (Sōmonka, 4 of 112+3.4)
奈勢能古夜 / 等里乃乎加恥志 / 奈可太乎礼 / 安乎祢思奈久与 / 伊久豆君麻弖尓
na se n-ö kô ya / töri-nö woka-N-ti si / naka-N-tawore / a-wo ne si nak-u yö / iku-N-tuk-u-maNte-ni
I lover DV-ATTR child KPT / PN-GEN hill-GEN-road PT / inside-GEN-sag(NML) / I-ACC voice PT {make.cry}-FIN PT / {breath}-LOC-breathe-ATTR-TERM-LOC
my dear husband! – (the way you) are bent (by the hardship of your travels) on the hilly road of Tori makes me cry out loud, until I am panting.

14:3459 – (Sōmonka, 5 of 112+3.4)
伊祢都氣波 / 可加流安我手乎 / 許余比毛可 / 等能乃和久胡我 / 等里弖奈氣可武
ine tuk-ë-Npa / kakar-u a-Nka TE-wo / kö-yöpî mô ka / tönö-nö waku-N-kô-Nka / tör-i-te naNkëk-am-u
rice.plant pound-EV-CON / get.chapped-ATTR I-POSS hand-ACC / this-evening PT KPT / hall-GEN young-DV-child-POSS / take-INF-SUB lament-TENT-ATTR
tonight, too, shall my infant (son) weep as he grabs my hands, that are chapped from hulling rice?

14:3460 – (Sōmonka, 6 of 112+3.4) (headlined with character 我, for mistake in line 4?)
多礼曽許能 / 屋能戸於曽夫流 / 尓布奈未尓 / 和家世乎夜里弖 / 伊波布許能戸乎
tare sö kö-nö / YA-nö TÔ osö-Npur-u / nipu-namï-ni / wa-Nka se-wo yar-i-te / ipap-u kö-nö TÔ wo
who KPT place-GEN / house-GEN door push-shake-ATTR / {new}-{seedling}-LOC / I-POSS lover-ACC make.go-INF-SUB / perform.rites-ATTR this-GEN door PT
who is pounding (lit., shaking) on the door of this house?—my husband is sent away during the rice seedling thanksgiving rituals, so in this house, we are praying for him.

14:3461 – (Sōmonka, 7 of 112+3.4) (lines 1 and 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
安是登伊敞可 / 佐宿尓安波奈久尓 / 真日久礼弖 / 与比奈波許奈尓 / 安家奴思太久流
aNse t(ö i)p-ê ka / sa-NE-n(i a)p-an-aku n-i / MA-PÎ kure-te / yöpî-na pa kö-n-a-ni / akê-n-u siNta k-uru
{why} DV say-EV PT / PREF-sleep(NML)-LOC meet-NEG-NML DV-INF / INT-sun set(INF)-SUB / evening-ELOC TOP come-NEG-{ATTR}-LOC / brighten(INF)-PERF-ATTR? time come-ATTR
why should I say the time of dawn comes?—since we did not meet to sleep together, and (then) the sun went down, and (then my lover) didn’t come in the evening (either)?

14:3462 – (Sōmonka, 8 of 112+3.4)
安志比奇乃 / 夜末佐波妣登乃 / 比登佐波尓 / 麻奈登伊布兒我 / 安夜尓可奈思佐
asipîkï-nö / yama sapa-N-pîtö n-ö / pîtö sapa n-i / mana tö ip-u KÔ-Nka / aya n-i kanasi-sa

MK-GEN / mountain swamp-GEN-person DV-ATTR / person many DV-INF / beautiful.girl DV say-ATTR girl-POSS / extremely DV-INF adorable-ADJNML
oh, the great attractiveness of the girl whom the many people that live in the wilderness call ‘Mana’ (or: call beautiful)…

14:3463 – (Sōmonka, 9 of 112+3.4)
麻等保久能 / 野尓毛安波奈牟 / 已許呂奈久 / 佐刀乃美奈可尓 / 安敞流世奈可母
ma-töpo-ku-nö / NÔ-ni mô ap-ana-m-u / kökörö na-ku / satô-nö mî-naka-ni / ap-êr-u se-na kamö
space\INT-distant-NML-GEN / moor-LOC PT meet-DES-TENT-FIN / heart not.exist-INF / village-GEN INT-center-LOC / meet-PROG-ATTR lover-EDIM KPT
I would have liked to meet you out in the distant fields—but thoughtlessly, my lover, I am meeting you right in the center of the village.

14:3464 – (Sōmonka, 10 of 112+3.4)
比登其登乃 / 之氣吉尓余里弖 / 麻乎其母能 / 於夜自麻久良波 / 和波麻可自夜毛
pîtö-N-kötö-nö / siNkë-kî-ni yör-i-te / ma-woN-kömö-nö / oyaNsi makura pa / wa pa mak-aNsi ya mô
person-GEN-words-GEN / lush-ATTR-LOC approach-INF-SUB / INT-DIM-reed-GEN / same pillow TOP / I TOP pillow-NEGTENT KPT PT
people spread rumors about us everywhere; but your same pillow, made of reeds—should I (too) not use it as a pillow?—(but of course I will.)

14:3465 – (Sōmonka, 11 of 112+3.4)
巨麻尓思吉 / 比毛登伎佐氣弖 / 奴流我倍尓 / 安杼世呂登可母 / 安夜尓可奈之伎
köma nisikî / pîmô tök-î-sakë-te / n-uru-Nka [u]pë-ni / aNtö se-rö tö kamö / aya n-i kanasi-kî
PN brocade / cords undo-INF-draw.apart(INF)-SUB / sleep-ATTR(NML)-POSS above-LOC / {what} do-IMP DV KPT / extremely DV-INF adorable-ATTR
I undo the sash made of brocade from Koma (possibly meaning China, but more probably Korea) and draw (my\your robes) open; besides our sleeping thus together, what would you have me do?—you are so very attractive.

14:3466 – (Sōmonka, 12 of 112+3.4)
麻可奈思美 / 奴礼婆許登尓豆 / 佐祢奈敞波 / 已許呂乃緒呂尓 / 能里弖可奈思母
ma-kanasi-mî / n-ure-Npa kötö-ni [i]Nt-u / sa-ne-nap-ê-Npa / kökörö-nö WO-rö-ni / nör-i-te kanasi mö
INT-adorable-GER / sleep-EV-CON words-LOC emerge-FIN / PREF-sleep-ENEG-EV-CON / heart-GEN string-EDIM-LOC / ride-INF-SUB sad(FIN) PT
when I sleep with you—you, being so adorable—people start talking; but when I do not sleep with you, then my heart aches and I am sad.

14:3467 – (Sōmonka, 13 of 112+3.4)
於久夜麻能 / 真木乃伊多度乎 / 等杼登之弖 / 和我比良可武尓 / 伊利伎弖奈左祢

oku yama-nö / MA-KÏ-nö ita-N-tô-wo / töNtö tö [o]s-i-te / wa-Nka pîrak-am-u-ni / ir-i-k-î-te n-as-ane
deep mountain-GEN / INT-tree-GEN board-DV-door-ACC / ONO DV push-INF-SUB / I-POSS open-TENT-ATTR-LOC / enter-INF-come-INF-SUB sleep-HON-DES
banging, pushing on the board-door made of lumber from trees that stood deep in the mountains—when I open it (for you), then I'd like you to come in and sleep (with me).

14:3468 – (Sōmonka, 14 of 112+3.4)
夜麻杼里乃 / 乎呂能波都乎尓 / 可賀美可家 / 刀奈布倍美許曽 / 奈尓与曽利鶏米
yama-N-töri-nö / wo-rö-nö patu-wo-ni / kaNkamî kakê / tônap-uNpë-mî kösö / na-ni yösör-i-k(y-e)m-ë
mountain-GEN-bird-GEN / tail-EDIM-COMP first-hemp-LOC / mirror hang(NML) / chant-DEB-GER KPT / you-DAT rumored.to.have.liaison-INF-PAST-TENT-EVK
hanging a mirror with the year's first hemp, which is like the tail of a mountain bird (pheasant?)—since I must chant the incantation (now), people say that we had a relationship.

14:3469 – (Sōmonka, 15 of 112+3.4)
由布氣尓毛 / 許余比登乃良路 / 和賀西奈波 / 阿是曽母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴
yupu kë-ni mô / kö-yöpî tö nör-ar-ô / wa-Nka se-na pa / aNse sö mö kö-yöpî / yös-i-rö-k-î-mas-an-u
evening fortunetelling-LOC PT / this-evening DV tell-EPROG-VEATTR / I-POSS lover-EDIM TOP / {why} KPT PT this-evening / approach-INF-UNCLEAR(Korean copula?)-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
even at the evening prognostications they are telling me '(it will be) tonight!'—but my beloved, alas!—why is it he does not come near me tonight?

14:3470 – (Sōmonka, 16 of 112+3.4) (柿本朝臣人麿哥集出也)
安比見弖波 / 千等世夜伊奴流 / 伊奈乎加毛 / 安礼也思加毛布 / 伎美末知我弖尓
ap-î-MÎ-te pa / TI-töSE ya in-uru / ina wo kamô / are ya sika [o]môp-u / kîmî mat-i-Nkate-n-i
meet-INF-see(INF)-SUB TOP / thousand-CL KPT leave-ATTR / 'no' thus KPT / I KPT PT think-ATTR / lord\you wait-INF-be.able-NEG-INF
have a thousand years passed since we met?—no, I merely feel that it is so—but I cannot bear this waiting for you.

14:3471 – (Sōmonka, 17 of 112+3.4) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis; headlined with character 末, for mistake in line 3?)
思麻良久波 / 祢都追母安良牟乎 / 伊米能未尓 / 母登奈見要都追 / 安乎祢思奈久流
simaraku pa / ne-tutu m(ö a)r-am-u-wo / imë nömï n-i / mötöna MÎ-ye-tutu / a-wo ne si nak-uru
a.while TOP / sleep(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC / dream PT DV-INF / endlessly see-PASS-COOR / I-ACC voice PT {make.cry}-ATTR
although I'd like to be sleeping for a while, again and again you appear, if only in my dreams (or: if only now)—to make me weep!

14:3472 – (Sōmonka, 18 of 112+3.4) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
比登豆麻等 / 安是可曽乎伊波牟 / 志可良波加 / 刀奈里乃伎奴乎 / 可里弖伎奈波毛
pîtö-N-tuma tö / aNse ka sö-w(o i)p-am-u / sika [a]r-aNpa ka / tônari-nö kînu-wo / kar-i-te kî-n-ap-am-ô
or (5): kar-i-te kî-nap-am-ô
person-GEN-spouse DV / {why} KPT she-ACC say-TENT-ATTR / thus exist-COND KPT / neighbor-GEN robes-ACC / borrow-INF-SUB wear(INF)-PERF-ITER-TENT-VEATTR
or (5): borrow-INF-SUB wear(INF)-ENEG-TENT-VEATTR
why should I say that she is another man's wife? If it is so, then I'll borrow my neighbor's robes and wear them again and again and again (i.e., I'll impersonate him)!
(or, … should I not then borrow the robes of my neighbor and wear them?)

14:3473 – (Sōmonka, 19 of 112+3.4) (headlined with character 提, for mistake in line 3?)
左努夜麻尓 / 宇都也乎能登乃 / 等抱可騰母 / 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 於由[29]尓美要都留
sanô yama-ni / ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö / töpo-ka-Ntö mö / ne-m-ô tö ka KÔ-rö-Nka / omö-ni mî-ye-t-uru
PN mountain-LOC / hit-ATTR KPT axe sound-COMP / distant-EV-CONC PT / sleep-TENT-EATTR DV KPT girl-EDIM-POSS / face-DAT see-PASS-PERF-ATTR
like the sound of a striking axe on Sano mountain (that shatters the night's calm)—though she is far away, just when I think to go to sleep, I can see my girl's face (as in a dream or reverie, and so I cannot sleep).

14:3474 – (Sōmonka, 20 of 112+3.4) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
宇恵太氣能 / 毛登左倍登与美 / 伊(イ弓)弖伊奈婆 / 伊豆思牟伎弖可 / 伊毛我奈氣可牟
uwe-N-takë-nö / môtö sapë töyöm-î / iNte-t(e i)n-aNpa / iNtusi muk-î-te ka / imô-Nka naNkëk-am-u[30]
sow(NML)-GEN-bamboo-GEN / root PT resound-INF / emerge(INF)-SUB leave-COND / {which.way} face-INF-SUB KPT / darling-POSS lament-TENT-ATTR
the very roots of the planted bamboo are vibrant with the noise; if I go away—facing in which way (i.e., 'who knows whereto')—will my darling cry?

14:3475 – (Sōmonka, 21 of 112+3.4)
古非都追母 / 乎良牟等須礼杼 / 遊布麻夜万 / 可久礼之伎美乎 / 於母比可祢都母
kôpï-tutu mö / wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö / yupuma yama / kakure-si kîmî-wo / omöp-î-kane-t-u mö
love(INF)-COOR PT / be.at-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC / PN mountain / hide(INF)-PAST(ATTR) lord\you-ACC / think-INF-NEGPOT-PERF-FIN PT
although I mean to stay here, loving you—I cannot bear to think of you, who have gone away to hide in the Yupuma mountains.

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[29] The character 由 is generally held to be a mistake for 母, although 由 appears in all the old manuscripts.
[30] Notice this poem's fantastic use of assonance, with a possible connection to its meaning.

14:3476a – (Sōmonka, 22a of 112+3.4)
宇倍兒奈波 / 和奴尓故布奈毛 / 多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敞由家婆 / 故布思可流奈母
uNpë KÔ-na pa / wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô / tat-ô tuku-nö / nôNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Npa / kôpusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
'a.must' girl-EDIM TOP / {I}-DAT love-ETENT-VEATTR / rise-VEATTR {moon}-GEN\COMP / {flow}-ITER-{INF}-go-EV-CON / {longed.for}-INF-exist-ETENT-VEATTR
that girl whom I must have—she certainly will love me! When the moon that rises flows away (i.e., as months pass), she certainly will long for me!

14:3476b – (Sōmonka, 22b of 112+3.4, representing lines 4 and 5) (line 2 apparent mistake in character order)
或本歌末句曰「奴我奈敞由家杼 / 和努賀由乃敞波」
nuNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Ntö / wanô yuk-an-ö [i]pê pa
flow-ITER-{INF}-go-EV-CONC / {I} go-NEG-VEATTR house TOP
although it flows away—(her's is) the house I will not go to.

14:3477 – (Sōmonka, 23 of 112+3.4) (lines 3 and 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
安都麻道乃 / 手兒乃欲婢佐可 / 古要弖伊奈婆 / 安礼波古非牟奈 / 能知波安比奴登母
atuma MÎTI-nö / TEKÔ-nö yôNp-î-saka / kôye-t(e i)n-aNpa / are pa kôpï-m-u na / nöti p(a a)p-î-n-u tö mö
PN road-GEN / maiden-GEN UNCLEAR(call-NML-hill) / get.past(INF)-SUB leave-COND / I TOP love-TENT-FIN PT / later TOP meet-INF-PERF-FIN DV PT
if on my way I get past the 'maiden's yonbisaka' ('Maiden-Calling Hill'?) on the road of Azuma—then I will surely love, even if I meet you later.

14:3478 – (Sōmonka, 24 of 112+3.4)
等保斯等布 / 故奈乃思良祢尓 / 阿抱思太毛 / 安波乃敞思太毛 / 奈尓已曽与佐礼
töpo-si tö [i]p-u / kôna-nö sira-ne-ni / ap-o siNta mô / ap-anöp-ê siNta mô / na-ni kösö yös-ar-e
distant-FIN DV say-ATTR / PN-GEN white-peaks-LOC / meet-VEATTR {time} PT / meet-{ENEG}-{ATTR} {time} PT / you-DAT KPT have.relations-EPROG-EV
whether we meet or not, on the white peaks of Kona which are said to be far away—it is with you that people are saying I have a relationship (or: 'still I am drawn to you').

14:3479 – (Sōmonka, 25 of 112+3.4)
安可見夜麻 / 久左祢可利曽氣 / 安波須賀倍 / 安良蕪布伊毛之 / 安夜尓可奈之毛
akaMÎ yama / kusa ne kar-i-sökë / ap-as-u-Nka [u]pë / arasôp-u imô si / aya n-i kanasi mô
PN mountain / grass root chop.down-INF-take.away(NML) / meet-HON-ATTR(NML)-POSS above / resist-ATTR darling PT / extremely DV-INF adorable(FIN) PT
like cutting away the grasses on Mt. Akami—not only does she *meet* me… for my darling, when she resists me, is most attractive.

14:3480 – (Sōmonka, 26 of 112+3.4) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
於保伎美乃 / 美已等可思古美 / 可奈之伊毛我 / 多麻久良波奈礼 / 欲太知伎努可母
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö kasikô-mî / kanas(i i)mô-Nka / ta-makura panare / yô-N-tat-i k-î-n-ô kamö
great-lord-GEN / HON-words awesome-GER / adorable darling-POSS / hand-pillow part.from(INF) / night-LOC-stand-INF come-INF-PERF-VEATTR KPT
awesome are my sovereign's orders, and I depart in the night away from my adorable darling's pillowing arms—will I ever come back?

14:3481 – (Sōmonka, 27 of 112+3.4) (柿本朝臣人麿歌集中出見上已説[31]也) (lines 3 and 4 apparent hypercatalexis)
安利伎奴乃 / 佐恵々々之豆美 / 伊敞能伊母尓 / 毛乃伊波受伎尓弖 / 於毛比具流之母
ari kînu-nö / sawesawe siNtum-î / ipê-n(ö i)mö-ni / môn(ö i)p-aNs-u k-î-n-i-te / omôp-î-Nkurusi mö
MK(ant?(=silkworm?)) robes\silk-GEN / {ONO} pacify-NML / home-GEN darling-DAT / thing say-NEG-INF2 come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB / think-INF-awful(FIN) PT
like quieting the 'sawe-sawe' rustle of silk (robes)—how it pains me to remember that I came (here) without saying anything to my darling (whom I left) at home.

14:3482a – (Sōmonka, 28a of 112+3.4)
可良許呂毛 / 須蘂乃宇知可倍 / 安波祢杼毛 / 家思吉已許呂乎 / 安我毛波奈久尓
kara körömô / susô-nö uti-kapë / ap-an-e-Ntö mô / kêsi-kî kökörö-wo / a-Nka [o]môp-an-aku n-i
PN robes / hem-GEN PREF-{exchange}(NML) / meet-NEG-EV-CONC PT / unusual-ATTR heart-ACC / I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF
like the seams at the hem of foreign robes (Korean or Chinese), we do not meet—however, it is not that I don't want to see you.

14:3482b – (Sōmonka, 28b of 112+3.4)
或本歌曰「可良已呂母 / 須素能宇知可比 / 阿波奈敞婆 / 祢奈敞乃可良尓 / 許等多可利都母」
kara körömö / susô-nö uti-kap-î / ap-anap-ë-Npa / ne-nap-ê-nö kara n-i / kötö [i]ta-k[u]-ar-i-t-u mö
PN robes / hem-GEN PREF-exchange-NML / meet-ENEG-EV-CON / sleep-ENEG-{ATTR(NML)}-GEN cause DV-INF / words painful-INF-exist-INF-PERF-FIN PT
since we do not meet, like the seams at the hems of foreign robes (Korean or Chinese), because we do not sleep together, the rumors are hurtful.

14:3483 – (Sōmonka, 29 of 112+3.4)
比流等家波 / 等家奈敞比毛乃 / 和賀西奈尓 / 阿比与流等可毛 / 欲流等家也須家

[31] An annotation gives the character as 記.

pîru tök-ê-Npa / tökê-nap-ê pîmô-nö / wa-Nka se-na-ni / ap-î-yör-u tö kamô / yôru tökê-yasu-kê
day undo-EV-CON / come.undone-ENEG-{ATTR} cords-GEN / I-POSS lover-EDIM-DAT / meet-INF-approach-FIN DV KPT / night come.undone(INF)-easy-AEATTR
I wonder if I shall meet my beloved—he of the sash that just does not come undone when you try to undo it during the day—for at night, his sash easily comes undone!

14:3484 – (Sōmonka, 30 of 112+3.4)
安左乎良乎 / 遠家尓布須左尓 / 宇麻受登毛 / 安須伎西佐米也 / 伊射西乎騰許尓
asa wo-ra-wo / wo kê-ni pususa n-i / um-aNs-u tö mô / asu kî-se-s-am-ë ya / iNsa se woN-tökö-ni
hemp string-PLUR-ACC / hemp container-LOC much DV-INF / spin.thread-NEG-FIN DV PT / tomorrow wear-CAUS-HON-TENT-EV KPT / ‘well’ do DIM-bed-LOC
there are many (short) hemp threads in the hemp-thread-box, though they are not all spun together—will you have me wear (it) tomorrow?—(no). Saying (lit., ‘doing) ‘well’ (i.e., I invite you), into my bed. (This poem is unclear.)

14:3485 – (Sōmonka, 31 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
都流伎多知 / 身尓素布伊母乎 / 等里見我祢 / 哭乎曽奈伎都流 / 手兒尓安良奈久尓
turuNkî tati / MÏ-ni sôp-u imö-wo / tör-i-MÎ-Nkane / NE-wo sö nak-î-t-uru / TEKÔ n-(i a)r-an-aku n-i
sword sword / body-LOC accompany-ATTR darling-ACC / take-INF-see(INF)-NEGPOT / voice-ACC KPT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR / maiden DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF
(because) I cannot take care of my darling, who accompanies me everywhere like a sword on my hip, (she) cried out—(but) she is not a young girl.

14:3486 – (Sōmonka, 32 of 112+3.4) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
可奈思伊毛乎 / 由豆加奈倍麻伎 / 母許呂乎乃 / 許登等思伊波婆 / 伊夜可多麻斯尓
kanas(i i)mô-wo / yu-N-tuka naNpë-mak-î / mökörö wo-nö / kötö tö si ip-aNpa / iya kat-amasi-ni
adorable darling-ACC / bow-GEN-grip line.up(INF)-wind-NML / similarity man-GEN / words DV PT say-COND / extremely win-SUBJ(ATTR)-LOC
if that adorable girl—(whom I’ll hold on to) like wrapping a (leather-corded) grip around my bow—talks of another man (‘a similar man’, i.e., a fellow wooer), then certainly I will overcome him (and get to be her husband).

14:3487 – (Sōmonka, 33 of 112+3.4)
安豆左由美 / 須恵尓多麻末吉 / 可久須酒曽 / 宿莫奈那里尓思 / 於久乎可奴加奴
aNtusa yumî / suwe-ni tama mak-î / ka-ku s-u s-u sö / NE-N-A-na n-ar-i-n-i-si / oku-wo kan-u kan-u
catalpa bow / tip-LOC jade wind-(NML) / thus-INF do-FIN do-FIN KPT / sleep-NEG-{ATTR}-ELOC DV-exist-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR) / future-ACC expect-FIN expect-FIN

my catalpa bow, its ends wrapped with jewels—it is just so—because (we) haven't slept (together yet), (I) am worried for (our) future.

14:3488 – (Sōmonka, 34 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
於布之毛等 / 許乃母登夜麻乃 / 麻之波尓毛 / 能良奴伊毛我名 / 可多尓伊弖牟可母
op-u simôtö / kö-nö mötö yama-nö / ma-siNpa n-i mô / nör-an-u imô-Nka NA / kata-n(i i)Nte-m-u kamö
grow-FIN sapling / this-GEN PN(base?) mountain-COMP / INT-frequently DV-INF PT / tell-NEG-ATTR darling-POSS name / omen.shape-LOC emerge-TENT-ATTR KPT
like this Mt. Moto 'of the growing saplings', will the name of my darling, who isn't much talked about, appear in the fortunetelling?[32]

14:3489 – (Sōmonka, 35 of 112+3.4)
安豆左由美 / 欲良能夜麻邊能 / 之牙可久尓 / 伊毛呂乎多弖天 / 左祢度波良布母
aNtusa yumî / yôra-nö yama PÊ-nö / siNkê-k[i]-aku-ni / imô-rö-wo tate-te / sa-ne-N-tô parap-u mö
catalpa bow / PN-GEN mountain area-GEN / lush-ATTR-NML-LOC / darling-EDIM-ACC make.stand(INF)-SUB / PREF-sleep(NML)-GEN-place clear.away-FIN PT
among the lushly growing vegetation on Mt. Yora 'of the catalpa bow', my darling has been left standing—I'll clear away a place for us to sleep.

14:3490 – (Sōmonka, 36 of 112+3.4) (柿本朝臣人麿歌集出也) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
安都佐由美 / 湏恵波余里祢牟 / 麻左可許曽 / 比等目乎於保美 / 奈乎波思尓於家礼
aNtusa yumî / suwe pa yör-i-ne-m-u / masaka kösö / pîtö MË-wo opo-mî / na-wo pasi-n(i o)k-êr-e
catalpa bow / tip\future TOP approach-INF-sleep-TENT-FIN / present KPT / person eye-ACC many-GER / you-ACC edge-LOC leave.behind-PROG-EV
like the (two) ends of a catalpa-wood bow—let's sleep together in the future; but for the present, because there are many people watching us, I'm leaving you on the edge (i.e., I'm treating you dismissively, pretending that we do not have a relationship).

14:3491 – (Sōmonka, 37 of 112+3.4)
楊奈疑許曽 / 伎礼波伴要湏礼 / 余能比等乃 / 古非尓思奈武乎 / 伊可尓世余等曽
YAnaNkï kösö / kîr-e-Npa paye-s-ure / yö-nö pîtö-nö / kôpï-ni sin-am-u-wo / ika n-i se-yö tö sö
willow KPT / cut-EV-CON sprout(INF)-do-EV / world-GEN people-GEN / love(NML)-LOC die-TENT-ATTR-ACC / how DV-INF do-IMP DV KPT
when I prune the willow branches, and new buds sprout forth—then, amid the world of men, I feel like dying for (the pains of) love—what would you tell me to do?

14:3492 – (Sōmonka, 38 of 112+3.4)

[32] '*Kata*' refers to the shape of cracks on deer scapulae, which are burned for prognostication. The shape of the crack is interpreted as an omen.

乎夜麻田乃 / 伊氣能都追美尓 / 左須楊奈疑 / 奈里毛奈良受毛 / 奈等布多里波母
wo-yama-N-TA-nö / ikë-nö tutumî-ni / sas-u YAnaNkï / nar-i mô nar-aNs-u mô / na-tö puta-ri pamö
DIM-mountain-GEN-field-GEN / pond-GEN embankment-LOC / thrust.into-ATTR willow / become-INF PT become-NEG-INF2 PT / you-COM two-CL PT
like planting willow cuttings along the bank of a pool by a field in the mountains—come what may (i.e., whether the cuttings grow or not), you and I shall be a couple.

14:3493a – (Sōmonka, 39a of 112+3.4)
於曽波夜母 / 奈乎許曽麻多賣 / 牟可都乎能 / 四比乃故夜提能 / 安比波多家[33]波自
osö paya mö / na-wo kösö mat-am-ê / muka-tu wo-nö / sipî-nö kô-yaNte-nö / ap-î pa taNkap-aNsi
slow fast PT / you-ACC KPT wait-TENT-EV / across-GENLOC mountain.ridge-GEN / beech-GEN DIM-{branch}-COMP / meet-NML TOP be.different-NEGTENT
whether you be early or late, I shall wait for you—like the little branches of the beech trees on the ridge across the way (that entwine one another), certainly we will meet!

14:3493b – (Sōmonka, 39b of 112+3.4)
或本歌曰「於曽波夜毛 / 伎美乎思麻多武 / 牟可都乎能 / 思比乃佐要太能 / 登吉波須具登母」
osö paya mô / kîmî-wo si mat-am-u / muka-tu wo-nö / sipî-nö sa-yeNta-nö / tökî pa suNk-u tö mö
slow fast PT / lord\you-ACC PT wait-TENT-FIN / across-GENLOC mountain.ridge-GEN / beech-GEN PREF-branch-COMP / time TOP pass-FIN DV PT
whether you be early or late, I shall wait for you (my husband)—like the little branches of the beech trees on the ridge across the way (that entwine one another), I'll wait, even if the time (of our promised tryst) passes by.

14:3494 – (Sōmonka, 40 of 112+3.4)
兒毛知夜麻 / 和可加敞流弖能 / 毛美都麻弖 / 宿毛等和波毛布 / 汝波安杼可毛布
KÔmôti yama / waka kapêruNte-nö / mômît-u-maNte / NE-m-ô tö wa pa [o]môp-u / NA pa aNtö ka [o]môp-u
PN mountain / young maple-GEN / leaves.turn-ATTR-TERM / sleep-TENT-VEATTR DV I TOP think-FIN / you TOP {what} KPT think-ATTR
I think we should sleep together until the leaves of the fresh-budding maples on Mt. Komochi (lit., 'with child') turn red… What do *you* think?

14:3495 – (Sōmonka, 41 of 112+3.4)
伊波保呂乃 / 蘇比能和可麻都 / 可藝里登也 / 伎美我伎麻左奴 / 宇良毛等奈久文
ipapo-rö-nö / sôp-î-nö waka matu / kaNkîr-i tö ya / kîmî-Nka k-î-mas-an-u / ura môtö na-ku mo
boulder-EDIM-GEN / accompany-NML-GEN young pine / limit-NML DV KPT / lord\you-POSS come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR / feelings base not.exist-INF PT

[33] Probably a mistake for 我.

like the young pines growing beside immense boulders—is this the end of it? You are not coming, and my heart is broken.

14:3496 – (Sōmonka, 42 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis[34])
多知婆奈乃 / 古婆乃波奈里我 / 於毛布奈牟 / 已許呂宇都久思 / 伊弖安礼波伊可奈
tatiNpana-nö / kôNpa-nö panari-Nka / omôp-unam-u / kökörö utukusi / iNt(e a)re p(a i)k-ana
PN-GEN / PN-GEN flowing.hair-POSS / love-ETENT-ATTR / heart beautiful(FIN) / 'well' I TOP go-DES
the girl with loose-hanging hair from Koba of Tachibana, who almost certainly loves me—her heart is beautiful. Well, I want to go to her!

14:3497 – (Sōmonka, 43 of 112+3.4) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
可波加美能 / 祢自路多可我夜 / 安也尓阿夜尓 / 左宿佐寐弖許曽 / 已登尓弖尓思可
kapa kamî-nö / ne-N-sirô taka-N-kaya / aya n-(i a)ya n-i / sa-NE sa-NE-te kösö / kötö-ni [i]Nte-n-i-sika
river upper.part-GEN / root-GEN-white high-GEN-thatching.reed / extremely DV-INF extremely DV-INF / PREF-sleep(INF) PREF-sleep(INF)-SUB KPT / words-LOC emerge(INF)-PREF-INF-PAST(EV)
like the whiteness of leeks (being washed) in the river, and like the tall reeds that grow there—really, really, I want to sleep with you again and again—but people have been talking about us.

14:3498 – (Sōmonka, 44 of 112+3.4) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
宇奈波良乃 / 根夜波良古須氣 / 安麻多安礼婆 / 伎美波和須良酒 / 和礼和須流礼夜
una-para-nö / NE yapara kô-suNkë / amat(a a)r-e-Npa / kîmî pa wasur-as-u / ware wasur-ure ya
sea-plain-GEN / root soft DIM-sedge / many exist-EV-CON / lord\you TOP try.to.forget-HON-FIN / I try.to.forget-EV KPT
since there are many (girls who adore you)—each one like the supple-bodied sedge that grows by the shore of a great lake—you'll try to forget me, but should I try to forget you?

14:3499 – (Sōmonka, 45 of 112+3.4)
乎可尓与西 / 和我可流加夜能 / 佐祢加夜能 / 麻許等奈其夜波 / 祢呂等敞奈香母
woka-ni yöse / wa-Nka kar-u kaya n-ö / sa-ne kaya-nö / ma-kötö naNköya pa / ne-rö tö [i]p-ên-a kamö
hill-LOC approach(INF) / I-POSS chop.down-ATTR thatching.reed DV-ATTR / UNCLEAR(PREF-root) thatching.reed-COMP / INT-words soft TOP / sleep-EIMP DV say-{NEG}-{ATTR} KPT
your words are as soft as the '*sane*' reeds (that are the reeds) which I cut near the hill: (but) won't you tell me to sleep (with you)?

14:3500 – (Sōmonka, 46 of 112+3.4)

[34] Metrically speaking, only one of these vowel pairs should be reduced, but it is not clear which.

牟良佐伎波 / 根乎可母乎布流 / 比等乃兒能 / 宇良我奈之家乎 / 祢乎遠敞奈久尓
murasakî pa / NE-wo kamö wop-uru / pîtö n-ö KÔ-nö / ura-N-kanasi-kê-wo / ne-wo wopê-n-aku n-i
gromwell TOP / root-ACC KPT finish-ATTR / person DV-ATTR girl-GEN / feelings-GEN-sad-AEATTR-ACC / sleep(NML)-ACC finish-NEG-NML DV-INF
I've used up all the roots of the gromwell grass (used for making dye)—I think very sadly about that girl who is a (certain) person, although I never ended up sleeping with her.

14:3501 – (Sōmonka, 47 of 112+3.4)
安波乎呂能 / 乎呂田尓於波流 / 多波美豆良 / 比可婆奴流奴留 / 安乎許等奈多延
apa wo-rö n-ö / wo-rö TA-ni op-ar-u / tapamî-N-tura / pîk-aNpa nurununu / a-wo kötö na taye
PN mountain.ridge-EDIM DV-ATTR / mountain.ridge-GEN2 field-LOC grow-EPROG-ATTR / UNCLEAR-GEN-vine / pull-COND smoothly / I-ACC words NEGIMP break(INF)
like the *Tapami* vines that are growing in the fields along the mountain ridge of Apa—if I pull them up, don't stop speaking to me!

14:3502 – (Sōmonka, 48 of 112+3.4)
和我目豆麻 / 比等波左久礼杼 / 安佐我保能 / 等思佐倍已其登 / 和波佐可流我倍
wa-Nka MË-N-tuma / pîtö pa sakur-e-Ntö / asa-N-kapo-nö / tösi sapë köNkötö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapë
I-POSS eye-GEN-spouse / person TOP be.far.from-EV-CON / morning-GEN-face-COMP / year PT {greatly} / I TOP be.far.from-ATTR {PT}
people keep me away from my beloved wife, but, like a morning-glory, will I be away from her for many years?—(no, I will not.)

14:3503 – (Sōmonka, 49 of 112+3.4)
安齊可我多 / 志保悲乃由多尓 / 於毛敞良婆 / 宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尓弖米也母
aNseka-N-kata / sipo pï-nö yuta n-i / omôp-êr-aNpa / ukêra-Nka pana-nö / irö-ni [i]Nte-m-ë ya mö
PN-GEN-lagoon / tide ebb(NML)-COMP leisurely DV-INF / think-PROG-COND / *okera*-POSS blossoms-GEN / colors-LOC emerge-TENT-EV KPT PT
if I love leisurely, like the tide's slow ebbing in the lagoon of Azeka—will then the colors of the *Okera* blossoms come out (on my face, i.e., because I am in love?)—(no, they will not.)

14:3504 – (Sōmonka, 50 of 112+3.4)
波流敞左久 / 布治能宇良葉乃 / 宇良夜須尓 / 左奴流夜曽奈伎 / 兒呂乎之毛倍婆
paru-pê sak-u / puNti-nö ura PA-nö / ura yasu n-i / sa-n-uru YÔ sö na-kî / KÔ-rö-wo si [o]môp-ë-Npa
spring-area bloom-ATTR / wisteria-GEN tip leaves-COMP / feelings easy DV-INF / PREF-sleep-ATTR night KPT not.exist-ATTR / girl-EDIM-ACC PT think-EV-CON
there are no nights when I sleep with a light heart—light like the (young) leaves at the ends of wisteria vines that bloom in spring—all because I am thinking of a girl!

14:3505 – (Sōmonka, 51 of 112+3.4)
宇知比佐都[35] / 美夜能瀬河泊能 / 可保婆奈能 / 孤悲天香眠良武 / 伎曽母許余比毛
uti-pî sat-u / mîyanöSE KApa-nö / kapo-N-pana-nö / kôpï-te ka N-Uram-u / kîsö mö kö-yöpî mô
PREF-sun {shine.in}-ATTR / PN river-GEN / face-GEN-blossom-COMP / love(INF)-SUB KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR / {last.night} PT this-evening PT
my love for you is like morning-glories on the Miyanose river, 'sparkling in the sun'—did we, will we, sleep together, and yesternight, and tonight?

14:3506 – (Sōmonka, 52 of 112+3.4) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
尓比牟路能 / 許騰伎尓伊多礼婆 / 波太須酒伎 / 穂尓弖之伎美我 / 見延奴巳能許呂
nipî-murô-nö / kö-N-tökî-n(i i)tar-e-Npa / paNta susukî / PO-ni [i]Nte-si kîmî-Nka / MÎ-ye-n-u kö-nö körö
new-out.building-GEN / UNCLEAR-GEN-time-LOC arrive-EV-CON / surface pampass / head.of.grain-LOC emerge(INF)-PAST(ATTR) lord\you-POSS / see-PASS-NEG-ATTR this-GEN time
since it is silkworming season in the 'new building', (you are very busy)—this is a time when I am unable to see you, showing your full ripe love on your face, (like) the heads of seed on streaming pampass grass.

14:3507 – (Sōmonka, 53 of 112+3.4)
多尓世婆美 / 弥年尓波比多流 / 多麻可豆良 / 多延武能已許呂 / 和我母波奈久尓
tani seNpa-mî / mîne-ni pap-î-tar-u / tama kaNtura / taye-m-u-nö kökörö / wa-Nka [o]möp-an-aku n-i
valley narrow-GER / peak-LOC stretch-INF-PERF\PROG-ATTR / jade vine / break-TENT-ATTR(NML)-GEN heart / I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF
the valley is narrow, and so the the jade-(like) vines stretch towards the peak—like the vines, I have no intention to break up with you.

14:3508 – (Sōmonka, 54 of 112+3.4)
芝付乃 / 御宇良佐伎奈流 / 根都古具佐 / 安比見受安良婆 / 安礼古非米夜母
SINPA TUK-Î-nö / MÎ-ura sakî n-ar-u / NEtukô-N-kusa / ap-î-MÎ-Ns-u ar-aNpa / are kôpï-m-ë ya mö
UNCLEAR(bushes attach-NML)-GEN / HON-bay cape LOC-exist-ATTR / UNCLEAR-GEN-grass / meet-INF-see-NEG-INF2 exist-COND / I love-TENT-EV KPT PT
like the *Netuko* grass that grows on the cape of the bay of Shibatuki—if I should not meet with you, will you (still) love me?

14:3509 – (Sōmonka, 55 of 112+3.4)
多久夫須麻 / 之良夜麻可是能 / 宿奈敞杼母 / 古呂賀於曽伎能 / 安路許曽要志母
taku-N-pusuma / sira-yama kaNse-nö / NE-nap-ê-Ntö mö / kô-rö-Nka osö kî-n-ö / ar-ô kösö ye-si mö

[35] In the Nishihonganji manuscripit, the reading gloss for this character is ス.

paper.mulberry-GEN-covers / white-mountain wind-COMP / sleep-ENEG-EV-CONC PT / girl-EDIM-POSS garments wear(INF)-PERF-VEATTR(NML) / exist-VEATTR KPT {good}-FIN PT
(cold) like the wind from the mountain which is white (with snow) like paper-mulberry covers, we do not sleep together—but that I have put on my girl's garments—that makes me happy!

14:3510 – (Sōmonka, 56 of 112+3.4) (line 2 apparent extra character[36])
美蕝良由久 / 君尓母尓毛我母奈 / 家布由伎弖 / 伊母尓許等杼比 / 安須可敞里許武
mî-sôra yuk-u / kumö n-i môNkamö na / kêpu yuk-î-te / imö-ni kötö-N-töp-î / asu kapêr-i-kö-m-u
HON-sky go-ATTR / clouds DV-INF PT PT / today go-INF-SUB / darling-DAT words-GEN-ask-INF / tomorrow return-INF-come-TENT-FIN
I wish I were a cloud that moves in the sky—then today I would go and talk to my darling, and tomorrow, come back (here).

14:3511 – (Sōmonka, 57 of 112+3.4) (line 3 phonogram glossed with character 善)
安乎祢呂尓 / 多奈婢久君母能 / 伊佐欲比尓 / 物能乎曽於毛布 / 等思乃許能已呂
awo ne-rö-ni / tana-N-pîk-u kumö-nö / isayôp-î n-i / MOnö-wo sö omôp-u / tösi-nö kö-nö körö
green peak-EDIM-LOC / PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR cloud-COMP / hesitate-NML DV-INF / things-ACC KPT think-ATTR / year-GEN this-GEN time
I am hesitant (i.e., indecisive), like the clouds that linger over the blue peaks—I am thinking over many things, this time of year.

14:3512 – (Sōmonka, 58 of 112+3.4)
比登祢呂尓 / 伊波流毛能可良 / 安乎祢呂尓 / 伊佐欲布久母能 / 余曽里都麻波母
pîtö ne-rö-ni / ip-ar-u mônö kara / awo ne-rö-ni / isayôp-u kumö-nö / yösör-i tuma pamö
person peak-EDIM-LOC / say-EPROG-ATTR things cause / green peak-EDIM-LOC / hesitate-ATTR clouds-COMP / rumored.to.have.liaison-NML spouse PT
since people are saying things, (that we are) 'like one peak'—(but) like the clouds that linger over the blue peaks, what should I do about this (other person's) spouse that people say I have a relationship with?

14:3513 – (Sōmonka, 59 of 112+3.4)
由布佐礼婆 / 美夜麻乎左良奴 / 尓努具母能 / 安是可多要牟等 / 伊比之兒呂婆母
yupu s-are-Npa / mî-yama-wo sar-an-u / ninô-N-kumö-nö / aNse ka taye-m-u tö / ip-î-si KÔ-rö pamö
evening do-PASS-CON / HON-mountain-ACC leave-NEG-ATTR / {cloth}-DV-clouds-COMP / {why} KPT break-TENT-ATTR DV / say-INF-PAST(ATTR) girl-EDIM PT
what should I do about this girl, who asks me why I'm going to break-up with her?—she is like the thin, trailing clouds that do not leave the mountain even when night has set in.

[36] This extraneous character is partially crossed out in the manuscript.

14:3514 – (Sōmonka, 60 of 112+3.4)
多可伎祢尓 / 久毛能都久能須 / 和礼左倍尔 / 伎美尔都吉奈那 / 多可祢等毛比弖
taka-kî ne-ni / kumô-nö tuk-u-nösu / ware sapë n-i / kîmî-ni tuk-î-n-ana / taka ne tö [o]môp-î-te
high-ATTR peak-LOC / clouds-GEN attach-ATTR(NML)-ECOMP / I PT DV-INF / lord\you-LOC attach-INF-PERF-DES / high peak DV think-INF-SUB
like how clouds enshroud the high mountain peaks—I, too, would like to be with you—I imagine (you) are my high peak.

14:3515 – (Sōmonka, 61 of 112+3.4)
阿我於毛乃 / 和須礼牟之太波 / 久尓波布利 / 祢尓多都久毛乎 / 見都追之努波西
a-Nka omô-nö / wasure-m-u siNta pa / kuni papur-i / ne-ni tat-u kumô-wo / MÎ-tutu sinôp-as-e
I-POSS face-GEN / forget-TENT-ATTR {time} TOP / province come.up-INF / peak-LOC stand-ATTR clouds-ACC / see(INF)-COOR long.for-HON-IMP
when the time (comes) that you shall forget my face, then come up out of the provinces, and think of me while gazing at the clouds that hover over moutain peaks.

14:3516 – (Sōmonka, 62 of 112+3.4) (lines 1 and 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
對馬能祢波 / 之多具毛安良南敷 / 可牟能祢尓 / 多奈婢久君毛乎 / 見都追思努婆毛
TUSIma-nö ne pa / sita-N-kumô ar-anap-u / kamu n-ö ne-ni / tana-N-pîk-u kumô-wo / MÎ-tutu sinôp-am-ô
PN-GEN peak TOP / below-GEN-clouds exist(vi)-ENEG-FIN / divine DV-ATTR peak-LOC / PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR clouds-ACC / see(INF)-COOR long.for-TENT-EATTR
there are still no low (lying) clouds around the peaks of Tusima—but while I gaze at the clouds trailing (high) over the divine peak, I shall think of you!

14:3517 – (Sōmonka, 63 of 112+3.4)
思良久毛能 / 多要尓之伊毛乎 / 阿是西呂等 / 許已呂尓能里弖 / 許已婆可那之家
sira kumô-nö / taye-n-i-si imô-wo / aNse se-rö tö / kökörö-ni nör-i-te / kököNpa kanasi-kê
white clouds-COMP/ break(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR) darling-ACC / {why} do-EIMP DV / heart-LOC ride-INF-SUB / extremely adorable-AEATTR
what should I do about my darling, who broke up with me, just like a white cloud (that breaks apart)—for she is so very dear to me, she's riding on my heart!

14:3518 – (Sōmonka, 64 of 112+3.4)
伊波能倍尓 / 伊可賀流久毛能 / 可努麻豆久 / 比等曽於多波布 / 伊射祢之賣刀良
ipa-nö [u]pë-ni / i-kakar-u kumô-nö / kanômaNtuku / pîtö sö otapap-u / iNsa ne-simê tô-ra
rock-GEN above-LOC / PREF-hang-ATTR clouds-COMP / UNCLEAR(make noisy talk?) / people KPT UNCLEAR(make quiet?)-ATTR / 'well' sleep-CAUS(INF) {girl}-PLUR
like the clouds that hang over the boulder… people… well, let me sleep with (this) girl...

14:3519 – (Sōmonka, 65 of 112+3.4) (interlinier character 母, for mistake in line 5?)
奈我波伴尓 / 已良例安波由久 / 安乎久毛能 / 伊弖来和伎母兒 / 安必見而由可武
na-Nka papa-ni / kör-are a pa yuk-u / awo kumô-nö / iNte-KÖ wa-Nk[a]-îmö-KÔ / ap-î-MÎ-TE yuk-am-u
you-POSS mother-DAT / scold-PASS(INF) I TOP go-FIN / green clouds-COMP / emerge(INF)-come I-POSS-darling-DIM / meet-INF-see(INF)-SUB go-TENT-FIN
I was scolded by your mother and left—(but) like blue clouds coming out, I want to come out and meet with my darling.

14:3520 – (Sōmonka, 66 of 112+3.4)
於毛可多能 / 和須礼牟之太波 / 於抱野呂尓 / 多奈婢久君母乎 / 見都追思努波牟
omô kata-nö / wasure-m-u siNta pa / opo NÔ-rö-ni / tana-N-pîk-u kumö-wo / MÎ-tutu sinôp-am-u
face shape-GEN / forget-TENT-ATTR {time} TOP / great moor-EDIM-LOC / PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR clouds-ACC / see(INF)-COOR long.for-TENT-FIN
when the time comes that I might forget the look of your face, I'll think of you while gazing at clouds that trail over the immense plains.

14:3521 – (Sōmonka, 67 of 112+3.4)
可良須等布 / 於保乎曽杼里能 / 麻左(イ弖)尓毛 / 伎麻左奴伎美乎 / 許呂久等曽奈久
karasu tö [i]p-u / opo wosö-N-töri-nö / masaNte n-i mô / k-î-mas-an-u kîmî-wo / körö k-u tö sö nak-u
crow DV say-ATTR / great scurrying.about-GEN-bird-COMP / certainly DV-INF PT / come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR lord\you-ACC / oneself come-FIN DV KPT cry-ATTR
like the great, 'scurrying' birds that are called crows—certainly I cry for you when you do not come (my husband), just as this bird cries 'ko-ro-ku' (i.e., 'he himself will come').

14:3522 – (Sōmonka, 68 of 112+3.4) (lines 3 and 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
伎曽許曽波 / 兒呂等左宿之香 / 久毛能宇倍由 / 奈伎由久多豆乃 / 麻登保久於毛保由
kîsö kösö pa / KÔ-rö-tö sa-NE-sika / kumô-n(ö u)pë-yu / nak-î-yuk-u taNtu-nö / ma-töpo-k(u o)môp-oy-u
{last.night} KPT TOP / girl-EDIM-COM PREF-sleep(INF)-PAST(EV) / clouds-GEN above-ABL / cry-INF-go-ATTR long.legged.waterfowl-COMP / space\INT-distant-INF think-PASS-FIN
last night, it was, I slept with her… but like the water birds ('*tadu*' is a generic term for cranes, storks, ibises, etc.) that cry out and fly above the clouds, I feel that it is something very distant (in time?).

14:3523 – (Sōmonka, 69 of 112+3.4)
佐可故要弖 / 阿倍乃田能毛尓 / 為流多豆乃 / 等毛思吉伎美波 / 安須左倍母我毛
saka kôye-te / apë-nö TA-nö [o]mô-ni / wi-[u]ru taNtu-nö / tömôsi-kî kîmî pa / asu sapë möNkamô
hill get.past(INF)-SUB / PN-GEN fields-GEN face-LOC / be.at-ATTR long.legged.waterfowl-COMP / attractive-ATTR lord\you TOP / tomorrow PT PT

I wish you (would come out to see me) tomorrow, too—my lover who is so attractive—(come to see me) like the (migrating) waterfowl that stop (to rest) on the surface of the rice paddies in Ape, just over the hills.

14:3524 – (Sōmonka, 70 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
麻乎其母能 / 布能末知可久弖 / 安波奈敞波 / 於吉都麻可母能 / 奈氣伎曽安我須流
ma-woN-kömö-nö / pu-nö ma tika-ku-te / ap-anap-ê-Npa / okî-tu ma-Nkamö-nö / naNkëk-î s(ö a)-Nka s-uru
INT-DIM-reed-GEN / joint-GEN space near-INF-SUB / meet-ENEG-EV-CON / offing-GENLOC INT-duck-COMP / lament-NML KPT I-POSS do-ATTR
there is little space between the individual reeds in the mesh of the reed-matting, yet the reeds do not meet (likewise, the distance between our homes is short, but we do not meet)—so, like the ducks in the offing (that quack loudly), I spend my time in lamentations.

14:3525 – (Sōmonka, 71 of 112+3.4) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
水久君野尓 / 可母能波抱能須 / 兒呂我宇倍尓 / 許等乎呂波敞而 / 伊麻太宿奈布母
MÎkuku NÔ-ni / kamö-nö pap-o-nösu / KÔ-rö-Nk(a u)pë-ni / kötö wo-rö papê-TE / imaNta NE-nap-u mö
PN moor-LOC / duck-GEN crawl-VEATTR(NML)-ECOMP / girl-EDIM-POSS above-LOC / words string-DIM stretch(INF)-SUB / not.yet sleep-ENEG-FIN PT
like the crawling of ducks in the open fields of Mikuku—I spoke with her for a long time, but we still haven't slept together.

14:3526 – (Sōmonka, 72 of 112+3.4)
奴麻布多都 / 可欲波等里我栖 / 安我已許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曽祢
numa puta-tu / kayôp-a töri-Nka SU / a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ö tö / na yö [o]möp-ar-i-sö ne
marsh two-CL / come.and.go-{ATTR} bird-POSS nest / I-POSS heart / two go-ETENT-VEATTR DV / NEGIMP PT think-EPROG-INF-NEGDES PT
like the nests of a bird that comes and goes between (these nests at) two marshes—don't think that my heart will go in two (i.e., go after two women)!

14:3527 – (Sōmonka, 73 of 112+3.4)
於吉尓須毛 / 乎加母乃毛已呂 / 也左可杼利 / 伊伎豆久伊毛乎 / 於伎弖伎努可母
okî-ni sum-ô / woN-kamö-nö môkörö / yasaka-N-töri / ikî-N-tuk-u imô-wo / ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö
offing-LOC live-EATTR / DIM-ducks-GEN similarity / PN-GEN-bird / breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR darling-ACC / leave.behind-INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT
just like ducks that live far from shore, are the birds of Yasaka—I left my darling panting (i.e., weeping) like those birds, to come (here).

14:3528 – (Sōmonka, 74 of 112+3.4) (line 4 apparent hypercatalexis)
水都等利乃 / 多々武与曽比尓 / 伊母能良尓 / 毛乃伊波受伎尓弖 / 於毛比可祢都母

MÎNtu töri-nö / tat-am-u yösöp-î-ni / imö-nö-ra-ni /môn(ö i)p-aNs-u k-î-n-i-te / omôp-î-kane-t-u mô
water birds-COMP / rise-TENT-ATTR make.ready-NML-LOC / darling-EDIM-PLUR-DAT / things say-NEG-INF2 come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB / think-INF-NEGPOT-PERF-FIN PT
I came without saying a word to my darling during my preparations for depature—(which was hasty and raucous) like waterfowl (that scurry around and fly up into the air)—(now) I cannot bear to think of her!

14:3529 – (Sōmonka, 75 of 112+3.4)
等夜乃野尓 / 乎佐藝祢良波里 / 乎佐乎左毛 / 祢奈敞古由恵尓 / 波伴尓許呂波要
töya-nö NÔ-ni / wosaNkî nerap-ar-i / wosawosa mô / ne-nap-ê kô yuwe n-i / papa-ni köröp-aye
PN-GEN moor-LOC / {hare} aim.at-EPROG-FIN / only.a.little PT / sleep-ENEG-{ATTR} girl reason DV-INF / mother-DAT scold-PASS(INF)
I am aiming (now) at a hare in the fields of Toya—but I was scolded by my mother because of a girl whom I didn't sleep with at all.

14:3530 – (Sōmonka, 76 of 112+3.4)
左乎思鹿能 / 布須也久草無良 / 見要受等母 / 兒呂我可奈門欲 / 由可久之要思母
sa-wo-siKA-nö / pus-u ya kuSA mura / MÎ-ye-Ns-u tö mö / KÔ-rö-Nka ka-na-TÔ-yô / yuk-aku si ye-si mö
PREF-male-deer-GEN / lie.down-ATTR KPT grass group / see-PASS-NEG-FIN DV PT / girl-EDIM-POSS metal-GEN-door-ABL / go-NML PT {good}-FIN PT
like (the vague imprint left in) a clump of grass where a stag lays, I cannot see her (figure)—but when I go (past) the gate of her home, then I am happy.

14:3531 – (Sōmonka, 77 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
伊母乎許曽 / 安比美尓許思可 / 麻欲婢吉能 / 与許夜麻敞呂能 / 思之奈須於母敞流
imö-wo kösö / ap-î-mî-n-i-kö-sika / mayo-N-pîk-î-nö / yökö yama pê-rö-nö / sisi-nas(u o)möp-êr-u
darling-ACC KPT / meet-INF-see(INF)-PERF-INF-come-{INF}-PAST(EV) / eyebrows-GEN-pull-NML-COMP / horizontal mountain area-EDIM-GEN / wild.animals-COMP think-PROG-ATTR
I came to have a tryst with my darling. But she was thinking me like some wild beast that lives in the mountains that stretch 'like eyebrows' far out on the horizon.

14:3532 – (Sōmonka, 78 of 112+3.4)
波流能野尓 / 久佐波牟古麻能 / 久知夜麻受 / 安乎思努布良武 / 伊敞乃兒呂波母
paru-nö NÔ-ni / kusa pam-u kô-[u]ma-nö / kuti yam-aNs-u / a-wo sinôp-uram-u / ipê-nö KÔ-rö pamö
spring-GEN moor-LOC / grass munch-ATTR DIM-horse-COMP / mouth stop-NEG-INF2 / I-ACC long.for-TENT-ATTR / home-GEN girl-EDIM PT
what should I do about my girl back home, who must be yearning ceaselessly for me—ceaselessly as a colt's mouth, which never stops munching grass in the spring fields.

14:3533 – (Sōmonka, 79 of 112+3.4)
比登乃兒能 / 可奈思家之太波 / 々麻渚杼里 / 安奈由牟古麻能 / 乎之家口母奈思
pîtö-nö KÔ-nö / kanasi-kê siNta pa / pama SU-N-töri / a nayum-u kô-[u]ma-nö / wosi-k(y-e)ku mö na-si
person-GEN girl-GEN / adorable-AEATTR {time} TOP / beach sandbar-GEN-bird / foot troubled.by-ATTR DIM-horse-GEN / sorrowful.at.parting-ATTR-NML PT not.exist-FIN
when I think of how attractive that man's girl (presumably, daughter) is, then I feel no pity for my horse that walks (to her home) favoring its (injured) foot—rather like a shore bird waddling.

14:3534 – (Sōmonka, 80 of 112+3.4)
安可胡麻我 / 可度弖乎思都々 / 伊弖可天尓 / 世之乎見多弖思 / 伊敞能兒良波母
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-Nka / ka-N-tô [i]Nte-wo s-i-tutu / iNte-kate-n-i / se-si-wo MÎ-tate-si / ipê-nö KÔ-ra pamö
red-DV-DIM-horse-POSS / metal-GEN-door emerge(NML)-ACC do-INF-COOR / emerge(INF)-be.able-NEG-INF / do-PAST(ATTR(NML))-ACC see-raise(INF)-PAST(ATTR) / home-GEN girl-PLUR PT
as I am about to pass out of the gate on my chestnut horse, here is my girl (or, 'here are my children'), (come from our) home to see me off—now I find that I cannot leave.

14:3535 – (Sōmonka, 81 of 112+3.4) (lines 2 and 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
於能我乎遠 / 於保尓奈於毛比曽 / 尓波尓多知 / 恵麻須我可良尓 / 古麻尓安布毛能乎
onö-Nka wo-wo / opo n-i n(a o)môp-î-sö / nipa-ni tat-i / wem-as-u-Nka kara n-i / kô-[u]ma-n(i a)p-u mônö wo
self-POSS string-ACC / normal DV-INF NEGIMP think-INF-NEGDES / garden-LOC stand-INF / smile-HON-ATTR(NML)-POSS cause DV-INF / DIM-horse-DAT meet-ATTR thing PT
don't think of your own life as a trifle—even though you met with a horse (by some theories, *koma* is a mistake for *koro*, 'girl'), just by standing in the garden and smiling.

14:3536 – (Sōmonka, 82 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
安加胡麻乎 / 宇知弖左乎妣吉 / 已許呂妣吉 / 伊可奈流勢奈可 / 和我理許武等伊布
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-wo / ut-i-te sa-wo-N-pîk-î / kökörö-N-pîk-î / ika n-ar-u se-na ka / wa-Nkari kö-m-u t(ö i)p-u
red-DV-DIM-horse-ACC / strike-INF-SUB PREF-string-GEN-pull-NML / heart-GEN-pull-INF / how DV-exist-ATTR lover-EDIM KPT / I-DIR come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR
just as he whips his chestnut horse and tugs on the reins—so he tugs on my heart; but what kind of lover is he, who *say's* he'll come to me?

14:3537a – (Sōmonka, 83a of 112+3.4) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
久敞胡之尓 / 武藝波武古宇馬能 / 波都々々尓 / 安比見之兒良之 / 安夜尓可奈思母

kupê-N-kôs-i-n-i / muNkî pam-u k(ô-u)MA-nö / patupatu n-i / ap-î-MÎ-si KÔ-ra si / aya n-i kanasi mö
fence-LOC-cross-INF-PERF-INF / grain munch-ATTR DIM-horse-COMP / very.briefly DV-INF / meet-INF-see(INF)-PAST(ATTR) girl-PLUR PT / extremely DV-INF adorable(FIN) PT
like a colt that jumps the fence to munch on grain, if only for a moment—so I think (this) girl is remarkably attractive, though I met her for a moment only.

14:3537b – (Sōmonka, 83b of 112+3.4)
或本歌曰「宇麻勢胡之 / 牟伎波武古麻能 / 波都々々尓 / 仁必波太布礼思 / 古呂之可奈思母」
uma-se-N-kôs-i / muNkî pam-u kô-[u]ma-nö / patupatu n-i / nipî-paNta pure-si / kô-rö si kanasi mö
horse-fence-LOC-cross-INF / grain munch-ATTR DIM-horse-COMP / very.briefly DV-INF / new-skin touch(INF)-PAST(ATTR) / girl-EDIM PT adorable(FIN) PT
like a colt that jumps the horse-fence to munch on grain, if only for a moment—so I think (this) girl is attractive, though I touched her virgin skin for a moment only.

14:3538a – (Sōmonka, 84a of 112+3.4)
比呂波之乎 / 宇馬古思我祢弖 / 已許呂能未 / 伊母我理夜里弖 / 和波已許尓思天
pîrö-pasi-wo / uMA kôs-i-Nkane-te / kökörö nömï / imö-Nkari yar-i-te / wa pa kökö-ni s-i-te
wide-bridge-ACC / horse cross-INF-NEGPOT-SUB / heart PT / darling-DIR make.go-INF-SUB / I TOP here-LOC do-INF-SUB
though the bridge is wide, I cannot cross my horse over it—my heart only can I send to my darling; *I* remain here…

14:3538b – (Sōmonka, 84b of 112+3.4, representing lines 1 and 2)
或本歌發句曰「乎波夜之尓 / 古麻乎波左佐氣」
wo-payasi-ni / kô-[u]ma-wo pasasakë
DIM-forest-LOC / DIM-horse-ACC let.run.free(INF)
in the small forest, I let my colt run run free… (therefore I have no horse, and so…)

14:3539 – (Sōmonka, 85 of 112+3.4) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
安受乃宇敞尓 / 古馬乎都奈伎弖 / 安夜抱可等 / 比等豆麻古呂乎 / 伊吉尓和我須流
aNsu-n(ö u)pê-ni / kô-[u]MA-wo tunaNk-î-te / ayapo-ka-Ntö / pîtö-N-tuma kô-rö-wo / ikî-ni wa-Nka s-uru
{crumbling.cliffs}-GEN above-LOC / DIM-horse-ACC tie.up-INF-SUB / {dangerous}-{EV}-CONC / person-GEN-spouse girl-EDIM-ACC / breath-LOC I-POSS do-ATTR
I have leashed my horse above the crumbling cliff—although it is dangerous, still I sigh for a girl who is another man's wife.

14:3540 – (Sōmonka, 86 of 112+3.4) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis[37])

[37] Again, it is not clear which of the two vowel clusters should be reduced if regular meter is to be retained.

左和多里能 / 手兒尓伊由伎安比 / 安可故麻我 / 安我伎乎波夜美 / 許等登波受伎奴
sawatari-nö / TEKÔ-n(i i)-yuk-(î-a)p-î / aka-N-kô-[u]ma-Nka / a-N-kak-î-wo paya-mî / kötö tö [i]p-aNs-u k-î-n-u
PN-GEN / maiden-LOC PREF-go-INF-meet-INF / red-DV-DIM-horse-POSS / foot-GEN-scrape-NML-ACC fast-GER / words DV say-NEG-INF2 come-INF-PERF-FIN
I went to meet the maiden of Sawatari, but since my chestnut horse is so fleet of foot, I came (back) without saying a word (to her).

14:3541 – (Sōmonka, 87 of 112+3.4)
安受倍可良 / 古麻乃由胡能須 / 安也波刀文 / 比等豆麻古呂乎 / 麻由可西良布母
aNsu pë kara / kô-[u]ma-nö yuk-ô-nösu / ayapa tô mo / pîtö-N-tuma kô-rö-wo / ma-yu ka s-er-ap-u mö
{crumbling.cliffs} area quality / DIM-horse-GEN go-VEATTR(NML)-ECOMP / {dangerous} DV PT / person-GEN-spouse girl-EDIM-ACC / eye-ABL KPT do-PROG-ITER-ATTR PT
although I know it is as dangerous as riding my horse around near the edge of crumbling cliffs—yet with my eyes I look again and again at that girl who is another man's wife.

14:3542 – (Sōmonka, 88 of 112+3.4) (lines 1, 3, and 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
佐射礼伊思尓 / 古馬乎波佐世弖 / 已許呂伊多美 / 安我毛布伊毛我 / 伊敞乃安多里可聞
saNsar(e i)si-ni / kô-[u]MA-wo pasase-te / kökör(ö i)ta-mî / a-Nka [o]môp-u imô-Nka / ipê-n(ö a)tari kamo
fine stones-LOC / DIM-horse-ACC make.run(INF)-SUB / heart painful-GER / I-POSS think-ATTR darling-POSS / home-GEN environs KPT
my heart aches!—it is as painful as galloping my horse over the fine stones (in the riverbed)—oh how I long to be near to the home of my darling whom I love!

14:3543 – (Sōmonka, 89 of 112+3.4)
武路我夜乃 / 都留能都追美乃 / 那利奴賀尓 / 古呂波伊敞杼母 / 伊末太年那久尓
murô-N-kaya-nö / turu-nö tutumî-nö / nar-i-n-u Nkani / kô-rö pa ip-ê-Ntö mö / imaNta ne-n-aku n-i
PN(out.building-GEN-thatching.reed)-GEN / PN-GEN embankment-COMP / become-INF-PERF-FIN PT / girl-EDIM TOP say-EV-CONC PT / not.yet sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF
like the embankments of Turu in Murongaya (or: Turu of the thatched-roof buildings)—although (she) talks as if it were already so, (the fact is that we) still have not slept together.

14:3544 – (Sōmonka, 90 of 112+3.4)
阿須可河泊 / 之多尓其礼留乎 / 之良受思天 / 勢奈那登布多理 / 左宿而久也思母
asuka KApa / sita niNkör-er-u-wo / sir-aNs-u s-i-te / se-na-na-tö puta-ri / sa-NE-TE kuyasi mö

PN river / below make.dirty-PROG-ATTR(NML)-ACC / know-NEG-INF2 do-INF-SUB / lover-EDIM-EDIM-COM two-CL / PREF-sleep(INF)-SUB regretful(FIN) PT
I slept together with my lover, all the while not knowing that (even) the bottom of the Asuka River is dirty—(now) I regret it.

14:3545 – (Sōmonka, 91 of 112+3.4)
安須可河泊 / 世久登之里世波 / 安麻多欲母 / 為祢弖已麻思乎 / 世久得四里世波
asuka KApa / sek-u tö sir-i-s(y-e)Npa / amata yô mö / wi-ne-te kö-masi-wo / sek-u tö sir-i-s(y-e)Npa
PN river / dam-FIN DV know-INF-PAST-COND / many nights PT / bring(INF)-sleep(INF)-SUB come-SUBJ(ATTR)-ACC / dam-FIN DV know-INF-PAST-COND
if I had known they would dam the river Asuka, then I would have brought you (here) many nights and slept with you—*if* I had known they would dam it…

14:3546 – (Sōmonka, 92 of 112+3.4)
安乎楊木能 / 波良路可波刀尓 / 奈乎麻都等 / 西美度波久末受 / 多知度奈良須母
awo YANKÏ-nö / par-ar-ô kapa tô-ni / na-wo mat-u tö / se-mîNtô pa kum-aNs-u / tat-i-N-tô naras-u mö
green willow-GEN / stretch-EPROG-VEATTR river door-LOC / you-ACC wait-FIN DV / {pure}-{water} TOP scoop-NEG-INF3 / stand-NML-GEN-place flatten-FIN PT
at the river-crossing where the green willow spreads its leaves, I say to myself that I'll wait for you—and, without (ever) scooping up the clear river water, I stamp flat the place where I stand (with all my pacing around).

14:3547 – (Sōmonka, 93 of 112+3.4)
阿遅乃須牟 / 須沙能伊利江乃 / 許母理沼乃 / 安奈伊伎豆加思 / 美受比佐尓指天
aNti-nö sum-u / susa-nö ir-i-YE-nö / kömör-i-NU-nö / ana ikî-N-tuk-asi / mî-Ns-u pîsa n-i s-i-te
teal-GEN live-ATTR / PN-GEN enter-NML-estuary-GEN / be.within-NML-marsh-COMP / 'ah' breath-GEN-breathe-ADJ / see-NEG-INF2 for.a.long.time DV-INF do-INF-SUB
like the fetid marshes (from which no water drains out) by the inlet of Susa, where the teals live—the days are suffocating me, these many days since I last saw you!

14:3548 – (Sōmonka, 94 of 112+3.4)
奈流世路尓 / 木都能余須奈須 / 伊等能伎提 / 可奈思家世呂尓 / 比等佐敞余須母
nar-u se-rô-ni / KÖ-tu-nö yös-u-nasu / itö nök-î-te / kanasi-kê se-rö-ni / pîtö sapê yös-u mö
make.sound-ATTR rapids-EDIM-LOC / tree-debris-GEN approach-ATTR(NML)-COMP / very remove-INF-SUB / adorable-AEATTR lover-EDIM-DAT / person PT approach-FIN PT
like how the detritus of broken branches can be seen (gathering) amid the river rapids, that are so noisy—so it is with my lover: he is so specially attractive, that all kinds of people (i.e., girls) are interested in him (and gather round him).

14:3549 – (Sōmonka, 95 of 112+3.4)
多由比我多 / 志保弥知和多流 / 伊豆由可母 / 加奈之伎世呂我 / 和賀利可欲波牟
tayupî-N-kata / sipo mît-i-watar-u / iNtu-yu kamö / kanasi-kî se-rö-Nka / wa-Nkari kayôp-am-u
PN-GEN-lagoon / tide fill-INF-cross-FIN / where-ABL KPT / adorable-ATTR lover-EDIM-POSS / I-DIR come.and.go-TENT-ATTR
like the tide rising at the lagoon of Tayupi—from what way will my lovely lover pass to come to me?

14:3550 – (Sōmonka, 96 of 112+3.4) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
於志弖伊奈等 / 伊祢波都可祢杼 / 奈美乃保能 / 伊多夫良思毛与 / 伎曽比登里宿而
os-i-t(e i)na tö / ine pa tuk-an-e-Ntö / namî-nö po-nö / itaNpur-asi mô yö / kîsö pîtö-ri NE-TE
push-INF-SUB ‘no’ DV / rice.plant TOP pound-NEG-EV-CONC
wave-COMP head.of.grain-COMP / tremble-ADJ PT PT / {last.night} one-CL sleep(INF)-SUB
when I’m forced to, I say ‘no’, and so I did not hull the rice—now like the wave-like heads of grain (that shake in the wind), I am trembling—and last night I slept alone.

14:3551 – (Sōmonka, 97 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
阿遅可麻能 / 可多尓左久奈美 / 比良湍尓母 / 比毛登久毛能可 / 加奈思家乎於吉弖
aNtikama-nö / kata-ni sak-u namî / pîra SE-ni mö / pîmô tök-u mônö ka / kanasi-kê-w(o o)k-î-te
or (5): kanasi-kê w(o o)k-î-te
MK-GEN / lagoon-LOC bloom-ATTR waves / flat\normal rapids\lover-LOC PT / cords undo-ATTR thing KPT / adorable-AEATTR(NML)-ACC leave.behind-INF-SUB
or (5): adorable-AEATTR man leave.behind-INF-SUB
like the white waves that billow up in the ‘Ajikama’ lagoon—am I a girl who loosens her sash now in the gentle rapids (for (this) regular guy)?—I left someone who’s attractive!

14:3552 – (Sōmonka, 98 of 112+3.4) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
麻都我宇良尓 / 佐和恵宇良太知 / 麻比等其等 / 於毛抱須奈母呂 / 和賀母抱乃須毛
matu-Nk(a u)ra-ni / sawawe ura-N-tat-i / ma-pîtö-N-kötö / omôp-os-unam-ö rö / wa-Nka [o]möp-o-nösu mô
pine-POSS bay-LOC / UNCLEAR(noisy?) tip-LOC-rise-(NML) / INT-people-words / think-HON-ETENT-EATTR DV / I-POSS think-EATTR-ECOMP PT
you surely think that people’s rumors are like (noisy waves) raising to the tips (of the tree branches) in the bay of pines. My thoughts are also like that.

14:3553 – (Sōmonka, 99 of 112+3.4)
安治可麻能 / 可家能水奈刀尓 / 伊流思保乃 / 許弖多受久毛可 / 伊里弖祢麻久母
aNtikama-nö / kakê-nö MÎna-tô-ni / ir-u sipo-nö / kötetaNsukumôka / ir-i-te ne-m-aku mö
MK-GEN / PN-GEN water-door-LOC / enter-ATTR tide-COMP / UNCLEAR / enter-INF-SUB sleep-TENT-NML PT

like the tide coming in at the port of ‘Ajikama’ Kake… (I wish I could) get in (your bed) and sleep (with you).

14:3554 – (Sōmonka, 100 of 112+3.4)
伊毛我奴流 / 等許乃安多理尓 / 伊波具久留 / 水都尓母我毛与 / 伊里弖祢末久母
imô-Nka n-uru / tökö-nö atari-ni / ipa-N-kukur-u / MÎNtu n-i möNkamô yö / ir-i-te ne-m-aku mö
darling-POSS sleep-ATTR / bed-GEN area-LOC / rock-LOC-dive.into-ATTR / water DV-INF PT PT / enter-INF-SUB sleep-TENT-NML PT
I wish I was the water that slips in between the rocks around the bed where my darling sleeps—then *I* would get into (her bed) and sleep (with her).

14:3555 – (Sōmonka, 101 of 112+3.4)
麻久良我乃 / 許我能和多利乃 / 可良加治乃 / 於等太可思母奈 / 宿莫敞兒由恵尓
makuraka-nö / köNka-nö watar-i-nö / kara kaNti-nö / otö-N-taka-si mö na / NE-NAp-ê KÔ yuwe n-i
PN-GEN / PN-GEN cross-NML-GEN / foreign oars-COMP / sound-GEN-high-FIN PT PT / sleep-ENEG-{EATTR} girl reason DV-INF
it is as loud as the sound of foreign oars (splashing in the sea) that are used at the crossing of Koga in Makuraka—such is the vehemence of the rumors circulating, and that is why I do not sleep with her.

14:3556 – (Sōmonka, 102 of 112+3.4)
思保夫祢能 / 於可礼婆可奈之 / 左宿都礼婆 / 比登其等思氣志 / 那乎杼可母思武
sipo-N-pune-nö / ok-ar-e-Npa kanasi / sa-NE-t-ure-Npa / pîtö-N-kötö siNkë-si / na-wo [a]Ntö kamö si-m-u
tide-GEN-boat-COMP / leave.behind-EPROG-EV-CON sad(FIN) / PREF-sleep-PERF-EV-CON / people-GEN-words lush-FIN / you-ACC {what} KPT {do}-TENT-ATTR
leaving you is as sad as abandoning a ship near the shore; yet when I slept with you, the rumors ran thick—now what should I do about you?

14:3557 – (Sōmonka, 103 of 112+3.4)
奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母与 / 許具布祢能 / 和須礼波勢奈那 / 伊夜母比麻須尓
nayamasi-kê / pîtö-N-tuma kamö yö / köNk-u pune-nö / wasure pa se-n-a-na / iya [o]möp-î-mas-u n-i
distressing-EATTR / person-GEN-spouse KPT PT / row-ATTR boat-COMP / forget(NML) TOP do-NEG-{ATTR}-ELOC / extremely think-INF-increase-FIN DV-INF
this others man’s wife who is so distressing me (i.e., who is so seductive)—since (I) do not forget (her), I think (of her) more and more, like a boat (that never stops) rowing.

14:3558 – (Sōmonka, 104 of 112+3.4) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
安波受之弖 / 由加婆乎思家牟 / 麻久良我能 / 許賀已具布祢尓 / 伎美毛安波奴可毛
ap-aNs-u s-i-te / yuk-aNpa wosi-k(y-e)m-u / makuraka-nö / köNka köNk-u pune-ni / kîmî m(ô a)p-an-u kamô

meet-NEG-INF2 do-INF-SUB / go-COND sorrowful.at.parting-UNCLEAR-TENT-FIN / PN-GEN / PN row-ATTR boat-LOC / lord\you PT meet-NEG-ATTR KPT
if I should go, (and then) be without (meeting) you, I'll probably regret it—yet I wonder if I won't meet with you on the boat that rows, in Koga of Makuraka?

14:3559 – (Sōmonka, 105 of 112+3.4)
於保夫祢乎 / 倍由毛登母由毛 / 可多米提之 / 許曽能左刀妣等 / 阿良波左米可母
opo-N-pune-wo / pë-yu mô tömö-yu mô / katamë-te si / kösö-nö satô-N-pîtö / arapas-am-ë kamö
great-DV-boat-ACC / bow-ABL PT stern-ABL PT / harden(INF)-SUB PT / PN-GEN village-GEN-people / show-TENT-EV KPT
like tightening up (the lines on) a ship at the bow and the stern—the villagers of Koso will not reveal our thus firmly-made (promise of a tryst)!

14:3560 – (Sōmonka, 106 of 112+3.4)
麻可祢布久 / 尓布能麻曽保乃 / 伊呂尓(イ弖)々 / 伊波奈久能未曽 / 安我古布良久波
ma-kane puk-u / nipu-nö ma-söpo-nö / irö-ni [i]Nte-te / ip-an-aku nömï sö / a-Nka kôp-ur[u]-aku pa
INT-metal blow-ATTR / PN-GEN INT-red.soil-COMP / color-LOC emerge(INF)-SUB / say-NEG-NML PT KPT / I-POSS love-ATTR-NML TOP
like the red earth (that is copper-rich) of 'iron-smelting' Nipu—when color appears (on my face), (though I) do not even speak, (you know) I am thinking thoughts of love.

14:3561 – (Sōmonka, 107 of 112+3.4)
可奈刀田乎 / 安良我伎麻由美 / 比賀刀礼婆 / 阿米乎万刀能須 / 伎美乎等麻刀母
kanatô TA-wo / ara-N-kakî ma-yu mî / pî-Nka tôr-e-Npa / amë-wo mat-ô-nösu / kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö
PN field-ACC / rough-DV-fence interval-ABL see(INF) / sun-POSS {shine}-EV-CON / rain-ACC wait-VEATTR(NML)-ECOMP / lord\you-ACC {KPT} wait-VEATTR PT
across the fields of Kanato, I look through a gap in the old fence: I will wait for you, my lord, like waiting for the rain when the sun is shining.

14:3562 – (Sōmonka, 108 of 112+3.4)
安里蕝夜尓 / 於布流多麻母乃 / 宇知奈婢伎 / 比登里夜宿良牟 / 安乎麻知可祢弖
ar[a]-isô ya n-i / op-uru tama mö-nö / uti-naNpîk-î / pîtö-ri ya N-Uram-u / a-wo mat-i-kane-te
rough-boulder KPT DV-INF / grow-ATTR jewel seaweed-COMP / PREF-stream-NML / one-CL KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR / I-ACC wait-INF-NEGPOT-SUB
streaming like the seaweed that grows on the rock-ridden shore—are you likewise laying down alone (and shaking with sobs), being unable to wait for me?

14:3563 – (Sōmonka, 109 of 112+3.4)
比多我多能 / 伊蕝乃和可米乃 / 多知美太要 / 和乎可麻都那毛 / 伎曽毛已余必母
pita-N-kata-nö / isô-nö wakamë-nö / tat-i-mîNtaye / wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô / kîsö mô kö-yöpî mö

PN-GEN-lagoon-GEN / boulder-GEN *wakame*-GEN\COMP / stand-INF-{confuse}(INF) / I-ACC KPT wait-ETENT-VEATTR / {last.night} PT this-evening PT
like seaweed on the boulders (in the bay) of Hitagata, you are standing, wavering—surely you waited for me last night?—and tonight will you wait as surely?

14:3564 – (Sōmonka, 110 of 112+3.4)
古涓氣呂乃 / 宇良布久可是能 / 安騰涓酒香 / 可奈之家兒呂乎 / 於毛比涓吾左牟
kôsukë-rö-nö / ura puk-u kaNse-nö / aNtö s-u s-u ka / kanasi-kê KÔ-rö-wo / omôp-î suNkôs-am-u
PN-EDIM-GEN / bay blow-ATTR wind-COMP / {what} do-FIN do-FIN KPT / adorable-AEATTR girl-EDIM-ACC / think-NML {pass}-TENT-ATTR
like the winds that blow over the bay of Kosuge—what shall I do? I shall forget about my adorable girl (or: I shall spend time thinking about my adorable girl)!

14:3565 – (Sōmonka, 111 of 112+3.4)
可能古呂等 / 宿受夜奈里奈牟 / 波太涓酒伎 / 宇良野乃夜麻尓 / 都久可多与留母
ka-nö kô-rö-tö / NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u / paNta susukî / uraNÔ yama-ni / tuku kata-yör-u mö
that-GEN girl-EDIM-COM / sleep-NEG-NML KPT become-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR / surface pampas / PN mountain-LOC / {moon} side-approach-FIN PT
shall it become that I will not sleep with that girl (any longer)?—for the moon is declining towards Mt. Urano ‘of the streaming pampas grasses’.

14:3566 – (Sōmonka, 112 of 112+3.4)
和伎毛古尓 / 安我古非思奈婆 / 曽和敞可毛 / 加未尓於保世牟 / 已許呂思良受弖
wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-ni / a-Nka kôpï sin-aNpa / söwapê kamô / kamï-ni opose-m-u / kökörö sir-aNs-u-te
I-POSS-darling-DIM-DAT / I-POSS love(NML) die-COND / UNCLEAR KPT / god-DAT blame-TENT-ATTR / heart know-NEG-INF-SUB
if my love for my darling will die, then shall I (wail\cry out\make noise?) and blame the gods—all without knowing (her) feelings?

Sakimori Uta of Unknown Provenance

14:3567 – (Sakimori Uta, 1 of 5) (問答) (Husband’s poem) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
於伎弖伊可婆 / 伊毛婆麻可奈之 / 母知弖由久 / 安都佐能由美乃 / 由都可尓母我毛
ok-î-t(e i)k-aNpa / imô pa ma-kanasi / möt-i-te yuk-u / aNtusa-nö yumî-nö / yu-tuka n-i möNkamô
leave.behind-INF-SUB go-COND / darling TOP INT-sad(FIN) / hold-INF-SUB go-ATTR / catalpa-GEN bow-GEN / bow-grip DV-INF PT
if I leave her behind, my darling will be so sad—I wish she could be the grip of the catalpa bow, which I will take with me.

14:3568 – (Sakimori Uta, 2 of 5) (問答) (Wife's reply)
於久礼為弖 / 古非波久流思母 / 安佐我里能 / 伎美我由美尓母 / 奈良麻思物能乎
okure-wi-te / kôpï-Npa kurusi mö / asa-N-kari-nö / kîmî-Nka yumî n-i mö / nar-amasi MOnö-wo
remain(INF)-be.at(INF)-SUB / love-COND awful(FIN) PT / morning-LOC-hunting-GEN / lord\you-GEN bow DV-INF PT / become-SUBJ(ATTR) thing-ACC
if I stay here, longing for you, it will be awful—oh, I would like to become your bow, which you use on the morning hunt.

14:3569 – (Sakimori Uta, 3 of 5)
佐伎母理尓 / 多知之安佐氣乃 / 可奈刀(イ弖)尓 / 手婆奈礼乎思美 / 奈吉思兒良婆母
sakîmöri n-i / tat-i-si asa-[a]kë-nö / ka-na-tô [i]Nte-ni / TA-N-panare wosi-mî / nak-î-si KÔ-ra pamö
sakimori DV-INF / rise-INF-PAST(ATTR) morning-brighten(NML)-GEN / metal-GEN-door exit(NML)-LOC / hand-LOC-part.from(NML) sorrowful.at.parting-GER / cry-INF-PAST(ATTR) girl-PLUR PT
at my going out of the gate (of my home) at daybreak, when I departed as a *Sakimori*—(what could I do for) my children (or: my girl) who wept at the sorrow of my taking-leave?

14:3570 – (Sakimori Uta, 4 of 5)
安之能葉尓 / 由布宜里多知弖 / 可母我鳴乃 / 左牟伎由布敞思 / 奈乎波思努波牟
asi-nö PA-ni / yupu-N-kïri tat-i-te / kamö-Nka NE-nö / samu-kî yupu-N-pê si / na-wo Npa sinôp-am-u
reed-GEN leaves-LOC / evening-GEN-fog rise-INF-SUB / duck-POSS voice-GEN / cold-ATTR evening-GEN-area PT / you-ACC PT long.for-TENT-FIN
evening-fog will rise amidst the reeds—in that cold evening of the duck's cry, I'll long for you.

14:3571 – (Sakimori Uta, 5 of 5) (lines 2 and 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
於能豆麻乎 / 比登乃左刀尓於吉 / 於保々思久 / 見都々曽伎奴流 / 許能美知乃安比太
onö-N-tuma-wo / pîtö-nö satô-n(i o)k-î / opoposi-ku / MÎ-tutu sö k-î-n-uru / kö-nö mîti-n(ö a)pîNta
my.own-GEN-spouse-ACC / another.person-GEN village-LOC leave.behind-NML / melancholic-INF / see(INF)-COOR KPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR / this-GEN road-GEN interval
I am so sad at leaving my wife behind in another's village—I keep looking back as I come along this road.

Hiyuka of Unknown Provenance

14:3572 – (Hiyuka, 1 of 5) (lines 2 and 4 apparent mistake in character order[38])
安杼毛敞可 / 阿自久麻末乃 / 由豆流波乃 / 布敷麻夜留等伎尓 / 可是布可受可母
aNtö [o]môp-ê ka / aNsikuma yama-nö / yuNtur-u-pa-nö / pupum-ar-u tökî-ni / kaNse puk-aNs-u kamö
{what} think-EV KPT / PN mountain-GEN / relinquish-ATTR-leaves-GEN\COMP / still.folded-EROG-ATTR time-LOC / wind blow-{HON}-FIN KPT
what should I think?—I wonder if the winds will blow while the daphniphyllum buds are yet unopened, on Mt. Ajikuma? (i.e., will suitors approach (my daughter) while she is still a child?)

14:3573 – (Hiyuka, 2 of 5)
安之比奇能 / 夜麻可都良加氣 / 麻之波尓母 / 衣我多伎可氣乎 / 於吉夜可良佐武
asipîkï-nö / yama kaNtura kaNkë / ma-siNpa n-i mö / e-N-kata-kî kaNkë-wo / ok-î ya kar-as-am-u
MK-GEN / mountain vine vine / INT-frequently DV-INF PT / get-GEN-difficult-ATTR vine-ACC / leave.behind-INF KPT wither-CAUS-TENT-ATTR
will it make them wither, if I leave them (ungathered)—the vines that are difficult to gather frequently among the vines of the ‘ashipiki’ mountains?

14:3574 – (Hiyuka, 3 of 5)
乎佐刀奈流 / 波奈多知波奈乎 / 比伎余治弖 / 乎良無登須礼杼 / 宇良和可美許曽
wo-satô n-ar-u / pana tatiNpana-wo / pîk-î-yöNt-i-te / wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö / ura waka-mî kösö
DIM-village LOC-exist-ATTR / blossom mandarin.orange-ACC / pull-INF-scale-INF-SUB / snap-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC / tip young-GER KPT
I am straining to pluck the blossoms of the mandarin orange tree in the little village (or, in Wosato)—although I intend to break off (a spray), because the blossoms on the fresh bough-tips are so young… (I do not snap them.)

14:3575 – (Hiyuka, 4 of 5)
美夜自呂乃 / 渚可敞尓多弖流 / 可保我波奈 / 莫佐吉伊弖曽祢 / 許米弖思努波武
mîyaNsirö-nö / SUka pê-ni tat-er-u / kapo-Nka pana / NA sak-î-iNte-sö ne / kömë-te sinôp-am-u
PN-GEN / sandbar area-LOC stand-PROG-ATTR / face-POSS blossom / NEGIMP bloom-INF-emerge(INF)-NEGDES PT / enter(INF)-SUB long.for-TENT-FIN
(you) convolvulus blossoms growing in the sandbars of Miyanjiro: do not blossom open! but yearn in secret.

14:3576 – (Hiyuka, 5 of 5) (headlined with character 古, for mistake in line 2?)
奈波之呂乃 / 告[39]奈宜我波奈乎 / 伎奴尓須里 / 奈流留麻尓末仁 / 安是可加奈思家
napa-sirö-nö / kô-na-N-kï-Nka pana-wo / kînu-ni sur-i / nar-uru manimani / aNse ka kanasi-kê

[38] The character 夜 in line four should appear in line two between 麻 and 末 in line two.
[39] This character is partially crossed out in the manuscript; may also be 吉; glossed with キ.

seedling-enclosure-GEN / DIM-water-GEN-leeks-POSS blossom-ACC / robes-LOC rub-NML / used.to-ATTR as / {why} KPT lonely-AEATTR
even as I get used to dying my robes by rubbing them with blossoms from the water-leeks of the seedling nursery—why do I feel lonely?

Banka of Unknown Provenance

14:3577 – (Banka, 1 of 1) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
可奈思伊毛乎 / 伊都知由可米等 / 夜麻須氣乃 / 曽我比尓宿思久 / 伊麻之久夜思母
kanas(i i)mô wo / iNtuti yuk-am-ë tö / yama suNkë-nö / sö-Nkap-î n-i NE-si-ku / ima si kuyasi mö
adorable darling PT / which.way go-TENT-EV DV / mountain sedge-COMP / back-face-NML DV-INF sleep(INF)-PAST(ATTR)-NML / now PT regretful(FIN) PT
my darling… no matter which way you may have gone, the way once we slept together, back-to-back like the mountain-sedge—now, I regret that (i.e., I regret our fighting).

Appendix B
Man'yōshū Book XX (Sakimori Uta)

Collected in the Second Month of the Seventh Year of Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝 (755; during the reign of Emperess Kōken 孝謙), in the Thirty-Second Year of the Sexagenary Cycle (Ki-no To Hitsuji)

Tōtōmi Province

Eighteen Verses were submitted by Sakamoto-no Asomi Hitokami (坂本朝臣人上)
On the Sixth Day of the Second Month

20:4321 – (Tōtōmi, 1 of 7) (line 4 apparent extra character)
(Mononobe-no Akimochi 物部秋持, Kuni-no Miyatsuko-no Yoboro 國造丁, Naganoshimo 長下郡)
可之古伎夜 / 美許等加我布理 / 阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢乎[40] / 伊牟奈之尓志弖
kasikô-kî ya / mî-kötö ka-Nkapur-i / asu-yuri ya / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u / imu na-si-ni s-i-te
awesome-ATTR KPT / HON-words PREF-put.on-INF / tomorrow-ABL PT / {reed}-POSS together.with sleep-TENT-ATTR / {darling} not.exist-FIN-LOC do-INF-SUB
ah, (the Imperial command) is awesome!—I obey my sovereign's orders, and from tomorrow I shall sleep together with the reeds, since I'll be without (my) darling.

20:4322 – (Tōtōmi, 2 of 7)
(Wakayamabe-no Mumaro 若倭部身麿, Fumihito-no Yoboro 主帳丁, Aratama 麁玉郡)
和我都麻波 / 伊多久古比良之 / 乃牟美豆尓 / 加其佐倍美曳弖 / 余尓和須良礼受
wa-Nka tuma pa / ita-ku kôpî-rasi / nöm-u mîNtu-ni / kaNkö sapë mî-ye-te / yö-ni wasur-are-Ns-u
I-POSS spouse TOP / extremely-INF love-SUP / drink-ATTR water-LOC / {visage} PT see-PASS-SUB / world-LOC try.to.forget-PASS-NEG-FIN
it seems my spouse is sorely in love with me—seeing her very visage reflected in the water which I drink, there is no way that I could forget her.

20:4323 – (Tōtōmi, 3 of 7)
(Hasetsukabe-no Mamaro 丈部真麿, Sakimori 防人,Yamana 山名郡)
等伎騰吉乃 / 波奈波佐家登母 / 奈尓須礼曽 / 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥已受祁牟
tökî-Ntökî-nö / pana pa sak-ê-Ntö mö / nani s-ure sö / papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / sak-î-[i]Nte-kö-s-u-k(y-e)m-u
time-time-GEN / blossom TOP bloom-EV-CONC PT / what do-EV KPT / mother DV call-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-emerge(INF)-come-HON-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR

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[40] The character 乎 is believed to be a mistake for 牟.

although there are (some) flowers blooming at all times, what shall I do (so that) the flower which I call ‘mother’ might come out in bloom?

20:4324 – (Tōtōmi, 4 of 7) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Hasetsukabe-no Kawai 丈部川相, Yamana 山名郡)
等倍多保美 / 志留波乃伊宗等 / 尓閇乃宇良等 / 安比弖之阿良波 / 已等母加由波牟
töpëtapomî / sirupa-nö isô-tö / nipë-n(ö u)ra-tö / ap-î-te si ar-aNpa / kötö mö kayup-am-u
{PN} / PN-GEN rock-COM / PN-GEN bay-COM / meet-INF-SUB PT exist-COND / words PT {come.and.go}-TENT-FIN
if it should ever be that the rocky shore of Sirupa in Tōtōmi (where my home is?) meets with the bay of Nipe (where I am now?), then they should speak to one another (like lovers; and so then I could speak with my lover too).

20:4325 – (Tōtōmi, 5 of 7)
(Hasetsukabe-no Kuromasa 丈部黒當, Saya 佐野郡)
知々波々母 / 波奈尓母我毛夜 / 久佐麻久良 / 多妣波由久等母 / 佐々已弖由加牟
titi papa mö / pana n-i möNkamô ya / kusa makura / taNpî pa yuk-u tömö / sasaNkö-te yuk-am-u
father mother PT / blossom DV-INF PT KPT / grass pillow / travel TOP go-FIN CONJ / {raise}(INF)-SUB go-TENT-ATTR
wouldn’t I want my father and mother to be flowers? Then, when I go off on my journey and sleep on the open plain, I should lift them up and go!

20:4326 – (Tōtōmi, 6 of 7)
(Ikutamabe-no Tarikuni 生壬部足國, Saya 佐野郡)
父母我 / 等能々志利弊乃 / 母々余具佐 / 母々与伊弖麻勢 / 和我伎多流麻弖
TITI PAPA-Nka / tönö-nö siri pê-nö / mömö-yö-N-kusa / mömö-yö iNte-mas-e / wa-Nka k-î-t[e]-ar-u-maNte
father mother-POSS / hall-GEN back area-GEN / hundred-generation-GEN-grass / hundred-generation emerge(INF)-HON-IMP / I-POSS come-INF-SUB-exist-ATTR-TERM
like the hundred-ages-grass behind my parent’s home—bloom for a hundred generations, until I have come back!

20:4327 – (Tōtōmi, 7 of 7)
(Mononobe-no Furumaro 物部古麿, Naganoshimo 長下郡)
和我都麻母 / 畫尓可伎等良無 / 伊豆麻母加 / 多比由久阿礼婆 / 美都々志努波牟
wa-Nka tuma mö / WE-ni kak-î-tör-am-u / iNtuma möNka / taNpî yuk-u are pa / mî-tutu sinôp-am-u
I-POSS spouse PT / picture-LOC draw-INF-take-TENT-ATTR / {leisure} PT PT / journey go-ATTR I TOP / see(INF)-COOR long.for-TENT-FIN
I wish I had the leisure to draw my spouse in a picture—then I, who am going on a journey, should ‘pine’ for her whenever I look at it.

Sagamu Province

Eight Verses were submitted by Fujiwara-no Asomi Sukunamaro (藤原朝臣宿奈麿)
On the Seventh Day of the Second Month

20:4328 – (Sagamu, 1 of 3) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Hasetsukabe-no Miyatsuko Hitomaro 丈部造人麿, Suke-no Yoboro 助丁)
於保吉美能 / 美許等可之古美 / 伊蘇尓布理 / 宇乃波良和多流 / 知々波々乎於伎弖
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö kasikô-mî / isô-ni pur-i / unö-para watar-u / titi papa-w(o o)k-î-te
great-lord-GEN / HON-words awesome-GER / rocks-LOC touch-INF / {sea}-plain cross-FIN / father mother-ACC leave.behind-INF-SUB
since my sovereign's commands are awesome, here I am, crossing over the sea-plain, crawling close around the coast, next to the rocks, leaving my father and mother behind…

20:4329 – (Sagamu, 2 of 3)
(Tajihibe-no Kunihito 丹比部國人, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Ashinoshima 足下郡)
夜蘇久尓波 / 那尓波尓都度比 / 布奈可射里 / 安我世武比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我母
ya-sô kuni pa / nanipa-ni tuNtôp-î / puna-kaNsar-i / a-Nka se-m-u pî-rö-wo / mî-m-ô pîtö möNkamö
eight-ten province TOP / PN-LOC gather-INF / boat decorate-NML / I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-EDIM-ACC / see-TENT-VEATTR person PT
from every province, people gather in Nanipa—I want there to be someone to see the day when I shall do the boat-decorating!

20:4330 – (Sagamu, 3 of 3)
(Maruko-no Muraji Ōmaro 丸子連多麿, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Kamakura 鎌倉郡)
奈尓波都尓 / 余曽比余曽比弖 / 氣布能日夜 / 伊田弖麻可良武 / 美流波々奈之尓
nanipa tu-ni / yösöp-î-yösöp-î-te / këpu-nö PÎ ya / iNte-te makar-am-u / mîr-u papa na-si-ni
PN harbor-LOC / make.ready-INF-make.ready-INF-SUB / today-GEN sun KPT / emerge(INF)-SUB go(HUM)-TENT-ATTR(NML) / see-ATTR mother not.exist-FIN-LOC
in Nanipa harbor we ready the boats, and will we be setting out today?—because my mother is not here to watch…

Suruga Province

Twenty Verses were submitted by Fuse-no Asomi Hitonushi (布勢朝臣人主)
On the Seventh Day (actually the Ninth) of the Second Month

20:4337 – (Suruga, 1 of 10)
(Utobe-no Ushimaro 有度部牛麿, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁)
美豆等里乃 / 多知能已蘇岐尓 / 父母尓 / 毛能波須價尓弖 / 已麻叙久夜志伎

mîNtu töri-nö / tat-i-nö isôNk-î n-i / TITI PAPA-ni / mônö [i]p-aNs-u k-ê-n-i-te / ima Nsö kuyasi-kî
water bird-GEN / rise-NML-COMP rush-INF DV-INF / father mother-DAT / things say-NEG-INF2 come-{INF}-PERF-INF-SUB / now KPT regretful-ATTR
everything's frenzied, like the raucous rising of waterfowl—how I regret, now, that I came without saying anything to my father or mother!

20:4338 – (Suruga, 2 of 10)
(Ōsibe-no Michimaro 生部道麿, Suke-no Yoboro 助丁)
多々美氣米 / 牟良自加已蕝乃 / 波奈利蕝乃 / 波々乎波奈例弖 / 由久我加奈之佐
tatamî këmë / muraNsi-Nka isô-nö / panar-i-[i]sô-nö / papa-wo panare-te / yuk-u-Nka kanasi-sa
matting {reed.mat} / PN-POSS rocks-GEN / {part.from}-INF-rocks-COMP / mother-ACC part.from(INF)-SUB / go-ATTR(NML)-POSS sad-ADJNML
like the rocks that stand apart (i.e., offshore) from the rocks of 'matted' Muraji—(such is) the sadness of my parting from my mother.

20:4339 – (Suruga, 3 of 10)
(Osakabe-no Mushimaro 刑部虫麿)
久尓米具留 / 阿等利加麻氣利 / 由伎米具利 / 加比利久麻弖尓 / 已波比弖麻多祢
kuni mëNkur-u / atöri kama këri / yuk-î-mëNkur-i / kapîr-i-k-u-maNte-ni / ipap-î-te mat-ane
province encircle-ATTR / seagull {duck} plover / go-INF-encircle-INF / {return}-INF-go?-ATTR?-TERM-LOC / perform.rites-INF-SUB wait-DES
I'd like you to perform the rites and wait for me, until I have gone around to serve in Tukusi and finally go back (home), like the gulls, the ducks, and the plovers that make circuits over our country.'

20:4340 – (Suruga, 4 of 10)
(Kawahara-no Mushimaro 川原虫麿)
知々波々江 / 已波比弖麻多祢 / 豆久志奈流 / 美豆久白玉 / 等里弖久麻弖尓
titi papa ye / ipap-î-te mat-ane / tukusi n-ar-u / mî-N-tuk-u SIRA-TAMA / tör-i-te k-u-maNte-ni
father mother {PT} / perform.rites-INF-SUB wait-DES / PN LOC-exist-ATTR / water-LOC-immerge-ATTR white-pearl / take-INF-SUB go?-ATTR?-TERM-LOC
father! mother!—I'd like you to perform the rites and wait for me—wait until I go (back) bearing white pearls from the waters of Tukushi!

20:4341 – (Suruga, 5 of 10) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Hasetsukabe-no Tarimaro 丈部足麿)
多知波奈能 / 美袁利乃佐刀尓 / 父乎於伎弖 / 道乃長道波 / 由伎加弖奴加毛
tatipana-nö / mîwori-nö satô-ni / TITI-w(o o)k-î-te / MÎTI-nö NANKA-TI pa / yuk-î-kate-n-u kamô

PN-GEN / PN-GEN village-LOC / father-ACC leave.behind-INF-SUB / road-GEN long-road TOP / go-INF-be.able-NEG-ATTR KPT
I left my father behind in the village of Miwori in Tachibana—perhaps I cannot make it (now), on this long road…

20:4342 – (Suruga, 6 of 10)
(Sakatabe-no Obito Maro 坂田部首麿)
麻氣波之良 / 寶米弖豆久礼留 / 等乃能其等 / 已麻勢波々刀自 / 於米加波利勢受
ma-kë pasira / pomë-te tukur-er-u / tönö-nö Nkötö / imas-e papa tôNsi / omë kapar-i-se-Ns-u
INT-{tree} pillar / praise(INF)-SUB make-PROG-ATTR / hall-GEN resemblance / exist(HON)-IMP mother huswife / {face} change-INF-do-NEG-FIN
my dear mother!—be just like the great wooden pillars we were chanting in praise of as we built our new house: (the look of) your face not changing.

20:4343 – (Suruga, 7 of 10)
(Tamatsukuribe-no Hirome 玉作部廣目)
和呂多比波 / 多比等於米保等 / 已比尓志弖 / 古米知夜須良牟 / 和加美可奈志母
warö taNpî pa / taNpî tö omëp-o-Ntö / ipî-ni s-i-te / kô mët-i yas-uram-u / wa-Nka mî kanasi mö
{I} journey TOP / journey DV {think}-{EV}-CONC / {home}-LOC do-INF-SUB / girl {hold}-INF grow.thin-TENT2-ATTR / I-POSS {wife} sad(FIN) PT
I know my journey is a journey—but still I long to be with my wife, who is at home with the children, growing thin.

20:4344 – (Suruga, 8 of 10)
(Akinoosa-no Obito Maro 商長首麿)
和須良牟(石弖) / 努由伎夜麻由伎 / 和例久礼等 / 和我知々波々波 / 和須例勢努加毛
wasur-am-u te / nô yuk-î yama yuk-î / ware k-ure-Ntö / wa-Nka titi papa pa / wasure-se-n-ô kamô
try.to.forget-TENT-FIN {DV} / moor go-INF mountain go-INF / I come-EV-CONC / I-POSS father mother TOP / forget(INF)-do-NEG-VEATTR KPT
I said I would try to forget them—and I have come here, traveling over moor and mountain, but will I finally forget my father and mother?—(no, I will not.)

20:4345 – (Suruga, 9 of 10) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Kasugabe-no Maro 春日部麿)
和伎米故等 / 不多利和我見之 / 宇知江須流 /々々河乃祢良波 / 苦不志久米阿流可
wa-Nk[a]-îmë-kô-tö / puta-ri wa-Nka MÎ-si / uti-yes-uru / suruNka-nö ne-ra pa / kupusi-ku m(ë a)r-u ka
I-POSS-{darling}-DIM-COM / two-CL we-POSS see(INF)-PAST(ATTR) / PREF-{approach}-ATTR / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TOP / {lovely}-INF {PT} exist-ATTR KPT
the peaks of Suruga—which the two of us, my darling and I, see and draw near to—are they not lovely?

20:4346 – (Suruga, 10 of 10)
(Hasetsukabe-no Inamaro 丈部稲麿)
知々波々我 / 可之良加伎奈弖 / 佐久安礼天 / 伊比之氣等波是 / 和須礼加祢津流
titi papa-Nka / kasira kak-î-naNte / sa-ku ar-e te / ip-î-si këtö-N-pa Nse / wasure-kane-t-uru
father mother-POSS / head scratch-INF-rub(INF) / {happy}-INF exist-IMP {DV} / say-INF-PAST(ATTR) {words}-GEN-leaf {KPT} / forget-NEGPOT-PERF-ATTR
'be happy, son', my parents said, and pressed my cheek. I can never forget their words.

Kamitsufusa Province

Nineteen Verses were submitted by Umarada-no Muraji Samimaro (茨田連沙弥麿)
On the Ninth Day of the Second Month

20:4347 – (Kamitsufusa, 1 of 13) (line 2 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Father of Kusakabe-no Omi Minaka 日下部使主三中, Kuni-no Miyatsuko-no Yoboro 國造丁)
伊閇尓之弖 / 古非都々安良受波 / 奈我波氣流 / 多知尓奈里弖母 / 伊波非弖之加母
ipë-ni s-i-te / kôpï-tut(u a)r-aNs-u pa / na-Nka pak-ër-u / tati n-i nar-i-te mö / ipap-ï-te si kamö
home-LOC do-INF-SUB / love(INF)-COOR exist-NEG-FIN TOP / you-POSS make.wear-PROG-ATTR / sword DV-INF become-INF-SUB PT / perform.rites-INF-SUB PT KPT
I am at home, and though I love you, yet I am not with you—could I become the sword that you wear at your side, then wouldn't I protect you?

20:4348 – (Kamitsufusa, 2 of 13)
(Kusakabe-no Omi Minaka 日下部使主三中, Kuni-no Miyatsuko-no Yoboro 國造丁)
多良知祢乃 / 波々乎和加例弖 / 麻許等和例 / 多非乃加里保尓 / 夜須久祢牟加母
taratine-nö / papa-wo wakare-te / ma-kötö ware / taNpï-nö kari-[i]po-ni / yasu-ku ne-m-u kamö
MK-GEN / mother-ACC separate(INF)-SUB / INT-words I / journey-GEN temporary-hut-LOC / easy-INF sleep-TENT-ATTR KPT
I am away from my birth mother—truly, shall I sleep easy on my journey, lodged in a makeshift hut?

20:4349 – (Kamitsufusa, 3 of 13)
(Osakabe-no Atai Mino 刑部直三野, Suke-no Yoboro 助丁)
毛母久麻能 / 美知波紀尓志乎 / 麻多佐良尓 / 夜蕝志麻須義弖 / 和加例加由可牟
mômö kuma-nö / mîti pa k-ï-n-i-si-wo / mata sara n-i / ya-sô sima suNkï-te / wakare ka yuk-am-u
hundred turns-GEN / road TOP come-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC / again more DV-INF / eight-ten islands pass(INF)-SUB / separate(INF) KPT go-TENT-ATTR

having come (this far) on these often winding roads, still there is more (travel)—shall I (then) go past the many islands, away from you?

20:4350 – (Kamitsufusa, 4 of 13)
(Wakawomibe-no Morohito 若麻續部諸人, Fumihito-no Yoboro 帳丁)
尓波奈加能 / 阿須波乃可美尓 / 古志波佐之 / 阿例波伊波々牟 / 加倍理久麻泥尓
nipa naka-nö / asupa-nö kamî-ni / kô-siNpa sas-i / are pa ipap-am-u / kapër-i-k-u-maNte-ni
garden middle-GEN / PN-GEN god-DAT / DIM-bushes thrust-INF / I TOP perform.rites-TENT-FIN / return-INF-go?-ATTR?-TERM-LOC
until I go back (home), I shall thrust out a sprig of *shiba* to worship the Asupa god in the center of the garden.

20:4351 – (Kamitsufusa, 5 of 13)
(Tamatsukuribe-no Kunioshi 玉作部國忍, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Mauda 望陀郡)
多比已呂母 / 夜倍伎可佐祢弖 / 伊努礼等母 / 奈保波太佐牟志 / 伊母尓阿良祢婆
taNpî körömö / ya-pë kî-kasane-te / i-n-ôre-Ntö mö / napo paNta samu-si / imö-ni si ar-an-e-Npa
journey robes / eight-CL wear(INF)-pile(INF)-SUB / sleep-lie.down-{EV}-CONC PT / PT skin cold-FIN / darling-LOC PT exist-NEG-EV-CON
although I sleep wrapped in layers of my travel-robes, still my skin is cold—because I am not with my darling!

20:4352 – (Kamitsufusa, 6 of 13)
(Hasetsukabe-no Tori 丈部鳥, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Amaha 天羽郡)
美知乃倍乃 / 宇万良能宇礼尓 / 波保麻米乃 / 可良麻流伎美乎 / 波可礼加由加牟
mîti-nö pë-nö / umara-nö ure-ni / pap-o mamë-nö / karam-ar-u kîmî-wo / pakare ka yuk-am-u
road-GEN side-GEN / briar-GEN tip-LOC / spread-EATTR bean.vine-COMP / enwrap-EPROG-ATTR lord/you-ACC / be.distant(NML) KPT go-TENT-ATTR
should I go away from you, my lord, to whom I cling[41]—like bean vines around the boughs of roadside briar?

20:4353 – (Kamitsufusa, 7 of 13)
(Maroko-no Muraji Ohatoshi 丸子連大歳, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Asahina 朝夷郡 (properly in Awa Province))
伊倍加是波 / 比尓々々布氣等 / 和伎母古賀 / 伊倍其登母遅弖 / 久流比等母奈之

[41] Literally, 'whom I enwrap' or 'whom I wind around'; since the poem is written in the guise of a woman, this line can be interpreted as an sexual metaphor. Also note the obviously phallic significance of 'briar' – or more plainly 'thorn,' around whose 'tip' the bean-vines 'spread' or 'stretch.' Incidentally, I do not believe that *mame* 'bean' had the slang sense of 'clitoris' at this time. Because this poem is said to have been composed by a man in Book XX, Mizushima holds that *kîmî* 'lord/you' in line four is being used in a rare (but attested) sense to refer to a woman; I find this interpretation absurd in light of the gender-specific sexual imagery of this poem.

ipë kaNse pa / pî-ni pî-ni puk-ë-Ntö / wa-Nk[a]-îmö-kô-Nka / ipë-N-kötö möt-i-te / k-uru pîtö mö na-si
home wind TOP / sun-LOC sun-LOC blow-EV-CONC / I-POSS-darling-DIM-POSS / home-GEN-words hold-INF-SUB / come-ATTR person PT not.exist-FIN
although a wind from my homeland blows here everyday, still there is no one come (from my home) bearing news of my darling.

20:4354 – (Kamitsufusa, 8 of 13)
(Hasetsukabe-no Yoromaro 丈部与呂麿, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Nagasa 長狭郡 (properly in Awa))
多知許毛乃 / 多知乃佐和伎尓 / 阿比美弖之 / 伊母加己々呂波 / 和須礼世奴可母
tatikömô-nö / tat-i-nö sawak-î-ni / ap-î-mî-te si / imö-Nka kökörö pa / wasure-se-n-u kamö
MK-COMP / rise-NML-GEN be.confusing-NML-LOC / meet-INF-see(INF)-SUB PT / darling-POSS heart TOP / forget(INF)-do-NEG-ATTR KPT
although we met in the confusion of my setting out (which was like the noisy scattering of waterfowl)—I will not forget about my darling's feelings!

20:4355 – (Kamitsufusa, 9 of 13)
(Hasetsukabe-no Yamashiro 丈部山代, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Muza 武射郡)
余曽尓能美 /々弖夜和多良毛 / 奈尓波我多 / 久毛為尓美由流 / 志麻奈良奈久尓
yö-sö-ni nömî / mî-te ya watar-am-ô / nanipa-N-kata / kumô wi-ni mî-y-uru / sima n-ar-an-aku n-i
other-place-LOC PT / see(INF)-SUB KPT cross-TENT-EATTR / PN-GEN-lagoon / clouds stay.put(NML)-LOC see-PASS-ATTR / islands DV-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF
I'll pass (the day) gazing far into the distance—for it is not (that hateful western) island that one sees in the clouds that hang over the bay of Nanipa!

20:4356 – (Kamitsufusa, 10 of 13)
(Mononobe-no Wotora 物部乎刀良, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Yamanobe 山邊郡)
和我波々能 / 蕝弖母知奈弖氐 / 和我可良尓 / 奈伎之許己呂乎 / 和須良延努可毛
wa-Nka papa-nö / sôNte möt-i-naNte-te / wa-Nka kara n-i / nak-î-si kökörö-wo / wasur-aye-n-ô kamô
I-POSS mother-GEN / sleeves hold-INF-stroke(INF)-SUB / I-POSS sake.of DV-INF / cry-INF-PAST(ATTR) heart-ACC / try.to.forget-PASS-NEG-VEATTR KPT
my mother clasped and patted my sleeve—and would I try to forget now how she wept for me?

20:4357 – (Kamitsufusa, 11 of 13)
(Osakabe-no Atai Chikuni 刑部直千國, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Ichihara 市原郡)
阿之可伎能 / 久麻刀尓多知弖 / 和藝毛古我 / 蕝弖毛志保々尓 / 奈伎志曽母波由
asi-kakî-nö / kuma tô-ni tat-i-te / wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-Nka / sôNte mô sipopo n-i / nak-î-si sö [o]möp-ay-u

reed-fence-GEN / corner place-LOC stand-INF-SUB / I-POSS-darling-DIM-POSS / sleeves PT soaked DV-INF / cry-INF-PAST(ATTR) KPT think-PASS-FIN
I remember how my darling, standing in the dark, in the shadows at the corner of the reed-fence, wept for me until her sleeves were sopping wet.

20:4358 – (Kamitsufusa, 12 of 13)
(Mononobe-no Tatsu 物部龍, 上丁, Suwe 種淮郡)
於保伎美乃 / 美許等加志古美 / 伊弖久礼婆 / 和努等里都伎弖 / 伊比之古奈波毛
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö kasikô-mî / iNte-k-ure-Npa / wa-nô tör-i-tuk-î-te / ip-î-si kô-na pamô
great-lord-GEN / HON-words awesome-GER / emerge(INF)-come-EV-CON / I-{DAT} take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-PAST(ATTR) girl-EDIM PT
how awesome are the commands of my sovereign!—but since I have come out here, whatever shall I do about that girl who says she clings to me (and didn't want me to leave)?

20:4359 – (Kamitsufusa, 13 of 13)
(Wakawomibe-no Hitsuji 若麻續部羊, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Nagara 長柄郡)
都久之閇尓 / 敞牟加流布祢乃 / 伊都之加毛 / 都加敞麻都里弖 / 久尓々閇牟可毛
tukusi pë-ni / pê muk-ar-u pune-nö / itu si kamô / tukapê-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pë muk-am-ô
PN shore-LOC / bow turn-EPROG-ATTR boat-GEN\COMP / when PT KPT / serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB / province-LOC bow turn-TENT-VEATTR
(like) that boat which turns its bow towards the shore of Tukushi—when, after I have done my service, will it (or: another ship) turn its bow towards my homeland?

Hitachi Province

Seventeen Verses (or, according to the Genryaku Manuscript, 27) were submitted by Okinaga-no Mahito Kunishima (息長真人國嶋)
On the Fourteenth Day of the Second Month

20:4363 – (Hitachi, 1 of 10)
(Wakatoneribe-no Hirotari 若舍人部廣足, Umaraki 茨城郡)
奈尓波都尓 / 美布祢於呂須恵 / 夜蘇加奴伎 / 伊麻波許伎奴等 / 伊母尓都氣許曽
nanipa tu-ni / mî-pune orö-suwe / ya-sô ka-nuk-î / ima pa köNk-î-n-u tö / imö-ni tuNkë-kösö
PN harbor-LOC / HON-boat descend-fix(INF) / eight-ten oar-thrust-INF / now TOP row-INF-PERF-FIN DV / darling-DAT tell(INF)-DESIMP
in the bay of Nanipa, the official boat is setting out, and many oars slice into the waves—I'd like (someone) to tell my darling that I'm rowing!

20:4364 – (Hitachi, 2 of 10) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Wakatoneribe-no Hirotari 若舍人部廣足, Umaraki 茨城郡)

佐伎牟理尓 / 多々牟佐和伎尓 / 伊敞能伊牟何 / 奈流敞伎己等乎 / 伊波須伎奴可母
sakîmuri-ni / tat-am-u sawak-î-ni / ipê-n(ö i)mu-Nka / nar-uNpê-kî kötö-wo / ip-aNs-u-k-î-n-u kamö
{*sakimori*}-LOC / stand-TENT-ATTR shout-NML-LOC / home-GEN {darling}-POSS / make.living-DEB-ATTR words-ACC / say-NEG-INF-come-INF-PERF-FIN KPT
in the bustle of the departure of the *Sakimori*, did I come without telling my darling at home what she must do to make a living?

20:4365 – (Hitachi, 3 of 10)
(Monobe-no Michitari 物部道足, Shida 信太郡)
於之弖流夜 / 奈尓波能津与利 / 布奈与曽比 / 阿例波許藝奴等 / 伊母尓都岐許曽
ositeru ya / nanipa-nö TU-yöri / puna yösöp-î / are pa köNk-î-n-u tö / imö-ni tuNkî-kösö
MK KPT / PN-GEN harbor-ABL / boat make.ready-INF / I TOP row-INF-PERF-FIN DV / darling-LOC {tell}(INF)-DESIMP
from the harbor of ‘oshiteru’ Nanipa, we ready the boat—I wish to tell my darling that I’m rowing!

20:4366 – (Hitachi, 4 of 10)
(Monobe-no Michitari 物部道足, Shida 信太郡)
比多知散思 / 由可牟加里母我 / 阿我古比乎 / 志留志弖都祁弖 / 伊母尓志良世牟
pîtati sas-i / yuk-am-u kari möNka / a-Nka kôpî-wo / sirus-i-te tukê-te / imö-ni sir-ase-m-u
PN face.towards-INF / go-TENT-ATTR geese PT / I-POSS love(NML)-ACC / write.down-INF-SUB affix(INF)-SUB / darling-DAT know-CAUS-TENT-FIN
I wish there were geese going off to Hitachi—I would record my love and send it with them, I would let my darling know my feelings!

20:4367 – (Hitachi, 5 of 10)
(Urabe-no Wotatsu 占部小龍, Umaraki 茨城郡)
阿我母弖能 / 和須例母之太波 / 都久波尼乎 / 布利佐氣美都々 / 伊母波之奴波尼
a-Nka [o]möte-nö / wasure-m-ö siNta pa / tukupa ne-wo / pur-i-sakë-mî-tutu / imö pa sinup-ane
I-POSS face-GEN / forget-TENT-VEATTR {time} TOP / PN peak-ACC / swing-INF-shun(INF)-see(INF)-COOR / darling TOP {long.for}-DES
when you shall forget my face, my darling—then I want you to wait and long for me, while gazing out over the peaks of Tukupa.

20:4368 – (Hitachi, 6 of 10)
(Marokobe-no Sukewo 丸子部佐壮, Kuji 久慈郡)
久自我波々 / 佐氣久阿利麻弖 / 志富夫祢尓 / 麻可知之自奴伎 / 和波可敞里許牟
kuNsi-N-kapa pa / sakë-ku ar-i-mat-e / sipo-N-pune-ni / ma-kaNti-siNsi nuk-î / wa pa kapêr-i-kö-m-u

PN-GEN-river TOP / happily-INF exist-INF-wait-IMP / tide-GEN-boat-LOC / INT-oar-packed.full thrust-INF / I TOP return-INF-come-TENT-FIN
wait for me happily, Kuji river!—rowing on the ship that is so full of oars, I shall come back to you.

20:4369 – (Hitachi, 7 of 10)
(Ōtoneribe-no Chifumi 大舎人部千文, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Naka 那賀郡)
都久波祢乃 / 佐由流能波奈能 / 由等許尓母 / 可奈之家伊母曽 / 比留毛可奈之祁
tukupa ne-nö / sa-yuru-nö pana-nö / yu tökö-ni mö / kanasi-kê imö sö / pîru mô kanasi-kê
PN peak-GEN / PREF-{lily}-GEN blossom-COMP / {night} bed-LOC PT / adorable-AEATTR darling KPT / noon PT adorable-AEATTR
my darling—who is as adorable, even while in bed at night, as the blossoms of the mountain lily on the peaks of Mt. Tukupa—is also adorable during the day!

20:4370 – (Hitachi, 8 of 10)
(Ōtoneribe-no Chifumi 大舎人部千文, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Naka 那賀郡)
阿良例布理 / 可志麻能可美乎 / 伊能利都々 / 湏米良美久佐尓 / 和例波伎尓之乎
arare pur-i / kasima-nö kamî-wo / inör-i-tutu / sumëra mî-[i]kusa-ni / ware pa k-î-n-i-si-wo
hail fall-INF / PN-GEN gods-ACC / pray-INF-COOR / emperor HON-army-LOC / I TOP come-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC
I've been praying continuously to the god of 'hail-falling' Kashima (in Hitachi), since I came to (be in) the Emperor's army.

20:4371 – (Hitachi, 9 of 10) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Urabe-no Hirokata 占部廣方, Suke-no Yoboro 助丁)
多知波奈乃 / 之多布久可是乃 / 可具波志伎 / 都久波能夜麻乎 / 古比湏安良米可毛
tatiNpana-nö / sita puk-u kaNse-nö / ka-N-kupasi-kî / tukupa-nö yama-wo / kôpî-Ns-(u a)r-am-ë kamô
mandarin.orange-GEN / beneath blow-ATTR wind-GEN / scent-GEN-lovely-ATTR / PN-GEN mountain-ACC / love-NEG-INF3 exist-TENT-EV KPT
I wonder whether I shall live (in Tukushi) without longing for Mt. Tukupa, which is wonderfully fragrant with the wind that blows below the (blossoms of the) mandarin orange tree?—(no, I shall not!)

20:4372 – (Hitachi, 10 of 10)
(Shitoribe-no Karamaro 倭文部可良麿)
阿志加良能 / 美佐可多麻波理 / 可閇理美湏 / 阿例波久江由久 / 阿良志乎母 / 多志夜波婆可流 / 不破乃世伎 / 久江弖和波由久 / 牟麻能都米 / 都久志能佐伎尓 / 知麻利為弖 / 阿例波伊波々牟 / 母呂々々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎湏 / 可閇利久麻弖尓
asiNkara-nö / mî-saka tamapar-i / kapër-i-mî-Ns-u / are pa kuye-yuk-u / ara-si wo mö / tas-i ya paNpakar-u / pupa-nö sekî / kuye-te wa pa yuk-u / muma-nö tumë / tukusi-nö sakî-ni / timar-i-wi-te / are pa ipap-am-u / mörö-mörö pa / sakê-ku tö mawos-u / kapër-i-k-u-maNte-ni

PN-GEN / HON-hill receive-INF / return-INF-see-NEG-INF2 / I TOP
{get.past}(INF)-go-FIN / tough-FIN man PT / {stand}-INF KPT be.reserved-ATTR /
PN-GEN barrier / {get.past}(INF)-SUB I TOP go-FIN / horse-GEN hooves / PN-GEN
cape-LOC / {stay}-INF-reside(INF)-SUB / I TOP perform.rites-TENT-ATTR / many-
many TOP / {happily}-INF DV say(HUM)-FIN / return-INF-go-ATTR?-TERM-LOC
the god of Misaka in Ashigara has granted me (to pass), and so I go on over without looking back; passing the barrier at Pupa, which would give pause even to a rough man, I travel on, and stop at the cape of 'horse-hoof' Tukushi; (there), in the many rites that I perform, happily I'll speak the prayers, until I go back (home).

Shimotsukeno Province

Eighteen Verses were submitted by Taguchi-no Asomi Ōto (田口朝臣大戸)
On the Fourteenth Day of the Second Month

20:4373 – (Shimotsukeno, 1 of 11)
(Imamatsuribe-no Yosopu 今奉部与曽布, Kachō 火長)
祁布与利波 / 可儛里見奈久弖 / 意富伎美乃 / 之許乃美多弖等 / 伊遅多都和例波
kêpu-yöri pa / kapêr-i-MÎ na-ku-te / opo-kîmî-nö / sikö-nö mî-tate tö / iNte-tat-u ware pa
today-ABL TOP / return-INF-see(NML) not.exist-INF-SUB / great-lord-GEN /
wretched-GEN HON-shield DV / emerge(INF)-rise-ATTR I TOP
I, who from today, without looking back, I have come to be but a wretched soldier for my sovereign…

20:4374 – (Shimotsukeno, 2 of 11) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Ōtabe-no Aramimi 大田部荒耳, Kachō 火長)
阿米都知乃 / 可美乎伊乃里弖 / 佐都夜奴伎 / 都久之乃之麻乎 / 佐之弖伊久和例波
amë tuti-nö / kamî-wo inör-i-te / satuya nuk-î / tukusi-nö sima-wo / sas-i-t(e i)k-u ware pa
heaven earth-GEN / gods-ACC pray-INF-SUB / arrow transpierce-INF / PN-GEN island-
ACC / face.towards-INF-SUB go-ATTR I TOP
I, who prayed to the gods of heaven and earth, who strapped on a quiver of arrows and set off for the island of Tukushi…

20:4375 – (Shimotsukeno, 3 of 11) (line 4 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Mononobe-no Mashima 物部真嶋, Kachō 火長)
麻都能氣乃 / 奈美多流美礼波 / 伊波妣等乃 / 和例乎美於久流等 / 多々理之母已呂
matu-nö kë-nö / nam-î-t[e]-ar-u mî-re-Npa / ipa-N-pîtö-nö / ware-wo m(î-o)kur-u tö / tat-
ar-i-si mökörö
pine-GEN {tree}-GEN / be.lined.up-INF-SUB-exist-ATTR(NML) see-EV-CON /
{home}-GEN-person-GEN / I-ACC see-send.off-FIN DV / stand-EPROG-INF-
PAST(ATTR) similarity
when I see pine trees standing all in a row, it resembles how my family stood (when they all came out) to see me off.

20:4376 – (Shimotsukeno, 4 of 11)
(Kawakami-no Omi Oyu 川上臣老, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Samukawa 寒川郡)
多妣由伎尓 / 由久等之良受弖 / 阿母志々尓 / 己等麻乎佐受弖 / 伊麻叙久夜之氣
taNpî yuk-î-ni / yuk-u tö sir-aNs-u-te / aMÖ sisi-ni / kötö mawos-aNs-u-te / ima Nsö kuyasi-kë
journey go-NML-LOC / go-FIN DV know-NEG-INF-SUB / {mother} {father}-DAT / words say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB / now KPT regretful-AEATTR
not knowing that I would be going off on this (long) journey, I said no words (of parting) to my mother and father—now, how I regret it!

20:4377 – (Shimotsukeno, 5 of 11)
(Tsumori-no Sukune Wogurusu 津守宿祢小黒栖)
阿母刀自母 / 多麻尓母賀母夜 / 伊多太伎弖 / 美都良乃奈可尓 / 阿敞麻可麻久母
aMÖ tôNsi mö / tama n-i möNkamö ya / itaNtak-î-te / mîNtura-nö naka-ni / apê-mak-am-aku mö
{mother} housewife PT / jade DV-INF PT KPT / place.on.head-INF-SUB / hairstyle-GEN center-LOC / join(INF)-wrap-TENT-NML PT
if only my mother were a piece of jade!—then I could place her upon my head, and have her wrapped up within the folds of my hair.

20:4378 – (Shimotsukeno, 6 of 11)
(Nakatomibe-no Tarikuni 中臣部足國, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Tsuga 都賀郡)
都久比夜波 / 須具波由氣等毛 / 阿母志々可 / 多麻乃須我多波 / 和須例西奈布母
tuku pî ya pa / suNk-u pa yuk-ë-Ntö mô / aMÖ sisi-Nka / tama-nö suNkata pa / wasure-se-nap-u mö
{moon} sun KPT TOP / pass-FIN TOP go-EV-CONC PT / {mother} {father}-POSS / jade-GEN appearance TOP / forget(INF)-do-ENEG-FIN PT
though the moon and sun, in their passing, go away—yet I will not forget the jewel-like appearance of my mother and father.

20:4379 – (Shimotsukeno, 7 of 11)
(Ōtoneribe-no Nemaro 大舍人部祢麿, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Ashikaga 足利郡)
之良奈美乃 / 与曽流波麻倍尓 / 和可例奈波 / 伊刀毛須倍奈美 / 夜多妣蕝弖布流
sira-namî-nö / yösör-u pama-N-pë-ni / wakare-n-aNpa / itômô suNpë na-mî / ya-taNpî sôNte pur-u
white-waves-GEN / approach-ATTR shore-GEN-area-LOC / separate(INF)-PERF-COND / utterly method not.exist-GER / eight-CL sleeves wave-FIN
if I (must) leave you at the shore on which the white waves wash, there is nothing I can do about it—only many times I shall wave my sleeves.

20:4380 – (Shimotsukeno, 8 of 11)
(Ōtabe-no Minari 大田部三成, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Yanada 梁田郡)
奈尓波刀乎 / 已岐堰弖美例婆 / 可美佐夫流 / 伊古麻多可祢尓 / 久毛曽多奈妣久

nanipa tô-wo / köNk-î-[i]Nte-te mî-re-Npa / kamî-saNp-uru / ikôma taka-ne-ni / kumô sö tana-N-pîk-u
PN door-ACC / row-INF-emerge(INF)-SUB see-EV-CON / god-befit-ATTR / PN high-peak-LOC / clouds KPT PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR
as we rowed out of the bay of Nanipa, I saw the clouds trailing over the high peak of divine Mt. Ikoma.

20:4381 – (Shimotsukeno, 9 of 11)
(Kamuwomibe-no Shimamaro 神麻續部嶋麿, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Kafuchi 河内郡)
具尓々々乃 / 佐岐毛利都度比 / 布奈能里弖 / 和可流乎美礼婆 / 伊刀母須敞奈之
kuni-Nkuni-nö / sakîmôri tuNtôp-î / puna-nör-i-te / wakar-u-wo mî-re-Npa / itômö suNpê na-si
province-province-GEN / *sakimori* gather-INF / boat-ride-INF-SUB / {separate}-ATTR(NML)-ACC see-EV-CON / utterly method not.exist-FIN
sakimori from many provinces gather here, to ride away on a ship—and when I see them parting (from their families), there is just nothing I can do.

20:4382 – (Shimotsukeno, 10 of 11)
(Ōtomobe-no Hironari 大伴部廣成, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Nasu 那須郡)
布多富我美 / 阿志氣比等奈里 / 阿多由麻比 / 和我須流等伎尓 / 佐伎母里尓佐須
puta [o]po-N-kamî / asi-kë pîtö n-ar-i / ata-yum-ap-î / wa-Nka s-uru tökî-ni / sakîmöri-ni sas-u
UNCLEAR(PN great-GEN-director) / bad-AEATTR person DV-exist-FIN / PREF-{be.ill}-ITER-NML / I-POSS do-ATTR time-LOC / *sakimori*-LOC appoint-FIN
'Putapogami' (the Director of Puta?) is a bad person. While I am suffering from this sudden illness, he sends me off to be a *sakimori*!

20:4383 – (Shimotsukeno, 11 of 11)
(Hasetsukabe-no Tarihito 丈部足人, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Shihonoya 塩屋郡)
都乃久尓乃 / 宇美能奈伎佐尓 / 布奈餘曽比 / 多志逞毛等伎尓 / 阿母我米母我母
tu-nö kuni-nö / umî-nö naNkîsa-ni / puna-yösöp-î / tas-i-[i]Nte-m-ô tökî-ni / aMÖ-Nka më möNkamö
harbor-GEN province-GEN / sea-GEN beach-LOC / boat-make.ready-INF / {rise}-INF-emerge-TENT-VEATTR time-LOC / {mother}-POSS eye PT
on the shore of the sea at Settsu, when we ready the boats and are going to depart, I wish I could see my mother.

Shimotsufusa Province

Twenty-Two Verses were submitted by
Agatainukai-no Sukune Kiyohito (縣犬養宿祢浄人)
On the Sixteenth Day of the Second Month

20:4384 – (Shimotsufusa, 1 of 11)

(Wosada-no Himatsuri-no Atai Tokotari 他田日奉直得大理, Suke-no Yoboro 助丁, Unakami-no Kopori-no Unakami-no Kuni-no Miyatsuko 海上郡海上國造)
阿加等伎乃 / 加波多例等枳尓 / 之麻加枳乎 / 已枳尓之布祢乃 / 他都枳之良湏母
aka-tökî-nö / ka pa tare tökî-ni / sima kaNkî-wo / köNk-î-n-i-si pune-nö / ta-N-tuk-î sir-aNs-u mö
bright-time-GEN / he TOP who time-LOC / island {shade}-ACC / row-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR) boat-GEN / hand-GEN-attach-NML know-NEG-FIN PT
in the bright dawn, in 'the time when faces cannot be clearly seen', I do not know the condition of the boat that has rowed into the shadow (i.e., the west side, or simply the far side) of the island. (Or: the boat is useless; or: I do not know what the boat looks like). [Most commentaries suggest the man is part of an expeditionary marine group, and is waiting nervously for news from some further advanced ship(s).]

or: *like* a boat that, in the bright dawn, in 'the time when faces cannot be clearly seen', has rowed into the shadow of an island—I do not know about the condition (of my family; or, of my lover).

20:4385 – (Shimotsufusa, 2 of 11)
(Kisakibe-no Isoshima 私部石嶋, Katsushika 葛餝郡)
由古作枳尓 / 奈美奈等恵良比 / 志流敞尓波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於枳弖等母枳奴
yuk-ô sakî-ni / namî na töwerap-î / siru pê-ni pa / kô-wo-tö tuma-wo-tö / ok-î-te tö mö k-î-n-u
go-VEATTR ahead-LOC / waves NEGIMP {shake}-NML / {back} area-LOC TOP / child-ACC-COM spouse-ACC-COM / leave.behind-INF-SUB {KPT} PT come-INF-PERF-FIN
ahead on my way, waves, don't shake (me)! Behind, the wife and child I left when I came here.

20:4386 – (Shimotsufusa, 3 of 11) (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Yahagibe-no Managa 矢作部真長, Yufuki 結城郡)
和加々都乃 / 以都母等夜奈枳 / 以都母々々々 / 於母加古比湏々 / 奈理麻之都之母
wa-Nka kaNtu-nö / itu-mötö yanaNKÎ / itu m(ö i)tu mö / oMÖ-Nka kôpî s-u s-u / nar-i-mas-i-tusi mö
I-POSS {gate}-GEN / five-CL willow / when PT when PT / mother-POSS love(INF) do-FIN do-FIN / make.living-INF-HON-INF-{COOR} PT
the five willows around the gate of my home—always, always, while my mother is doing the housework, she is thinking and waiting for me.

20:4387 – (Shimotsufusa, 4 of 11)
(Ōtabe-no Tarihito 大田部足人, Chiba 千葉郡)
知波乃奴乃 / 古乃弖加之波能 / 保々麻例等 / 阿夜尓加奈之美 / 於枳弖他加枳奴
tiNpa-nö nu-nö / kô-nö te kasipa-nö / popom-ar-e-Ntö / aya n-i kanasi-mî / ok-î-te ta-Nka k-î-n-u

PN-GEN {moor}-GEN / child-GEN hand oak-COMP / {to.be.unopened}-EPROG-EV-CONC / extremely DV-INF adorable-GER / leave.behind-INF-SUB who-POSS come-INF-PERF-FIN
although (my girl) is still an unopened bud (i.e., is naïve), like the buds of the the *konote* (lit., 'child-hand') oaks on Chiba Plain—(yet she) is very adorable, and who is it has come and left her behind?

20:4388 – (Shimotsufusa, 5 of 11)
(Urabe-no Mushimaro 占部虫麿)
多妣等敞等 / 麻多妣尓奈理奴 / 以敞乃母加 / 枳世之已呂母尓 / 阿加都枳尓迦理
taNpî tö [i]p-ê-Ntö / ma-taNpî n-i nar-i-n-u / ipê-nö [i]mö-Nka / kî-se-si körömö-ni / aka-tuk-î-n-i-kar-i
journey DV say-EV-CONC / INT-journey DV-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN / home-GEN darling-POSS / wear-CAUS-PAST(ATTR) robes-LOC / dirt stick.to-INF-PERF-INF-{RETR}-FIN
although they said it would be a 'journey', this has become a true *journey*—and the robes which my darling gave me to wear are covered in mud.

20:4389 – (Shimotsufusa, 6 of 11)
(Hasetsukabe-no Atai Ōmaro 丈部直大麿, Iniha 印波郡)
志保不尼乃 / 敞古祖志良奈美 / 尓波志久母 / 於不世他麻保加 / 於母波弊奈久尓
sipo pune-nö / pê kôs-ô sira-namî / nipasi-ku mö / opuse-tamap-o ka / omöp[-i]-apê-n-aku n-i
tide boat-GEN / bow surpass-VEATTR white-waves / suddenly-INF PT / {assign}(INF)-HON-VEATTR KPT / think(INF)-dare-NEG-NML DV-INF
like the white waves that pass, so suddenly, by the bow of a ship—has (the emperor) just as suddenly drafted me (to be a *sakimori*)? I hadn't expected this.

20:4390 – (Shimotsufusa, 7 of 11)
(Osakabe-no Shikamaro 刑部志加麿, Sashima 猨嶋郡)
牟浪他麻乃 / 久留尓久枳作之 / 加多米等之 / 以母加去々里波 / 阿用久奈米加母
mura-tama-nö / kuru-ni kuNkî sas-i / katamë-tö-si / imö-Nka kökörö pa / ayôk-unam-ë kamö
many-jades-COMP / pivot-LOC nail thrust-INF / harden(INF)-{PERF}-PAST(ATTR) / darling-POSS heart TOP / {shake}-ETENT-EVD KPT
like the way that a nail (peg?) is pounded firmly into the 'jewel-like' pivot (of a doorframe)—shall the feelings of my darling, who is thus firmly pledged to me, waver?

20:4391 – (Shimotsufusa, 8 of 11)
(Oshimibe-no Ihomaro 忍海部五百麿, Yufuki 結城郡)
久尓々々乃 / 夜之呂乃加美尓 / 奴佐麻都理 / 阿加古比溆奈牟 / 伊母賀加奈志作
kuni-Nkuni-nö / yasirö-nö kamî-ni / nusa matur-i / a-Nka kôpî s-unam-u / imö-Nka kanasi-sa

province-province-GEN / hallowed.place-GEN god-DAT / offering offer-INF / I-POSS pray.for(INF) do-ETENT-ATTR / darling-POSS adorable-ADJNML
I make offerings to the gods in the shrines of the various provinces (through which I pass)—for such is the charm of my darling, whom I certainly love, for whose sake I will pray to the gods. (This poem seems to include a pun on /kopi/ which is only possible in EOJ, where /köpî/ "to pray for" and /kôpï/ "to love" could be confused.)

20:4392 – (Shimotsufusa, 9 of 11)
(Ōtomobe-no Mayosa 大伴部麻与佐, Hanifu 埴生郡)
阿米都之乃 / 以都例乃可美乎 / 以乃良波加 / 有都久之波々尓 / 麻多已等刀波牟
amë tusi-nö / iNture-nö kamî-wo / inör-aNpa ka / utukusi papa-ni / mata kötö tô [i]p-am-u
heaven {earth}-GEN / which-GEN gods-ACC / pray-COND KPT / beloved(FIN) mother-DAT / again words DV say-TENT-ATTR
to which gods of heaven or of earth should I pray, that I may speak once again to my beloved mother?

20:4393 – (Shimotsufusa, 10 of 11) (line 4 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Sasakibe-no Hiroshima 雀部廣嶋, Yufuki 結城郡)
於保伎美能 / 美許等尓佐例波 / 知々波々乎 / 以波比敞等於枳弖 / 麻為弖枳尓之乎
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö-ni s[i] ar-e-Npa / titi papa-wo / ipap-î-Npê-t(ö o)k-î-te / mawi-[i]Nte-k-î-n-i-si-wo
great-lord-GEN / HON-words-LOC PT exist-EV-CON / father mother-ACC / worship-INF-pot-COM leave.behind-INF-SUB / come(HUM)(INF)-emerge(INF)-come-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC
when my sovereign issued his command, then I left my father and mother with a well-wishing pot, and came out here…

20:4394 – (Shimotsufusa, 11 of 11)
(Ōtomobe-no Kohitsuji 大伴部子羊, Sauma 相馬郡)
於保伎美能 / 美己等加之古美 / 由美乃美仁[42] / 佐尼加和多良牟 / 奈賀氣已乃用乎
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö kasikô-mî / yumî-nö mîta / sa-ne ka watar-am-u / naNka-kë kö-nö yô-wo
great-lord-GEN / HON-words awesome-GER / bow-GEN {together.with} / PREF-sleep(NML) KPT cross-TENT-ATTR / long-AEATTR this-GEN night-ACC
my sovereign's commands are awesome—now shall I sleep through this long night alongside (nothing but) my bow?

Shinano Province

Twelve Verses were submitted on the Twenty-Second Day of the Second Month

20:4401 – (Shinano, 1 of 3)

[42] The character 仁 is held to be a mistake for 他.

(Osada-no Toneri Ōshima 他田舍人大嶋, Kuni-no Miyatsuko 國造, Chiisagata 小縣郡)
可良己呂茂 / 須曽尓等里都伎 / 奈苦古良乎 / 意伎弖曽伎奴也 / 意母奈之尓志弖
kara körömo / susö-ni tör-i-tuk-î / nak-u kô-ra-wo / ok-î-te sö k-î-n-u ya / oMÖ na-si-ni s-i-te
Korea robes / hem-LOC take-INF-stick.to-INF / cry-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC / leave.behind-INF-SUB KPT come-INF-PERF-FIN KPT / mother not.exist-FIN-LOC do-INF-SUB
leaving behind my children (or: my girl), who were crying and clinging to the hem of my 'foreign' robes, I came (to Tukushi)—and (to make matters worse I'm here) without my mother.

20:4402 – (Shinano, 2 of 3)
(Kamutobe-no Kooshiwo 神人部子忍男, Fumihito 主帳, Hanishina 埴科郡)
知波夜布留 / 賀美乃美佐賀尓 / 奴佐麻都里 / 伊波負伊能知波 / 意毛知々我多米
tipayaNpuru / kamî-nö mî-saka-ni / nusa matur-i / ipap-u inöti pa / omô titi-Nka tamë
MK / god-GEN HON-hill-LOC / offering offer-INF / perform.rites-ATTR life TOP / mother father-POSS sake.of
on the sacred hill of the 'tipayaburu' god, I make an offering and pray for the (long) life of my mother and father.

20:4403 – (Shinano, 3 of 3)
(Wohasebe-no Kasamaro 小長谷部笠麿)
意保枳美能 / 美已等可之古美 / 阿乎久毛乃 / 多奈妣久夜麻乎 / 古与弖伎怒加牟
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö kasikô-mî / awo kumô-nö / tana-N-pîk-u yama-wo / kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu
great-lord-GEN / HON-words awesome-GER / blue clouds-GEN / PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR mountain-ACC / {get.past}(INF)-SUB come-INF-PERF-VEATTR {KPT}
my sovereign's commands are awesome—so I have come over the mountains where the blue clouds are trailing.

Kamitsukeno Province

Twelve Verses were submitted by Kamitsukeno-no Kimi Suruga (上毛野君駿河)
On the Twenty-Third Day of the Second Month

20:4404 – (Kamitsukeno, 1 of 4)
(Kamitsukeno-no Ushikahi 上毛野牛甘, Suke-no Yoboro 助丁)
奈尓波治乎 / 由伎弖久麻弖等 / 和藝毛古賀 / 都氣之非毛我乎 / 多延尓氣流可母
nanipa-N-ti-wo / yuk-î-te k-u-maNte tö / wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-Nka / tukë-si pïmô-Nka wo / taye-n-i-kër-u kamö
PN-GEN-road-ACC / go-INF-SUB go?-ATTR?-TERM DV / I-POSS-darling-DIM-POSS / affix(INF)-PAST(ATTR) cords-POSS string / break(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR KPT

will the sash that my darling girl tied (over her robes) be broken, before I go and go (back) on the road of Nanipa?

20:4405 – (Kamitsukeno, 2 of 4) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Asakura-no Masahito 朝倉益人)
和我伊母古我 / 志濃比尓西餘等 / 都氣志比毛 / 伊刀尓奈流等母 / 和波等可自等余
wa-Nk(a i)mö-kô-Nka / sinup-î n-i se-yö tö / tukë-si pïmô / itô n-i nar-u tö mö / wa pa tök-aNsi tö yö
I-POSS darling-DIM-POSS / {long.for}-NML DV-INF do-IMP DV / affix(INF)-PAST(ATTR) cords / threads DV-INF become-FIN DV PT / I TOP undo-NEGTENT DV PT
my darling told me to wait patiently—and though I know the sash which she tied on me has worn down to a thread, still I think I cannot untie it.

20:4406 – (Kamitsukeno, 3 of 4) (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Ōtomobe-no Fushimaro 大伴部節麿)
和我伊波呂尓 / 由加毛比等母我 / 久佐麻久良 / 多妣波久流之等 / 都氣夜良麻久母
wa-Nk(a i)pa-rö-ni / yuk-am-ô pîtö möNka / kusa makura / taNpî pa kurusi tö / tuNkë-yar-am-aku mö
I-POSS {home}-EDIM-LOC / go-TENT-VEATTR person PT / grass pillow / journey TOP awful(FIN) DV / tell(INF)-make.go-TENT-NML PT
I wish someone would go to my home—then I would have him tell my family how, sleeping under the stars, my journey pains me.

20:4407 – (Kamitsukeno, 4 of 4)
(Osadabe-no Koihasaki 他田部子磐前)
比奈久母理 / 宇須比乃佐可乎 / 古延志太尓 / 伊毛賀古比之久 / 和須良延奴加母
pî-na kumör-i / usupî-nö saka-wo / kôye siNta-ni / imô-Nka kôpîsi-ku / wasur-aye-n-u kamö
sun-GEN becloud-INF / PN-GEN hill-ACC / get.past(INF) {time}-LOC / darling-POSS longed.for-NML / try.to.forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR KPT
at the time of my crossing the hill of ‘cloudy-evened’ Usupi, will I forget how my darling longs for me?

Musashi Province

Twenty Verses were submitted by Azumi-no Sukune Mikuni (安曇宿祢三國)
On the Twenty-Ninth Day of the Second Month

20:4413 – (Musashi, 1 of 12)
(Ōtomobe-no Matarime 大伴部真足女, wife of Hinokuma-no Toneri Ihasaki 檜前舍人石前, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Naka 那珂郡) (No husband’s poem recorded)
麻久良多之 / 已志尓等里波伎 / 麻可奈之伎 / 西呂我馬伎已無 / 都久乃之良奈久

makura tasi / kösi-ni tör-i-pak-î / ma-kanasi-kî / se-rö-Nka mak-î-kö-m-u / tuku-nö sir-an-aku
pillow {sword} / hip-LOC take-INF-wear-INF / INT-adorable-ATTR / lover-EDIM-POSS come(HON)-INF-come-TENT-ATTR / {moon}-GEN know-NEG-NML
I do not know when my much beloved husband, wearing on his hip the sword that his is constant companion, will come back.

20:4414 – (Musashi, 2 of 12)
(Ōtomobe-no Wotoshi 大伴部小歳, Suke-no Yoboro 助丁, Chichibu 秩父郡)
於保伎美乃 / 美已等可之古美 / 宇都久之氣 / 麻古我弖波奈利 / 之末豆多比由久
opo-kîmî-nö / mî-kötö kasikô-mî / utukusi-kë / ma-kô-Nka te panar-i / sima-N-tutap-î-yuk-u
great-lord-GEN / HON-words awesome-GER / beloved-AEATTR / true-girl-POSS hand part.from-INF / island-LOC-convey-INF-go-FIN
my sovereign's commands are awesome—so I go from island to island away from my true beloved girl's hands.

20:4415 – (Musashi, 3 of 12)
(Mononobe-no Toshitoko 物部歳徳, Fumihito 主帳, Ebara 荏原郡)
志良多麻乎 / 弖尓刀里母之弖 / 美流乃須母 / 伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弖毛母也
sira-tama-wo / te-ni tôr-i-mös-i-te / mî-ru-nösu mö / ipê n-ar-u imö-wo / mata mî-te-m-ô mö ya
white-pearl-ACC / hand-LOC take-hold-INF-SUB / see-ATTR-ECOMP PT / home LOC-exist-ATTR darling-ACC / again see(INF)-PERF-TENT-EATTR PT KPT
like gazing at the pearls I have taken up in my hands—how I would like to see again my darling who is at home!

20:4416 – (Musashi, 4 of 12)
(His wife, Kurahashibe-no Tojime 妻椋椅部刀自賣)
久佐麻久良 / 多比由苦世奈我 / 麻流祢世婆 / 伊波奈流和礼波 / 比毛等加受祢牟
kusa makura / taNpî yuk-u se-na-Nka / maru ne-se-Npa / ipa n-ar-u ware pa / pîmô tök-aNs-u ne-m-u
grass pillow / journey go-ATTR lover-EDIM-POSS / circle sleep(INF)-do-COND / {home} LOC-exist-ATTR I TOP / cords undo-NEG-INF sleep-TENT-FIN
if my husband—who is off on a journey, sleeping under the stars—is sleeping in his clothes, then I, who am at home, shall sleep without untying the sash of my robe.

20:4417 – (Musashi, 5 of 12)
(Ujibe-no Kurome 宇遅部黒女, wife of Kurahashibe-no Aramushi 椋椅部荒虫, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Toshima 豊嶋郡) (No husband's poem recorded)
阿加胡麻乎 / 夜麻努尓波賀志 / 刀里加尓弖 / 多麻乃余許夜麻 / 加志由加也良牟
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-wo / yama nô-ni paNkas-i / tôr-i-kani-te / tama-nö yökö yama / kasi-yu ka yar-am-u

red-DV-DIM-horse-ACC / mountain moor-LOC {let.go}-INF / take-INF-{NEGPOT}-SUB / PN-GEN horizontal mountain / {on.foot}-ABL KPT make.go-TENT-ATTR
I set my chestnut horse free to graze in the moors and the mountains, but I could not catch him again—will he make me go on foot over hills by the river Tama?

20:4418 – (Musashi, 6 of 12) (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Mononobe-no Hirotari 物部廣足, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Ebara 荏原郡)
和我可度乃 / 可多夜麻都婆伎 / 麻己等奈礼 / 和我弖布礼奈々 / 都知尓於知母加毛
wa-Nka kaNtô-nö / kata yama tuNpakî / ma-kötö nare / wa-Nka te pure-n-a-na / tuti-n(i o)ti-m-ö kamô
I-POSS gate-GEN / single mountain camellia / INT-words you / I-POSS hand touch-NEG-{ATTR}-ELOC / earth-LOC fall-TENT-VEATTR KPT
the single mountain-camellia that grows by the gate of my home—I wonder if it (or: the blossoms) will actually fall to the ground without you ever touching my hand?

20:4419 – (Musashi, 7 of 12) (line 4 apparent hypercatalexis)
(Mononobe-no Mane 物部真根, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Tachibana 橘樹郡)
伊波呂尓波 / 安之布多氣騰母 / 須美与氣乎 / 都久之尓伊多里弖 / 古布志氣毛波母
ipa-rö-ni pa / asi-N-pu tak-ë-Ntö mö / sum-î yö-kë-wo / tukusi-n(i i)tar-i-te / kôpusi-kë [o]môp-am-ö
{home}-EDIM-LOC TOP / reed-GEN-{fire} burn-EV-CONC PT / reside-NML good-AEATTR-ACC / PN-LOC arrive-INF-SUB / {longed.for}-AEATTR think-TENT-VEATTR
I burn a reed fire in my home, but nonetheless, because it is a good home, I shall think of it longingly after I get to Tukushi.

20:4420 – (Musashi, 8 of 12)
(His wife, Kurahashibe-no Otome 妻椋椅部弟女)
久佐麻久良 / 多妣乃麻流祢乃 / 比毛多要婆 / 安我弖等都氣呂 / 許礼乃波流母志
kusa makura / taNpî-nö maru ne-nö / pîmô taye-Npa / a-Nka te-tö tukë-rö / köre n-ö paru mös-i
grass pillow / journey-GEN circle sleep(NML)-GEN / cords break-COND / your.own-POSS hand-COM affix-EIMP / this DV-ATTR {needle} {hold}-INF
if, while you sleep on your journey, under the stars and bundled up in your clothing, the sash of your robe should break—then with your own hands put it together again, holding this needle.

20:4421 – (Musashi, 9 of 12)
(Hatoribe-no Uheda 服部於田, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Tsutsuki 都筑郡)
和我由伎乃 / 伊伎都久之可婆 / 安之我良乃 / 美祢波保久毛乎 / 美等登志努波祢
wa-Nka yuk-î-nö / ikî-N-tukus-i-k-aNpa / asiNkara-nö / mîne pap-o kumô-wo / mî-tötö sinôp-ane

I-POSS go-NML-GEN / breath-GEN-exhaust-INF-PAST-COND / PN-GEN / peak spread-VEATTR clouds-ACC / see(INF)-{COOR} long.for-DES
if you (my wife) experience awful hardship while I am away on my journey, then I want you to wait longingly for me while gazing at the clouds that crawl over the peak of Mt. Ashigara.

20:4422 – (Musashi, 10 of 12)
(His wife, Hatoribe-no Asame 妻服部呰女)
和我世奈乎 / 都久之倍夜里弖 / 宇都久之美 / 於妣婆等可奈々 / 阿也尓加母祢毛
wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukusi-pë yar-i-te / utukusi-mî / oNpî pa tök-an-a-na / aya n-i kamö ne-m-ô
I-POSS lover-EDIM-ACC / PN-ALL make.go-INF-SUB / beloved-GER / sash TOP undo-NEG-{ATTR}-ELOC / strange DV-INF KPT sleep-TENT-VEATTR
my husband has been sent to Tukusi—then is it strange that I sleep without undoing my sash, since he is so dear to me?

20:4423 – (Musashi, 11 of 12)
(Fujiwarabe-no Tomomaro 藤原部等母麿, Kami-tsu Yoboro 上丁, Saitama 埼玉郡)
安之我良乃 / 美佐可尓多志弖 / 蕝遅布良波 / 伊波奈流伊毛波 / 佐夜尓美毛可母
asiNkara-nö / mî-saka-ni tas-i-te / sôNte pur-aNpa / ipa n-ar-u imô pa / saya n-i mî-m-ô kamö
PN-GEN / HON-hill-LOC {stand}-INF-SUB / sleeves wave-COND / {home} LOC-exist-ATTR darling TOP / clearly DV-INF see-TENT-VEATTR KPT
if I wave my sleeves, standing on the hallowed hill of Ashigara—I wonder if my darling at home can see me clearly?

20:4424 – (Musashi, 12 of 12)
(His wife, Mononobe-no Tojime 妻物部刀自賣)
伊呂夫可久 / 世奈我許呂母波 / 曽米麻之乎 / 美佐可多婆良婆 / 麻佐夜可尓美無
irö-N-puka-ku / se-na-Nka körömö pa / sömë-masi-wo / mî-saka taNpar-aNpa / ma-sayaka n-i mî-m-u
colors-GEN-deep-INF / lover-EDIM-POSS robes TOP / dye-SUBJ(ATTR)-ACC / HON-hill receive-COND / INT-clearly DV-INF see-TENT-FIN
I should like to dye my husband's robes with deep colors—then I would (be able to) see him clearly, if he receives a blessing to cross the hallowed hill.

Verses Composed by Sakimori in Previous Years
Eight Verses were presented to Ōtomo-no Yakamochi by
Iware-no Imiki Morokimi (磐余伊美吉諸君)

20:4425 – (a woman's poem)
佐伎毛利尓 / 由久波多我世登 / 刀布比登乎 / 美流我登毛之佐 / 毛乃母比毛世受

sakîmôri n-i / yuk-u pa ta-Nka se tö / tôp-u pîtö-wo / mî-ru-Nka tömôsi-sa / mônö [o]möp-î mô se-Ns-u
sakimori DV-INF / go-ATTR(NML) TOP who-POSS lover DV / ask-ATTR person-ACC / see-ATTR(NML)-POSS be.favored-ADJNML / thing think-NML PT do-NEG-FIN
I think not of it—how envious I am to look at those who ask ‘whose husband is that, leaving to be a *sakimori*?’

20:4426 – (a woman’s poem)
阿米都之乃 / 可未尓奴佐於伎 / 伊波比都々 / 伊麻世和我世奈 / 阿礼乎之毛波婆
amë tusi-nö / kamï-ni nusa ok-î / ipap-î-tutu / imas-e wa-Nka se-na / are-wo si [o]môp-aNpa
heaven {earth}-GEN / gods-LOC offering leave-INF / perform.rites-INF-COOR / exist(HON)-IMP I-POSS lover-EDIM / I-ACC PT think-COND
my dear husband, if you long for me—then keep on performing the rites and making offerings to the gods of heaven and earth.

20:4427 (line 1 apparent hypercatalexis)
伊波乃伊毛呂 / 和乎之乃布良之 / 麻由須比尓 / 由須比之比毛乃 / 登久良久毛倍婆
ipa-n(ö i)mô-rö / wa-wo sinöp-urasi / ma-yusup-î-ni / yusup-î-si pîmô-nö / tök-ur[u]-aku [o]môp-ë-Npa
{home}-GEN darling-EDIM / I-ACC long.for-SUP / INT-{tie}-NML-LOC / {tie}-INF-PAST(ATTR) cords-GEN / come.undone-ATTR-NML think-EV-CON
it seems that my darling at home must be longing for me—because I think the tied-closed sash of my robes, that I so neatly tied, has just come undone… (wink wink)

20:4428 – (a woman’s poem)
和我世奈乎 / 都久志波夜利弖 / 宇都久之美 / 叡比波登加奈々 / 阿夜尓可毛祢牟
wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukusi-pa yar-i-te / utukusi-mî / yeNpî pa tök-ana-na / aya n-i kamô ne-m-u
I-POSS lover-EDIM-ACC / PN-{ALL} make.go-INF-SUB / beloved-GER / {sash} TOP undo-ENEG-ELOC / strange DV-INF KPT sleep-TENT-ATTR
my husband has been sent to Tukusi—then is it strange that I sleep without undoing my sash, since he is so dear to me?

20:4429
宇麻夜奈流 / 奈波多都古麻乃 / 於久流我弁 / 伊毛我伊比之乎 / 於岐弖可奈之毛
uma-ya n-ar-u / napa tat-u kô-[u]ma-nö / okur-u Nkapê / imô-Nka ip-î-si-wo / ok-î-te kanasi mô
horse-shed LOC-exist-ATTR / rope cut-ATTR DIM-horse-GEN / remain-FIN {PT} / darling-POSS say-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC / leave.behind-INF-SUB sad(FIN) PT
but it is sad for me to leave her, since my darling said to me, ‘would a colt that has broken the ropes in his stable remain (there)?—(for she knew I could not stay.)’

20:4430 (line 5 apparent hypercatalexis)
阿良之乎乃 / 伊乎佐太波佐美 / 牟可比多知 / 可奈流麻之都美 / 伊逞弖登阿我久流

ara-si wo-nö / i-wo-sa ta-N-pasam-î / mukap-î-tat-i / kanarumasiNtumî / iNte-te t(ö a)-Nka k-uru
rough-FIN man-GEN / PREF-DIM-arrow hand-LOC-pinch-INF / face-INF-stand-NML / UNCLEAR(make.noise-ATTR duration grow.quiet-INF) / emerge(INF)-SUB {KPT} I-POSS come-ATTR
like a rough man who stands and turns towards his quarry, holding the arrow in his hand—so have I come, thinking to leave (when at last this noisiness subsides?).

20:4431
佐左賀波乃 / 佐也久志毛用尓 / 奈々弁加流 / 去呂毛尓麻世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛
sasa-Nka pa-nö / sayaNk-u simô yô-ni / nana-pê k[i]-ar-u / körömô-ni mas-er-u / kô-rö-Nka paNta pamô
bamboo.grass-POSS leaf-GEN / rustle-ATTR frost night-LOC / seven-CL wear(INF)-EPROG-ATTR / robes-LOC increase-PROG-ATTR / girl-EDIM-POSS skin PT
oh, if only I could add my dear girl's flesh unto my robes, which I am (already) wearing in seven layers on this night of frost and grasses rustling (in the frozen wind)…

20:4432 (line 3 apparent hypercatalexis)
佐弁奈弁奴 / 美許登尓阿礼婆 / 可奈之伊毛我 / 多麻久良波奈礼 / 阿夜尓可奈之毛
sapê-napê-n-u / mî-kötö-ni ar-e-Npa / kanas(i i)mô-Nka / ta-makura panare / aya n-i kanasi mô
obstruct-{ENEG(INF)}-PERF-FIN? / HON-words-LOC exist-EV-CON / adorable darling-POSS / hand-pillow part.from(NML) / extremely DV-INF sad(FIN) PT
since there are these commands of my sovereign that I will not interfere with, the departure from my adorable darling's pillowing arms is very sad.

Another Poem by a Sakimori of Previous Years

20:4436
夜未乃欲能 / 由久左伎之良受 / 由久和礼乎 / 伊都伎麻左牟等 / 登比之古良波母
yamï-nö yô-nö / yuk-u sakî sir-aNs-u / yuk-u ware-wo / itu k-î-mas-am-u tö / töp-î-si kô-ra pamö
darkness-GEN night-GEN / go-ATTR ahead know-NEG-INF / go-ATTR I-ACC / when come-INF-HON-TENT-FIN DV / ask-INF-PAST(ATTR) child-PLUR PT
alas, my children (or: my girl), who asked me 'when will you come back?', just as I was setting out (on this journey), and unable to see the route ahead for the darkness of night…

Appendix C
The Poems of Hitachi Fudoki

Nipipari District

A folk-poem regarding the caves in the Ashipo mountains

Hitachi Fudoki 1 of 9 – (Nipipari-no Kopori, 1 of 1)
許智多雞波 / 乎婆頭勢夜麻能 / 伊波歸爾母 / 爲弖許母郎奈牟 / 奈古非敍和支母
köt[o]-ita-kê-Npa / woNpaNtuse yama-nö / ipa kï-ni mö / wi-te kömör-an-am-u / na kôpï-sö wa-Nk[a]-îmö
words-painful-EV-CON / PN mountain-GEN / rock tomb-LOC PT / bring(INF)-SUB be.within-DES-TENT-FIN / NEGIMP love(INF)-NEGDES I-POSS-darling
since I am hurt by the rumors, I want to take you to hide in the mountain caves (tombs?) of Wonbanduse—don't long for me, my darling.

Tukupa District

Two songs sung at the courtship festival on Mt. Tukupa

Hitachi Fudoki 2 of 9 – (Tukupa-no Kopori, 1 of 2) (line 5 apparent mistake in character order)
都久波尼爾 / 阿波牟等 / 伊比志古波 / 多賀己等岐氣波 / 加彌尼 / 阿須波氣牟也
tukupa ne-ni / ap-am-u tö / ip-î-si kô pa / ta-Nka kötö kîk-ë-Npa ka / mî-ne ap-aNs-u-k[ë-a]m-u
PN peak-LOC / meet-TENT-FIN DV / say-INF-PAST(ATTR) girl TOP / who-POSS words hear-EV-CON KPT / HON-peak meet-NEG-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
as for the girl who said that she would meet me on Mt. Tukupa—whose (charming) words did she listen to?—for I did not meet her on the peak.

Hitachi Fudoki 3 of 9 – (Tukupa-no Kopori, 2 of 2)
都久波尼爾 / 伊保利弖 / 都麻奈志爾 / 和我尼牟欲呂波 / 波夜母 / 阿氣奴賀母也
tukupa ne-ni / ipor-i-te / tuma na-si-ni / wa-Nka ne-m-u yô-rö pa / paya mö / akë-n-u kamö
PN peak-LOC / take.up.temporary.lodging-INF-SUB / spouse not.exist-FIN-LOC / I-POSS sleep-TENT-ATTR night-EDIM TOP / early PT / brighten(INF)-PERF-FIN? KPT
since I am without a spouse, camping on Mt. Tukupa—the night I sleep (alone) here dawns early!

Umaraki District

Two songs sung at a party on the shore of Takapama-no Umi

Hitachi Fudoki 4 of 9 – (Umaraki-no Kopori, 1 of 2)

多賀波麻爾 / 支與須留奈彌乃 / 意支都奈彌 / 與須止毛與良志 / 古良爾志與良波
takapama-ni / k-î-yös-uru namî n-ö / okî-tu namî / yös-u tö mô yör-aNsi / kô-ra-ni si yör-aNpa
PN-LOC / come-INF-approach-ATTR waves DV-ATTR / offings-GENLOC waves / rumored.to.have.liason-FIN DV PT approach-NEGTENT / girl-PLUR-DAT PT approach-COND
like the waves in the offing, (that are) the waves that approach (the shore) in Takapama—although people talk about our relationship, I wouldn't trust them—if I approach (other) girls.

Hitachi Fudoki 5 of 9 – (Umaraki-no Kopori, 2 of 2)
多賀波麻乃 / 志多賀是佐夜久 / 伊毛乎古比 / 川麻止伊波波夜 / 志古止賣志都毛
takapama-nö / sita kaNse sayaNk-u / imô-wo kôpî / tuma tö ip-aNpa ya / sikô tö mês-i-t-u mô
PN-GEN / below wind rustle-FIN / darling-ACC love(INF) / spouse DV say-COND KPT / self(HUM) DV take.as.spouse(HON)-INF-PERF-FIN PT
like a breeze that blows beneath the trees in Takapama, rustling the leaves—I love my darling, but if I were to call her 'wife', then (she) would be espoused to me (i.e., this ugly guy)!

Kashima District

Hitachi Fudoki 6 of 9 – (Kashima-no Kopori, 1 of 4) (line 3 apparent catalexis)
Song from the annual Urabe-family festival held at the Kashima Shrine, on the tenth day of the Forth Month
安良佐賀乃 / 賀味能彌佐氣乎 / 多義止 / 伊比祁婆賀母輿 / 和我惠比爾祁牟
ara saka-nö / kamï-nö mî-sakë-wo / taNkë tö / ip-î-k(y-e)Npa kamö yö / wa-Nka wep-î-n-i-k(y-e)m-u
new rice.wine-GEN / god-GEN HON-rice.wine-ACC / make.drink(INF) DV / say-INF-PAST-COND KPT PT / I-POSS be.drunk-INF-PERF-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
if you had told me to drink the wine of the 'fresh-wine' god, then wouldn't I have gotten drunk?

Hitachi Fudoki 7 of 9 – (Kashima-no Kopori, 2 of 4)
Boy's song at the Utagaki in Inawi-no Matsubara
伊夜是留乃 / 阿是乃古麻都爾 / 由布悉弖々 / 和乎布利彌由母 / 阿是古志麻波母
iyaNseru-nö / aNse-nö kô matu-ni / yupu siNte-te / wa-wo pur-i-mî-y-u mö / aNse kô si map-am-ö
or (5): aNse kô-sima pamö
HAPAX-GEN / PN-GEN girl pine-LOC / magic.charm hang(INF)-SUB / I-ACC wave-INF-see-PASS-FIN PT / PN girl PT dance-TENT-VEATTR
or (5): PN DIM-island PT

the girl of Aze in Iyazeru has hung up some magic charms in the pine trees (or: since I am waiting for her… I have hung up…)—(now) the Aze girl will dance, even while looking back at me (or: ah, the islets of Aze!).

Hitachi Fudoki 8 of 9 – (Kashima-no Kopori, 3 of 4)

Girl's song at the Utagaki in Inawi-no Matsubara

宇志乎爾波 / 多多牟止伊閇止 / 奈西乃古何 / 夜蘇志麻加久理 / 和乎彌佐婆志理也

usiwo-ni pa / tat-am-u tö ip-ë-Ntö / na se n-ö kô-Nka / ya-sô sima kakur-i / wa-wo mî sa-Npasir-i

seawater-LOC TOP / stand-TENT-FIN DV say-EV-CONC / I lover DV-ATTR child-POSS / eight-ten islands hide-NML / I-ACC see(INF) PREF-run-INF

although he said he would stand (and wait for me) in the water near the sea-shore—my lover is hiding amid the many islands, and when he sees me, he runs away.

Hitachi Fudoki 9 of 9 – (Kashima-no Kopori, 4 of 4)

Song of the Bird-Maidens of Shirotori

志漏止利乃 / 芳我都々彌乎 / 都々牟止母 / 安良布麻自呂疑 / 波古叡

sirô töri-nö / pa-Nka tutumî-wo / tutum-u tö mö / ar-ap-u ma / sirö-N-kïpa kôye

white birds-GEN / wing-POSS embankment-ACC / make.embankment?-FIN DV PT / UNCLEAR(be.rough-ITER-ATTR interval) / UNCLEAR(enclosure-GEN-edge get.past(INF))

the wings of the white birds have constructed an embankment… (this verse is probably abbreviated, and possibly corrupted in part).

Appendix D
Vowel Alternation Data

NOTE: The rules for vowel 'changes' provided below are merely for analytical convenience, allowing the eye to quickly group data and see patterns; I am not proposing that these are actual 'conditioning environments' that in any way effected the given vowels.

D.1 ALTERNATIONS OF /a/ (11)

D.1.1 /a/ > /u/ (4)

a. a > u / y__m (2)
   a nayum-u kôma-nö 安奈由牟古麻能 14:3533.4 Unknown
   ata-yum-ap-î 阿多由麻比 20:4382.3 Shimotsuke

b. others (2)
   töpotuapumî 等保都安布美 14:3429.1 (2) Tōtōmi
   nuNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Ntö 奴我奈儆由家杼 14:3476b.1 (2) Unknown

D.1.2 /a/ > /ê/ (4)

a. a > ê / p__(#?) (2)
   ya-sô kötö-nö pê pa 夜蕪許登乃儆波 14:3456.2 Unknown
   ? ne-rö töp-ên-a kamö 祢呂等儆奈香母 14:3499.5 Unknown

b. a > ê / y__# (1)
   kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u 加曳我牟多祢乎 20:4321.4 Tōtōmi

c. a > ê / Nt__# (1)
   sipî-nö kô-yaNte-nö 四比乃故夜提能 14:3493a.4 (2) Unknown

D.1.3 /a/ > /ô/ (1)

a. a > ô / n__Nk
   nôNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Npa 努賀奈儆由家婆 14:3476a.4 (2) Unknown

D.1.4 /a/ > /ö/ (2)

a. a > ö / n__p
   ap-anöp-ê siNta mô / 安波乃儆思太毛 14:3478.4 Unknown
   unö-para watar-u 宇乃波良和多流 20:4328.4 Sagamu

D.2 ALTERNATIONS OF /î/ (22)

D.2.1 /î/ > /u/ (8)

a. î > u / r__# (3)
köre n-ö paru mös-i 許礼乃波流母志 20:4420.5 Musashi
sa-yuru-nö pana-nö 佐由流能波奈能 20:4369.2 Hitachi
siru pê-ni pa 志流敞尓波 20:4385.3 Shimotsufusa

b. î > u / Nt__# (2)
kaNtu-nö KÏ-nö 可頭乃木能 14:3432.3 Sagamu
kaNtu sak-aNs-u tö mö 可豆佐可受等母 14:3432.5 Sagamu

c. others (3)
iku-N-tuk-u-maNte-ni 伊久豆君麻弖尓 14:3458.5 Unknown
nipu-namï-ni 尓布奈未尓 14:3460.3 (2) Unknown
umara-nö ure-ni 宇万良能宇礼尓 20:4352.2 Kamitsufusa

D.2.2 /î/ > /e/ (8)

D.2.2.1 /î/ > COJ /ê/ (6)

nôNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Npa 努賀奈敞由家婆 14:3476a.4 (2) Unknown
nuNkan-ap-ê-yuk-ê-Ntö 奴我奈敞由家杼 14:3476b.1 (2) Unknown
mônö p-aNs-u k-ê-n-i-te 毛能波須價尓弖 20:4337.4 Suruga
sakê-ku tö mawos-u 佐祁久等麻乎須 20:4372.14 Hitachi
se-mîNtô pa kum-aNs-u 西美度波久末受 14:3546.4 (2) Unknown
sawesawe siNtum-î 佐恵々々之豆美 14:3481 Unknown

D.2.2.2 /î/ > COJ /ë/ (2)

sakë-ku ar-i-mat-e 佐氣久阿利麻弖 20:4368.2 Hitachi
susô-nö uti-kapë 須蕪乃宇知可倍 14:3482a.2 Unknown

D.2.3 /î/ > /ô/ (2)

a. î > ô / n__
tat-u nôNsi-nö 多都努自能 14:3414.3 Kamitsuke
wa-nô tör-i-tuk-î-te 和努等里都伎弖 20:4358.4 Kamitsufusa

D.2.4 /î/ > /ö/ (4)

a. î > ö / __[+alveolar +obstruent]

ap-î-mî-n-i-k-ö-sika 安比美尓許思可 14:3531.2 Unknown
osi-pê-ni op-uru 於思敞尓於布流 14:3359a.2 (2) Suruga
mama-nö osu pî-ni 麻末乃於須比尓 14:3385 (3) Shimotsufusa
kô-ni mô nöt-anap-u 故尓毛乃多奈布 14:3444.4 Unknown

D.3 ALTERNATIONS OF /ï/ (10)

D.3.1 /ï/ > /u/ (8)

a. *tuku* 'moon' ï > u / k__# (5)
ne-rö-ni tuku tas-i 祢呂尓都久多思 14:3395.2 Hitachi
tat-ô tuku-nö 多刀都久能 14:3476a.3 Unknown
tuku kata-yör-u mö 都久可多与留母 14:3565.5 Unknown
tuku pî ya pa 都久比夜波 20:4378.1 Shimotsuke
tuku-nö sir-an-aku 都久乃之良奈久 20:4413.5 Musashi

c. *kuku* 'stem' ï > u / k__# (2)
saNÔ-nö kuku tat-i 左野乃九久多知 14:3406.2 Kamitsuke
woka-nö kuku-mîra 乎加能久君美良 14:3444.2 Unknown

d. others ï > u / p__# (1)
asi-N-pu tak-ë-Ntö mö 安之布多氣騰母 20:4419.2 Musashi

D.3.2 /ï/ > /ë/ (2)

a. *kë* 'tree' /ï/ > ë / k__#
ma-kë pasira 麻氣波之良 20:4342.1 Suruga
matu-nö kë-nö 麻都能氣乃 20:4375.1 Shimotsuke

D.4 ALTERNATIONS OF /u/ (17)

D.4.1 /u/ > /a/ (2)

töpotuapumî 等保都安布美 14:3429.1 (2) Tōtōmi
ayapa tô mo 安也波刀文 14:3541.3 Unknown

D.4.2 /u/ > /î/ (5)

a. *ninô* 'cloth' u > î / n__n (2)
ninô pos-ar-u kamö 尓努保佐流可母 14:3351.5 Hitachi
ninô-N-kumö-nö 尓努具母能 14:3513.3 Unknown

b. others (3)

yumî-nö mîta 由美乃美仁 20:4394.3 Shimotsufusa
woNkusa kat-imêr-i 乎具佐可利馬利 14:3450.5 Unknown
nar-i-mas-i-tusi mö 奈理麻之都之母 20:4386.5 Shimotsufusa

D.4.3 /u/ > /ô/ (7)

omôp-î suNkôs-am-u 於毛比須吾左牟 14:3564.5 Unknown
se-mîNtô pa kum-aNs-u 西美度波久末受 14:3546.4 (2) Unknown
ayapo-ka-Ntö 安夜抱可等 14:3539.3 (2) Unknown
töpëtapomî 等倍多保美 20:4324.1 (2) Tōtōmi
popom-ar-e-Ntö 保々麻例等 20:4387.3 Shimotsufusa
ayôk-unam-ë kamö 阿用久奈米加母 20:4390.5 Shimotsufusa
wosaNkî nerap-ar-i 乎佐藝祢良波里 14:3529.2 Unknown

D.4.4 /u/ > /ö/ (3)

pur-ô yökî-nö 布路与伎能 14:3423.3 Kamitsuke
mî-tötö sinôp-ane 美等登志努波祢 20:4421.5 (2) Musashi

D.5 ALTERNATIONS OF /e/ (34)

D.5.1 /e/ > /a/ (13)

D.5.1.1 COJ /ê/ > /a/ (12)

a. *ipa* 'home' ê > a / p__# (6)
ipa-N-pîtö-nö 伊波妣等乃 20:4375.3 Shimotsuke
wa-Nka ipa-rö-ni 和我伊波呂尓 20:4406.1 Kamitsuke
ipa n-ar-u ware pa 伊波奈流和礼波 20:4416.4 Musashi
ipa-rö-ni pa 伊波呂尓波 20:4419.1 Musashi
ipa n-ar-u imô pa 伊波奈流伊毛波 20:4423.4 Musashi
ipa-nö imô-rö 伊波乃伊毛呂 20:4427.1 Unknown

b. adjective evidential *ka* ê > a / k__# (3)
kuni-nö töpo-ka-Npa 久尓乃登保可婆 14:3383.4 Kamitsufusa
töpo-ka-Ntö mö 等抱可騰母 14:3473.3 Unknown
ayapo-ka-Ntö 安夜抱可等 14:3539.3 (2) Unknown

c. others (3)
aka-tuk-î-n-i-kar-i 阿加都枳尓迦理 20:4388.5 Shimotsufusa
tukusi-pa yar-i-te 都久志波夜利弖 20:4428.2 Unknown
wasura-kö-Npa kôsö 和須良延許婆古曽 14:3394.4 Hitachi

D.5.1.2 COJ /ë/ > /a/ (1)

sipî-nö kô-yaNte-nö 四比乃故夜提能 14:3493a.4 (2) Unknown

D.5.2 /e/ > /î/ (10)

D.5.2.1 COJ /ê/ > /î/ (8)

a. ê > î / [+nasal]__# (4)
iNte KÔ taNpar-i-n-i 伊(イ弓)兒多婆里尓 14:3440a.5 Unknown
opï-Npa op-uru Nkani 於非波於布流我尓 14:3452.5 Unknown
tôr-i-kani-te 刀里加尓弖 20:4417.3 Musashi
wa-Nka mî kanasi mö 和加美可奈志母 20:4343.5 Suruga

b. ê > î / p__# (2)
mama-nö osu pî-ni 麻末乃於須比尓 14:3385 (3) Shimotsufusa
ipî-ni s-i-te 已比尓志弖 20:4343.3 Suruga

c. others (2)
na-wo Ntö kamö si-m-u 那乎杼可母思武 14:3556.5 Unknown
kapîr-i-k-u-maNte-ni 加比利久麻弖尓 20:4339.4 Suruga

D.5.2.2 COJ /ë/ > /î/ (2)

a. ë > î / Nk__#
imö-ni tuNkî-kösö 伊母尓都岐許曽 20:4365.5 Hitachi
sima kaNkî-wo 之麻加枳乎 20:4384 Shimotsufusa

D.5.3 COJ /ë/ > /ï/ (1)

nipu-namï-ni 尓布奈未尓 14:3460.3 (2) Unknown

D.5.4 /e/ > /u/ (2)

D.5.3.1 COJ /ê/ > /u/ (1)

wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô 和奴尓故布奈毛 14:3476a.2 Unknown

D.5.3.2 COJ /ë/ > /u/ (1)

NA PA kôp-u-Npa sö-mô 汝者故布婆曽毛 14:3382.5 Kamitsufusa

D.5.5 /e/ > /ô/ (3)

D.5.5.1 /ê/ > /ô/ (2)

wanô yuk-an-ö pê pa 和努由賀乃敞波 14:3476b.2 Unknown
pî-Nka tôr-e-Npa 比賀刀礼婆 14:3561.3 Unknown

D.5.5.2 /ë/ > /ô/ (1)

taNpî tö omëp-o-Ntö 多比等於米保等 20:4343.2 (2) Suruga

D.5.6 /e/ > /ö/ (5)

D.5.6.1 /ê/ > /ö/ (3)

warö taNpî pa 和呂多比波 20:4343.1 Suruga
katamë-tö-si 加多米等之 20:4390.3 Shimotsufusa
kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu 古与弖伎怒加牟 20:4403.5 (2) Shinano

D.5.6.2 /ë/ > /ö/ (2)

kaNkö sapë mî-ye-te 加其佐倍美曳弖 20:4322.4 Tōtōmi
sasaNkö-te yuk-am-u 佐々已弖由加牟 20:4325.5 Tōtōmi

D.6 ALTERNATIONS OF /ô/ (25)

D.6.1 /ô/ > /a/ (1)

atöri kama këri 阿等利加麻氣利 20:4339.2 Suruga

D.6.2 /ô/ > /î/ (1)

osi-pê-ni op-uru 於思敞尓於布流 14:3359a.2 Suruga

D.6.3 /ô/ > /u/ (19)

a. *k(ô)pusi* ‘longed-for’ ô > u / p__s, k__p (4)
kôpusi-kar-unam-ö 故布思可流奈母 14:3476a.5 Unknown
kôpusi-kë môp-am-ö 古布志氣毛波母 20:4419.5 Musashi
kupusi-ku më ar-u ka 苦不志久米阿流可 20:4345.5 (2) Suruga

b. *imu* ‘darling’ ô > u / m__# (2)
imu na-si-ni s-i-te 伊牟奈之尓志弖 20:4321.5 Tōtōmi
ipê-nö imu-Nka 伊敞能伊牟何 20:4364.3 Hitachi

c. *sinup-* ‘to long for’ ô > u / n__p (2)
imö pa sinup-ane 伊母波之奴波尼 20:4367.5 Hitachi
sinup-î n-i se-yö tö 志濃比尓西餘等 20:4405.2 Kamitsuke

d. *kuye-* ‘to cross over’ ô > u / k__y (2)
are pa kuye-yuk-u 阿例波久江由久 20:4372.4 Hitachi
kuye-te wa pa yuk-u 久江弖和波由久 20:4372.8 Hitachi

e. others (9)
mama-nö osu pî-ni 麻末乃於須比尓 14:3385 (3) Shimotsufusa
iNtuma möNka 伊豆麻母加 20:4327.3 Tōtōmi
wa-Nka kaNtu-nö 和加々都乃 20:4386.1 Shimotsufusa
tiNpa-nö nu-nö 知波乃奴乃 20:4387.1 Shimotsufusa
opuse-tamap-o ka 於不世他麻保加 20:4389.4 Shimotsufusa
kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu 古与弖伎怒加牟 20:4403.5 (2) Shinano
sakîmuri-ni 佐伎牟理尓 20:4364.1 Hitachi
yu tökö-ni mö 由等許尓母 20:4369.3 Hitachi
kötö mö kayup-am-u 已等母加由波牟 20:4324.5 Tōtōmi

D.6.4 /ô/ > /e/ (4)

D.6.4.1 /ô/ > COJ /ê/ (1)

namî na töwerap-î 奈美奈等恵良比 20:4385.2 Shimotsufusa

D.6.4.2 /ô/ > COJ /ë/ (3)

wa-Nkîmë-kô-tö 和伎米故等 20:4345.1 Suruga
töpëtapomî 等倍多保美 20:4324.1 (2) Tōtōmi
kupusi-ku më ar-u ka 苦不志久米阿流可 20:4345.5 (2) Suruga

D.7 ALTERNATIONS OF /ö/ (20)

D.7.1 /ö/ > /a/ (5)

a. *amö* ‘mother’ ö > a / #__m (4)
aMÖ sisi-ni 阿母志々尓 20:4376.3 Shimotsuke
aMÖ tôNsi mö 阿母刀自母 20:4377.1 Shimotsuke
aMÖ sisi-Nka 阿母志々可 20:4378.3 Shimotsuke
aMÖ-Nka më möNkamö 阿母我米母我母 20:4383.5 Shimotsuke

b. *pita* ‘one’ ö > a / t__p (1)

pita-pê tö omôp-ë-Npa 比多敞登於毛敞婆 14:3435.5 Kamitsuke

D.7.2 /ö/ > /î/ (1)

a. *timar-* 'to stop' ö > î / t__m (1)
timar-i-wi-te 知麻利為弖 20:4372.11 Hitachi

D.7.3 /ö/ > /e/ (14)

D.7.3.1 /ö/ > COJ /ê/ (6)

a. defective verb *te* ö > ê / t__# (2)
wasur-am-u te 和須良牟(石弖) 20:4344.1 Suruga
sa-ku ar-e te 佐久安礼天 20:4346.3 Suruga

b. *ye* 'good' ö > ê / y__# (2)
ar-ô kösö ye-si mö 安路許曽要志母 14:3509.5 Unknown
yuk-aku si ye-si mö 由可久之要思母 14:3530.5 Unknown

c. vocative particle *ye* ö > e / y__# (1)
titi papa ye 知々波々江 20:4340.1 Suruga

d. *yes-* 'to approach' ö > ê / y__s (1)
uti-yes-uru 宇知江須流 20:4345.3 Suruga

D.7.3.2 /ö/ > COJ /ë/ (8)

a. ö > ë / m__ (3)
omë kapar-i-se-Ns-u 於米加波利勢受 20:4342.5 Suruga
taNpî tö omëp-o-Ntö 多比等於米保等 20:4343.2 (2) Suruga
kô mët-i yas-uram-u 古米知夜須良牟 20:4343.4 Suruga

b. others (5)
tatamî këmë 多々美氣米 20:4338.1 (2) Suruga
ip-î-si këtö-N-pa Nse 伊比之氣等波是 20:4346.4 (2) Suruga
yeNpî pa tök-ana-na 叡比波登加奈々 20:4428.4 Unknown

D.8 ALTERNATION OF /o/, ORIGINAL VOWEL TYPE UNCLEAR (1)

D.8.1 /o/ > /ê/ (1)

? ser-asimê-k-î-n-aNpa 西良思馬伎那婆 14:3437.4 Michinoku[43]

[43] This alternation is not counted in the tabular data in Chapter Four.

Appendix E
Hypercatalexis, Vowel Adjacency, Elision, and Monophthongization Data

NOTE: Each instance of a feature is cited separately in the data, meaning that in several cases, the same line will be cited multiple times to exemplify different features. These cases are listed with a (2) after the poem and line number citation.

E.1 HYPERCATALEXIS DATA

89 unique lines containing 90 instances of adjacent vowel pairs

E.1.1 DEFINITE HYPERCATALEXIS (hypercatalexis without vowel pairs) (2)

n-ur-aku pa s-i-kêr-aku 奴良久波思家良久 14:3358b.2 Suruga
TUSIma-nö ne pa 對馬能祢波 14:3516.1 Unknown

E.1.2 HYPERCATALECTIC VOWEL PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /a/ (17)

E.1.2.1 a-a (4)

kînu p(a a)r-e-Ntö 伎奴波安礼杼 14:3350a.3 Hitachi
kôpï-tutu y(a a)r-am-u 古非都追夜安良牟 14:3433.5 Sagamu
nöti p(a a)p-î-n-u tö mö 能知波安比奴登 14:3477.5 Unknown
amat(a a)r-e-Npa 安麻多安礼婆 14:3498.3 Unknown

E.1.2.2 a-i (7)

kô-rö-Nk(a i)p-an-aku n-i 故呂河伊波奈久尓 14:3368.5 Sagamu
ima p(a i)ka n-i se-m-ö 伊麻波伊可尓世母 14:3418.5 Kamitsuke
imô-Nk(a i)pê-nö atari 伊毛賀伊敞乃安多里 14:3423.5 (2) Kamitsuke
matu tö na-Nk(a i)p-aNpa 麻都等奈我伊波婆 14:3433.4 Sagamu
iNte are p(a i)k-ana 伊弖安礼波伊可 14:3496.5 Unknown
wa-Nk(a i)mö-kô-Nka 和我伊母古我 20:4405.1 Kamitsuke
wa-Nk(a i)pa-rö-ni 和我伊波呂尓 20:4406.1 Kamitsuke

E.1.2.3 a-u (2)

KÔ-rö-Nk(a u)pë-ni 兒呂我宇倍尓 14:3525.3 Unknown
matu-Nk(a u)ra-ni 麻都我宇良尓 14:3552.1 Unknown

E.1.2.4 a-o (4)

wa-Nk(a o)môp-an-aku n-i 和我於毛波奈久尓 14:3392.5 Hitachi
suNsu-Nk(a o)tö kîk-öy-u 須受我於等伎許由 14:3438a.2 Unknown
opï-Np(a o)p-uru Nkani 於非波於布流我尓 14:3452.5 Unknown
opo n-i n(a o)môp-î-sö 於保尓奈於毛比曽 14:3535.2 Unknown

E.1.3 HYPERCATALECTIC VOWEL PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /i/ (21)

E.1.3.1 i-a (7)

se-rö-n(i a)p-anap-u yö 世呂尓安波奈布与 14:3375.5 Musashi
kêpu-ni s(i a)r-aNs-u pa 家布尓思安良受波 14:3401.5 Shinano
sa-NE-n(i a)p-an-aku n-i 佐宿尓安波奈久尓 14:3461.2 Unknown
TEKÔ n-(i a)r-an-aku n-i 手兒尓安良奈久尓 14:3485.5 Unknown
aya n-(i a)ya n-i 安也尓阿夜尓 14:3497.3 Unknown
kô-ma-n(i a)p-u mônö wo 古麻尓安布毛能乎 14:3535.5 Unknown
TEKÔ-ni i-yuk-(î-a)p-î 手兒尓伊由伎安比 14:3540.2 Unknown

E.1.3.2 i-i (8)

kanas(i i)mô-Nka 可奈之伊毛我 14:3480.3 Unknown
kanas(i i)mô-wo 可奈思伊毛乎 14:3486.1 Unknown
kata-n(i i)Nte-m-u kamö 可多尓伊弖牟可母 14:3488.5 Unknown
kö-N-tökî-n(i i)tar-e-Npa 許騰伎尓伊多礼婆 14:3506.2 Unknown
TEKÔ-n(i i)-yuk-î-ap-î 手兒尓伊由伎安比 14:3540.2 Unknown
kanas(i i)mô wo 可奈思伊毛乎 14:3577.1 Unknown
tukusi-n(i i)tar-i-te 都久之尓伊多里弖 20:4419.4 Musashi
kanas(i i)mô-Nka 可奈之伊毛我 20:4432.3 Unknown

E.1.3.3 i-o (6)

na-wo pasi-n(i o)k-êr-e 奈乎波思尓於家礼 14:3490.5 Unknown
pîtö-nö satô-n(i o)k-î 比登乃左刀尓於吉 14:3571.2 Unknown
tuti-n(i o)ti-m-ö kamô 都知尓於知母加毛 20:4418.5 Musashi
aruk-(î o)po-mî 安流吉於保美 14:3367.3 Sagamu
paNsik-(î-o)k-î-te 波自伎於伎弖 14:3437.3 Michinoku
ware-wo m(î-o)kur-u tö 和例乎美於久流等 20:4375.4 Shimotsuke

E.1.4 HYPERCATALECTIC VOWEL PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /u/ (6)

E.1.4.1 u-a (4)

irö-ni Nte-Ns-(u a)r-am-u 伊呂尓(イ弖)受安良牟 14:3376b.5 Musashi

töpot(ua)pumî 等保都安布美 14:3429.1 Tōtōmi
kôpï-tut(u a)r-aNs-u pa 古非都々安良受波 20:4347.5 Kamitsufusa
kôpî-Ns-(u a)r-am-ë kamô 古比須安良米可毛 20:4371.5 Hitachi

E.1.4.2 u-o (2)

ma-töpo-k(u o)môp-oy-u 麻登保久於毛保由 14:3522.5 Unknown
sisi-nas(u o)möp-êr-u 思之奈須於母敞流 14:3531.5 Unknown

E.1.5 HYPERCATALECTIC VOWEL PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /e/ (8)

E.1.5.1 e-a (2)

iNt(e a)re pa ik-ana 伊弖安礼波伊可 14:3496.5 Unknown
kupusi-ku m(ë a)r-u ka 苦不志久米阿流可 20:4345.5 Suruga

E.1.5.1 e-i (6)

a. where the first member is in the subordinative verbal gerund (5)
iNte-t(e i)n-aNpa 伊(イ弖)弖伊奈婆 14:3474.3 Unknown
kôye-t(e i)n-aNpa 古要弖伊奈婆 14:3477.3 Unknown
os-i-t(e i)na tö 於志弖伊奈等 14:3550.1 Unknown
ok-î-t(e i)k-aNpa 於伎弖伊可婆 14:3567.1 Unknown
sas-i-t(e i)k-u ware pa 佐之弖伊久和例波 20:4374.5 Shimotsuke

b. others (1)
saNsar(e i)si-ni 佐射礼伊思尓 14:3542.1 Unknown

E.1.6 HYPERCATALECTIC VOWEL PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /o/ (38)

E.1.6.1 o-a (12)

ap-an-aku m(ô a)yasi 阿波奈久毛安夜思 14:3364a.5 Sagamu
nare m(ô a)re mô 奈礼毛安礼毛 14:3440a.3 Unknown
masi m(ô a)re mö 麻之毛安礼母 14:3440b.3 Unknown
sita-N-kum(ô a)r-anap-u 之多具毛安良南敷 14:3516.2 Unknown
ap-aNs-u kam(ö a)r-am-u 阿波受可母安良牟 14:3355.5 Suruga
kö-r(ö a)re pîmô tök-u 許呂安礼比毛等久 14:3361.5 Sagamu
tama s(ö a)p-î-n-i-kêr-u 多麻曽阿比尓家留 14:3393.5 Hitachi
imô-Nka ipê-n(ö a)tari 伊毛賀伊敞乃安多里 14:3423.5 (2) Kamitsuke
ne-tutu m(ö a)r-am-u-wo 祢都追母安良牟乎 14:3471.2 Unknown
naNkëk-î s(ö a)-Nka s-uru 奈氣伎曽安我須流 14:3524.5 Unknown

ipê-n(ö a)tari kamo 伊敞乃安多里可聞 14:3542.5 Unknown
iNte-te t(ö a)-Nka k-uru 伊渥弖登阿我久流 20:4430.5 Unknown

E.1.6.2 o-i (12)

kaNse-w(o i)ta-mî 可是乎伊多美 14:3380.3 Musashi
aNse ka sö-w(o i)p-am-u 安是可曽乎伊波牟 14:3472.2 Unknown
ar-i t(ö i)p-ë-Ntö 安里登伊倍杼 14:3422.3 Kamitsuke
aNse t(ö i)p-ê ka 安是登伊敞可 14:3461.1 Unknown
ipê-n(ö i)mö-ni 伊敞能伊母尓 14:3481.3 Unknown
môn(ö i)p-aNs-u k-î-n-i-te 毛乃伊波受伎尓弖 14:3481.4 Unknown
môn(ö i)p-aNs-u k-î-n-i-te 毛乃伊波受伎尓弖 14:3528.4 Unknown
wa-Nkari kö-m-u t(ö i)p-u 和我理許武等伊布 14:3536.5 Unknown
kökör(ö i)ta-mî 已許呂伊多美 14:3542.3 Unknown
ipê-n(ö i)mu-Nka 伊敞能伊牟何 20:4364.3 Hitachi
itu m(ö i)tu mö 以都母々々々 20:4386.3 Shimotsufusa
ipa-n(ö i)mô-rö 伊波乃伊毛呂 20:4427.1 Unknown

E.1.6.3 o-u (6)

muNkî pam-u k(ô-u)MA-nö 武藝波武古宇馬能 14:3537a.2 Unknown
iNtu-n(ö u)mî-ni 伊豆乃宇美尓 14:3360a.1 Izu
siNta-n(ö u)ra-wo 斯太能宇良乎 14:3430.1 Suruga
kumô-n(ö u)pë-yu 久毛能宇倍由 14:3522.3 Unknown
aNsu-n(ö u)pê-ni 安受乃宇敞尓 14:3539.1 Unknown
nipë-n(ö u)ra-tö 尓閇乃宇良等 20:4324.3 Tōtōmi

E.1.6.4 o-o (8)

kanasi-kê-w(o o)k-î-te 加奈思家乎於吉弖 14:3551.5 Unknown
titi papa-w(o o)k-î-te 知々波々乎於伎弖 20:4328.5 Sagamu
TITI-w(o o)k-î-te 父乎於伎弖 20:4341.3 Suruga
kîmî m(ô a)p-an-u kamô 伎美毛安波奴可毛 14:3558.5 Unknown
a-n(ö o)tö se-Ns-u 安能於登世受 14:3387.1 Shimotsufusa
pita-pê t(ö o)môp-ë-Npa 比多敞登於毛敞婆 14:3435.5 Kamitsuke
kö-nö mîti-n(ö a)pîNta 許能美知乃安比太 14:3571.5 Unknown
ipap-î-Npê-t(ö o)k-î-te 以波比敞等於枳弖 20:4393.4 Shimotsufusa

E.2 TOLERATED ADJACENCY DATA

73 instances in 73 unique lines

NOTE: Instances of tolerated adjacency occurring in odd-numbered lines are formatted with a plus sign before the citation.

E.2.1 PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /a/ (19)

E.2.1.1 a_a (4)

+ aNtö ka a-Nka se-m-u 安杼加安我世牟 14:3404.5 Kamitsuke
KÔ-ra pa ap-ana-m-ô 兒良波安波奈毛 14:3405a.4 Kamitsuke
se-na pa ap-ana-m-ö 世奈波安波奈母 14:3405b.4 Kamitsuke
asa NA arap-u KÔ 安佐菜安良布兒 14:3440a.2 Unknown

E.2.1.2 a_i (11)

kôpï-Npa ka imô-ni 古非波可伊毛尓 14:3376b.2 Musashi
papa i-môr-e-Ntö mö 波播已毛礼杼母 14:3393.4 Hitachi
are pa itar-am-u 安礼波伊多良牟 14:3428.4 Michinoku
itu ka itar-am-u 伊都可伊多良武 14:3441a.4 Unknown
TI-töSE ya in-uru 千等世夜伊奴流 14:3470.2 Unknown
kô-rö pa ip-ê-Ntö mö 古呂波伊敞杼母 14:3543.4 Unknown
ana ikî-N-tuk-asi 安奈伊伎豆加思 14:3547.4 Unknown
muraNsi-Nka isô-nö 牟良自加已蕝乃 20:4338.4 Suruga
are pa ipap-am-u 阿例波伊波々牟 20:4350.4 Kamitsufusa
are pa ipap-am-u 阿例波伊波々牟 20:4372.12 Hitachi
imô-Nka ip-î-si-wo 伊毛我伊比之乎 20:4429.4 Unknown

E.2.1.3 a_u (1)

pay-uMA uMA-ya-nö 波由馬宇馬夜能 14:3439.2 Unknown

E.2.1.4 a_o (3)

kô-rö-Nka osö kî-n-ö 古呂賀於曽伎能 14:3509.4 Unknown
+ a-Nka omô-nö 阿我於毛乃 14:3515.1 Unknown
kamï-ni nusa ok-î 可未尓奴佐於伎 20:4426.2 Unknown

E.2.2 PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /i/ (11)

D2.2.1 i_a (4)

namî-ni ap-u-nösu 奈美尓安布能須 14:3413.4 Kamitsuke
woka-ni apa mak-î 乎可尓安波麻伎 14:3451.2 Unknown
tat-i-si asa-kë-nö 多知之安佐氣乃 14:3569.2 Unknown

mî-kötö-ni ar-e-Npa 美許登尓阿礼婆 20:4432.2 Unknown

D2.2.2 i_i (3)

kötö tö si ip-aNpa 許登等思伊波婆 14:3486.4 Unknown
taye-n-i-si imô-wo 多要尓之伊毛乎 14:3517.2 Unknown
NA sak-î-iNte-sö ne 莫佐吉伊弖曽祢 14:3575.4 Unknown

D2.2.3 i_u (1)

MÎ-ura sakî n-ar-u 御宇良佐伎奈流 14:3508.2 Unknown

D2.2.4 i_o (3)

osi-pê-ni op-uru 於思敞尓於布流 14:3359a.2 Suruga
wo-rö TA-ni op-ar-u 乎呂田尓於波流 14:3501.2 Unknown
kamï-ni opose-m-u 加未尓於保世牟 14:3566.4 Unknown

E.2.3 PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /u/ (13)

E.2.3.1 u_a (5)

kakar-u a-Nka TE-wo 可加流安我手乎 14:3459.2 Unknown
ap-î-MÎ-Ns-u ar-aNpa 安比見受安良婆 14:3508.4 Unknown
taNpî yuk-u are pa 多比由久阿礼婆 20:4327.4 Tōtōmi
+ sa-ku ar-e te 佐久安礼天 20:4346.3 Suruga
sakë-ku ar-i-mat-e 佐氣久阿利麻弖 20:4368.2 Hitachi

E.2.3.2 u_i (8)

a. having *imo* ‘darling’ as the second member (7)
arasôp-u imô si 安良蕝布伊毛之 14:3479.4 Unknown
MÏ-ni sôp-u imö-wo 身尓素布伊母乎 14:3485.2 Unknown
nör-an-u imô-Nka NA 能良奴伊毛我名 14:3488.4 Unknown
ikî-N-tuk-u imô-wo 伊伎豆久伊毛乎 14:3527.4 Unknown
a-Nka môp-u imô-Nka 安我毛布伊毛我 14:3542.4 Unknown
ipê n-ar-u imö-wo 伊弊奈流伊母乎 20:4415.4 Musashi
ipa n-ar-u imô pa 伊波奈流伊毛波 20:4423.4 Musashi

b. others (1)
ipap-u inöti pa 伊波負伊能知波 20:4402.4 Shinano

E.2.4 PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /e/ (6)

E.2.4.1 e_a (3)

kör-are a pa yuk-u 已良例安波由久 14:3519.2 Unknown
+ ? mî-ne ap-aNs-u-kë-m-u 彌尼 / 阿須波氣牟也 Hitachi Fudoki 2.5
+ ayum-ê a-Nka kô-ma 安由賣安我古麻 14:3441a.5 Unknown

E.2.4.2 e_i (1)

kanasi-kê imö sö 可奈之家伊母曽 20:4369.4 Hitachi

E.2.4.3 e_u (1)

sawa-we ura-N-tat-i 佐和恵宇良太知 14:3552.2 Unknown

E.2.4.4 e_o (1)

mî-pune orö-suwe 美布祢於呂須恵 20:4363.2 Hitachi

E.2.5 PAIRS BEGINNING WITH /o/ (24)

E.2.5.1 o_a (3)

NÔ-ni mô ap-ana-m-u 野尓毛安波奈牟 14:3463.2 Unknown
suNka-nö ara-nö-ni 須我能安良能尓 14:3352.2 Shinano
tökö-nö atari-ni 等許乃安多理尓 14:3554.2 Unknown

E.2.5.2 o_i (12)

kamî-wo inör-i-te 可美乎伊乃里弖 20:4374.2 Shimotsuke
aNtö kamö ip-am-u 安杼可母伊波武 14:3379.2 Musashi
taNkô-nö ir-i NÔ-nö 多胡能伊利野乃 14:3403.4 Kamitsuke
ama-kumö i-tuNk-î 安麻久母伊都藝 14:3409.2 Kamitsuke
mana tö ip-u KÔ-Nka 麻奈登伊布皃我 14:3462.4 Unknown
MA-KĬ-nö ita-N-tô-wo 真木乃伊多度乎 14:3467.2 Unknown
susa-nö ir-i-YE-nö 須沙能伊利江乃 14:3547.2 Unknown
sirupa-nö isô-tö 志留波乃伊宗等 20:4324.2 Tōtōmi
mömö-yö iNte-mas-e 母々与伊弖麻勢 20:4326.4 Tōtōmi
tat-i-nö isôNk-î n-i 多知能已蕝岐尓 20:4337.2 Suruga
tuma tö ip-aNpa ya 川麻止伊波波夜 Hitachi Fudoki 5.4
tat-am-u tö ip-ë-Ntö 多多牟止伊閇止 Hitachi Fudoki 8.2

E.2.5.3 o_u (4)

susô-nö uti-kapë 須蕪乃宇知可倍 14:3482a.2 Unknown
susô-nö uti-kap-î 須素能宇知可比 14:3482b.2 Unknown
puNti-nö ura PA-nö 布治能宇良葉乃 14:3504.2 Unknown
umara-nö ure-ni 宇万良能宇礼尓 20:4352.2 Kamitsufusa

E.2.5.4 o_o (5)

pîtö MË-wo opo-mî 比等目乎於保美 14:3490.4 Unknown
mama-nö osu pî-ni 麻末乃於須比尓 14:3385.4 Shimotsufusa
pîtö tö otapap-u 比等登於多波布 14:3409.4 Kamitsuke
pîtö sö otapap-u 比等曽於多波布 14:3518.4 Unknown
taNpî tö omëp-o-Ntö 多比等於米保等 20:4343.2 Suruga

E.3 ELISION DATA

124 instances in 120 unique lines

E.3.1 ELISIONS OF /a/ (14)

E.3.1.1 /a/ as first member of a pair (11)

a. *waNkîmo* ‘my darling’ (8)
töpo-kî wa-Nk[a]-îmö-Nka 登抱吉和伎母賀 14:3453.2 Unknown
iNte-KÖ wa-Nk[a]-îmö-KÔ 伊弖来和伎母兒 14:3519.4 Unknown
wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-ni 和伎毛古尓 14:3566.1 Unknown
wa-Nk[a]-îmë-kô-tö 和伎米故等 20:4345.1 Suruga
wa-Nk[a]-îmö-kô-Nka 和伎母古賀 20:4353.3 Kamitsufusa
wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-Nka 和藝毛古我 20:4357.3 Kamitsufusa
wa-Nk[a]-îmô-kô-Nka 和藝毛古賀 20:4404.3 Kamitsuke
na kôpï-sö wa-Nk[a]-îmö 奈古非敍和支母 Hitachi Fudoki 1.5

b. others (3)
tôpî-nö kap[a]-uti-ni 刀比能可布知尓 14:3368.2 Sagamu
pay[a]-uMA uMA-ya-nö 波由馬宇馬夜能 14:3439.2 Unknown
ar[a]-isô ya n-i 安里蕪夜尓 14:3562.1 Unknown

E.3.1.2 /a/ as second member of a pair (3)

sika [a]r-aNpa ka 志可良波加 14:3472.3 Unknown
na-wo [a]Ntö kamö si-m-u 那乎杼可母思武 14:3556.5 Unknown
tat-i-si asa-[a]kë-nö 多知之安佐氣乃 14:3569.2 Unknown

E.3.2 ELISIONS OF /i/ (40)

E.3.2.1 /i/ as first member of a pair (4)

siNkê-k[i]-aku-ni 之牙可久尓 14:3489.3 Unknown
omöp[-i]-apê-n-aku n-i 於母波弊奈久尓 20:4389.5 Shimotsufusa
mî-kötö-ni s[i] ar-e-Npa 美許等尓佐例波 20:4393.2 Shimotsufusa
nana-pê k[i]-ar-u 奈々弁加流 20:4431.3 Unknown

E.3.2.2 /i/ as second member of a pair (36)

a. *iNt(e)*- 'to emerge' (16)
ura-ni [i]Nte-n-i-kêr-i 宇良尓(イ弖)尓家里 14:3374.5 Musashi
irö-ni [i]Nt-una yumë 伊呂尓豆奈由米 14:3376a.5 Musashi
irö-ni [i]Nte-Ns-u ar-am-u 伊呂尓(イ弖)受安良牟 14:3376b.5 Musashi
köNk-î-[i]Nte-n-aNpa 許藝弖奈婆 14:3401.3 Shinano
MOnö môp-î-[i]Nte-t-u mö (or: MOnö [o]môp-î-tutu mö) 物能毛比弖都母 14:3443.5 (2) Unknown
n-ure-Npa kötö-ni [i]Nt-u 奴礼婆許登尓豆 14:3466.2 Unknown
kötö-ni [i]Nte-n-i-si ka 已登尓弖尓思可 14:3497.5 Unknown
irö-ni [i]Nte-m-ë ya mö 伊呂尓弖米也母 14:3503.5 Unknown
PO-ni [i]Nte-si kîmî-Nka 穂尓弖之伎美我 14:3506.4 Unknown
ka-N-tô [i]Nte-wo s-i-tutu 可度弖乎思都々 14:3534.2 Unknown
irö-ni [i]Nte-te 伊呂尓(イ弖)々 14:3560.3 Unknown
ka-na-tô [i]Nte-ni 可奈刀(イ弖)尓 14:3569.3 Unknown
sak-î-[i]Nte-kö-Ns-u-k(y-e)m-u 佐吉泥已受祁牟 20:4323.5 Tōtōmi
köNk-î-[i]Nte-te mî-re-Npa 已岐逞弖美例婆 20:4380.2 Shimotsuke
tas-i-[i]Nte-m-ô tökî-ni 多志逞毛等伎尓 20:4383.4 Shimotsuke
mawi-[i]Nte-k-î-n-i-si-wo 麻為弖枳尓之乎 20:4393.5 Shimotsufusa

b. *ip*- 'to say' (10)
imö-Nkari tö [i]p-ë-Npa 伊母我理登倍婆 14:3356.4 Suruga
ware-ni yös-u tö [i]p-u 和礼尓余須等布 14:3384.4 Shimotsufusa
töposi tö [i]p-u 等保斯等布 14:3478.1 Unknown
ne-rö tö [i]p-ên-a kamö 祢呂等敞奈香母 14:3499.5 Unknown
karasu tö [i]p-u 可良須等布 14:3521.1 Unknown
kötö tö [i]p-aNs-u k-î-n-u 許等登波受伎奴 14:3540.5 Unknown
papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö 波々登布波奈乃 20:4323.4 Tōtōmi
mônö [i]p-aNs-u k-ê-n-i-te 毛能波須價尓弖 20:4337.4 Suruga
taNpî tö [i]p-ê-Ntö 多妣等敞等 20:4388.1 Shimotsufusa
mata kötö tô [i]p-am-u 麻多已等刀波牟 20:4392.5 Shimotsufusa

c. *ik-* ‘to go’ (2)
i-ya-N-sakar-i-[i]k-u mö 伊夜射可里久母 14:3412.5 Kamitsuke
ama kök-î-[i]k-u MÎ-y-u 安麻許伎久見由 14:3449.4 Unknown

d. *ipê* ‘home’ (2)
imô-Nka [i]pê-ni 伊毛我敞尓 14:3441a.3 Unknown
wanô yuk-an-ö [i]pê pa 和努賀由乃敞波 14:3476b.5 Unknown

e. other nouns (5)
saNsare [i]si mö 左射礼思母 14:3400.3 Shinano
panar-i-[i]sô-nö 波奈利蘇乃 20:4338.3 Suruga
taNpï-nö kari-[i]po-ni 多非乃加里保尓 20:4348.4 Kamitsufusa
sumëra mî-[i]kusa-ni 須米良美久佐尓 20:4370.4 Hitachi
ipê-nö [i]mö-Nka 以敞乃母加 20:4388.3 Shimotsufusa

f. others (1)
kötö [i]ta-kar-i-t-u mö 許等多可利都母 14:3482b.5 (2) Unknown

E.3.3 ELISIONS OF /u/ (31)

E.3.3.1 /u/ as first member of a pair (10)

a. attributive verbal auxiliary *-uru-* (6)
sa-n-ur[u]-aku pa 佐奴良久波 14:3358a.1 Suruga
kôp-ur[u]-aku pa 古布良久波 14:3358a.3 Suruga
n-ur[u]-aku pa s-i-kêr-aku 奴良久波思家良久 14:3358b.2 Suruga
kôp-ur[u]-aku pa 古布良久波 14:3358c.3 Suruga
a-Nka kôp-ur[u]-aku pa 安我古布良久波 14:3560.5 Unknown
tök-ur[u]-aku môp-ë-Npa 登久良久毛倍婆 20:4427.5 (2) Unknown

b. adjectival infinitive *-ku* (4)
asi-k[u]-ar-u töNka mô 安志可流登我毛 14:3391.4 Hitachi
tökî na-k[u]-ar-i-kêr-i 等伎奈可里家利 14:3422.5 Kamitsuke
kôpusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö 故布思可流奈母 14:3476a.5 Unknown
kötö ta-k[u]-ar-i-t-u mö 許等多可利都母 14:3482b.5 (2) Unknown

E.3.3.2 /u/ as second member of a pair (21)

a. *kôma* ‘colt’ or ‘stallion’ (17)
yuk-am-u kô-[u]MA möNka 由可牟古馬母我 14:3387.2 Shimotsufusa
ayum-ê a-Nka kô-[u]ma 安由賣安我古麻 14:3441a.5 Unknown
ayum-ê kuro kô-[u]ma 安由賣久路古麿 14:3441b.5 Unknown

kô-[u]ma pa taNk-u tö mô 古麻波多具等毛 14:3451.4 Unknown
kusa pam-u kô-[u]ma-nö 久佐波牟古麻能 14:3532.2 Unknown
a nayum-u kô-[u]ma-nö 安奈由牟古麻能 14:3533.4 Unknown
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-Nka 安可胡麻我 14:3534.1 Unknown
kô-[u]ma-ni ap-u mônö wo 古麻尓安布毛能乎 14:3535.5 Unknown
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-wo 安加胡麻乎 14:3536.1 Unknown
muNkî pam-u kô-[u]ma-nö 牟伎波武古麻能 14:3537b.2 Unknown
kô-[u]ma-wo pasasakë 古麻乎波左佐氣 14:3538b.2 Unknown
kô-[u]MA-wo tunaNk-î-te 古馬乎都奈伎弖 14:3539.2 Unknown
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-Nka 安可故麻我 14:3540.3 Unknown
kô-[u]ma-nö yuk-ô-nösu 古麻乃由胡能須 14:3541.2 Unknown
kô-[u]MA-wo pasase-te 古馬乎波佐世弖 14:3542.2 Unknown
aka-N-kô-[u]ma-wo 阿加胡麻乎 20:4417.1 Musashi
napa tat-u kô-[u]ma-nö 奈波多都古麻乃 20:4429.2 Unknown

b. *upë* ‘above’ (4)
wa-Nka [u]pë-ni pa 和我倍尓波 14:3421.3 Kamitsuke
n-uru-Nka [u]pë-ni 奴流我倍尓 14:3465.3 Unknown
ap-as-u-Nka [u]pë 安波須賀倍 14:3479.3 Unknown
ipa-nö [u]pë-ni 伊波能倍尓 14:3518.1 Unknown

E.3.4 ELISIONS OF /e/ (3)

a. subordinative gerund *-te-* + existential verb *ar-* (3)
mîne-ni pap-î-t[e]-ar-u 弥年尓波比多流 14:3507.2 Unknown
wa-Nka k-î-t[e]-ar-u-maNte 和我伎多流麻弖 20:4326.5 Tōtōmi
nam-î-t[e]-ar-u mî-re-Npa 奈美多流美礼波 20:4375.2 Shimotsuke

E.3.5 ELISIONS OF /o/ (36)

E.3.5.1 /o/ as first member of a pair (3)

a. *kötö* ‘matter’ (2)
köt[ö]-iNte-t-uru kamö 許知弖都流可母 14:3371.5 Sagamu
köt[o] ita-kê-Npa 許智多雞波 Hitachi Fudoki 1.1

b. focus particle *kösö* (1)
yösi kös[ö] ar-uram-ë 余志許佐流良米 14:3430.5 Suruga

E.3.5.2 /o/ as second member of a pair (33)

a. *omop-* ‘to think’ (20)

tuNk-am-u tö [o]möp-ë ya 都我牟等母倍也 14:3360b.4 Izu
kökörö pa [o]môp-ë-Ntö 已許呂波毛倍杼 14:3367.5 Sagamu
MOnö [o]môp-î-Nte-t-u mö (or: MOnö [o]môp-î-tutu mö) 物能毛比弖都母 14:3443.5 (2) Unknown
are ya sika [o]môp-u 安礼也思加毛布 14:3470.4 Unknown
a-Nka [o]môp-an-aku n-i 安我毛波奈久尓 14:3482a.5 Unknown
NE-m-ô tö wa pa [o]môp-u 宿毛等和波毛布 14:3494.4 Unknown
NA pa aNtö ka [o]môp-u 汝波安杼可毛布 14:3494.5 Unknown
KÔ-rö-wo si [o]môp-ë-Npa 兒呂乎之毛倍婆 14:3504.5 Unknown
wa-Nka [o]möp-an-aku n-i 和我母波奈久尓 14:3507.5 Unknown
taka ne tö [o]môp-î-te 多可祢等毛比弖 14:3514.5 Unknown
na yö [o]möp-ar-i-sö ne 奈与母波里曽祢 14:3526.5 Unknown
a-Nka [o]môp-u imô-Nka 安我毛布伊毛我 14:3542.4 Unknown
wa-Nka [o]möp-o-nösu mô 和賀母抱乃須毛 14:3552.5 Unknown
iya [o]möp-î-mas-u n-i 伊夜母比麻須尓 14:3557.5 Unknown
aNtö [o]môp-ê ka 安杼毛敞可 14:3572.1 Unknown
nak-î-si sö [o]möp-ay-u 奈伎志曽母波由 20:4357.5 Kamitsufusa
kôpusi-kë [o]môp-am-ö 古布志氣毛波母 20:4419.5 Musashi
mônö [o]möp-î mô se-Ns-u 毛乃母比毛世受 20:4425.5 Unknown
are-wo si [o]môp-aNpa 阿礼乎之毛波婆 20:4426.5 Unknown
tök-ur-aku [o]môp-ë-Npa 登久良久毛倍婆 20:4427.5 (2) Unknown

b. *omo* ‘face’ (5)
wote [o]mô kö-nö [o]mö-ni 乎弖毛許乃母尓 14:3361.2 (2) Sagamu
wote [o]mô kö-nö [o]mö-ni 乎弖毛許能母尓 14:3393.2 (2) Hitachi
apë-nö TA-nö [o]mô-ni 阿倍乃田能毛尓 14:3523.2 Unknown

c. *otö* ‘sound’ (2)
kaNse-nö [o]tö-nö 可是乃等能 14:3453.1 Unknown
ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö 宇都也乎能登乃 14:3473.2 Unknown

d. other verbs (4)
kë-ni [o]yöNp-aNs-u k-î-n-u 氣尓餘婆受吉奴 14:3356.5 Suruga
ser-asimê-[o]k-î-n-aNpa 西良思馬伎那婆 14:3437.4 Michinoku
wa pa sô tö mô [o]p-aNsi 和波素登毛波自 14:3451.5 Unknown
töNtö tö [o]s-i-te 等杼登之弖 14:3467.3 Unknown

e. other nouns (2)
a-Nka [o]möte-nö 阿我母弖能 20:4367.1 Hitachi
? puta [o]po-N-kamî 布多富我美 20:4382.1 Shimotsuke

E.3.6 SYLLABLES ELIDED BY HAPLOLOGY (1)

asô-nö KApa-[pa]ra-yô 安素乃河泊良欲 14:3425.2 Shimotsuke

b. others (1)
katar-i-yör-[ur]asi mô 加多理与良斯毛 14:3446.5 Unknown

E.4 MONOPHTHONGIZATION DATA

17 instances in 17 unique lines

E.4.1 RETROSPECTIVE VERBAL AUXILIARY -*KER*- (îa > ê) (7)

sa-yô pukë-n-i-k[î-a]r-i 佐欲布氣尓家里 14:3348.5 Kamitsufusa
tökî suNkï-n-i-k[î-a]r-i 登伎湏疑尓家里 14:3352.5 Shinano
n-ur-aku pa s-i-k[î-a]r-aku 奴良久波思家良久 14:3358b.2 Suruga
ura-ni [i]Nte-n-i-k[î-a]r-i 宇良尓(イ弖)尓家里 14:3374.5 Musashi
tama sö ap-î-n-i-k[î-a]r-u 多麻曽阿比尓家留 14:3393.5 Hitachi
tökî na-kar-i-k[î-a]r-i 等伎奈可里家利 14:3422.5 Kamitsuke
mayôp-î-k-î-n-i-k[î-a]r-i 麻欲比伎尓家利 14:3453.5 Unknown

E.4.2 IRREGULAR RETROSPECTIVE VERBAL AUXILIARY -*KVR*- (2)

aka-tuk-î-n-i-kar-i 阿加都枳尓迦理 20:4388.5 Shimotsufusa
taye-n-i-kër-u kamö 多延尓氣流可母 20:4404.5 Kamitsuke

E.4.3 PAST-TENTATIVE VERBAL AUXILIARY -*KÊM*- (îa > ê) (8)

mîNtare-sömë-k[î-a]m-u 美太礼曽米家武 14:3360b.5 Izu
tane motömë-k[î-a]m-u 多祢物得米家武 14:3415.5 Kamitsuke
na-ni yösör-i-k[î-a]m-ë 奈尓与曽利鶏米 14:3468.5 Unknown
wosi-k[î-a]ku mö na-si 乎之家口母奈思 14:3533.5 Unknown
yuk-aNpa wosi-k[î-a]m-u 由加婆乎思家牟 14:3558.2 Unknown
sak-î-Nte-kö-Ns-u-k[î-a]m-u 佐吉泥已受祁牟 20:4323.5 Tōtōmi
ip-î-k[î-a]Npa kamö yö 伊比祁婆賀母輿 Hitachi Fudoki 6.4
wa-Nka wep-î-n-i-k[î-a]m-u 和我惠比爾祁牟 Hitachi Fudoki 6.5

E.5 OTHER DATA

E.5.1 'PAST-CONDITIONAL' VERBAL AUXILIARY -*SENPA*- (2)[44]

sek-u tö sir-i-se-[a]Npa 世久登之里世波 14:3545.2 Unknown

[44] Until a better description of these forms is available, they are not counted among the regular elisions.

sek-u tö sir-i-se-[a]Npa 世久得四里世波 14:3545.5 Unknown

E.5.2 NOTABLE ‘UNREDUCED’ FORMS (5)

a. negative verbal auxiliary (infinitive) -*Ns-u* + existential verb *ar-* (3)
irö-ni Nte-Ns-(u a)r-am-u 伊呂尓(イ弖)受安良牟 14:3376b.5 Musashi
ap-î-MÎ-Ns-u ar-aNpa 安比見受安良婆 14:3508.4 Unknown
kôpî-Ns-(u a)r-am-ë kamô 古比溝安良米可毛 20:4371.5 Hitachi

b. adjectival infinitive -*ku* + existential verb *ar-* (2)
sa-ku ar-e te 佐久安礼天 20:4346.3 Suruga
sakë-ku ar-i-mat-e 佐氣久阿利麻弖 20:4368.2 Hitachi

Appendix F
Unique Eastern Old Japanese Attributive Data

F.1 ALLOMORPH -*o* (52)

F.1.1 AFTER CONSONANT-STEM AND IRREGULAR VERB BASES (16)

a. -*o* / p__ (6)
ap-o siNta mô 阿抱思太毛 14:3478.3 Unknown
kamö-nö pap-o-nösu 可母能波抱能須 14:3525.2 Unknown
wa-Nka [o]möp-o-nösu mô 和賀母抱乃須毛 14:3552.5 Unknown
pap-o mamë-nö 波保麻米乃 20:4352.3 Kamitsufusa
opuse-tamap-o ka 於不世他麻保加 20:4389.4 Shimotsufusa
mîne pap-o kumô-wo 美祢波保久毛乎 20:4421.4 Musashi

b. -*ô* / t__ (3)
tat-ô tuku-nö 多刀都久能 14:3476a.3 Unknown
amë-wo mat-ô-nösu 阿米乎万刀能須 14:3561.4 Unknown
kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö 伎美乎等麻刀母 14:3561.5 Unknown

c. -*ô* / k__ (3)
pîk-ô pune-nö 比古布祢乃 14:3431.3 Sagamu
kôma-nö yuk-ô-nösu 古麻乃由胡能須 14:3541.2 Unknown
yuk-ô sakî-ni 由古作枳尓 20:4385.1 Shimotsufusa

d. -*ô* / s__ (1)
pê kôs-ô sira-namî 敞古祖志良奈美 20:4389.2 Shimotsufusa

e. -*ô* / m__ (1)
okî-ni sum-ô 於吉尓須毛 14:3527.1 Unknown

f. -*ô* / r__ (2)
pur-ô yökî-nö 布路与伎能 14:3423.3 Kamitsuke
ar-ô kösö ye-si mö 安路許曽要志母 14:3509.5 Unknown

F.1.2 AFTER APPARENT VOWEL-STEM VERB BASES (1)

arapar-ô-maNte mö 安良波路萬代母 14:3414.4 Kamitsuke

F.1.3 AFTER TENTATIVE MARKER -*am*- (20)

KÔ-ra pa ap-ana-m-ô 兒良波安波奈毛 14:3405a.4 Kamitsuke

se-na pa ap-ana-m-ö 世奈波安波奈母 14:3405b.4 Kamitsuke
ima pa ika n-i se-m-ö 伊麻波伊可尓世母 14:3418.5 Kamitsuke
sinôp-î n-i se-m-ô tö 斯努比尓勢毛等 14:3426.4 Michinoku
kar-i-te kî-n-ap-am-ô 可里弖伎奈波毛 14:3472.5 Unknown
ne-m-ô tö ka KÔ-rö-Nka 祢毛等可兒呂賀 14:3473.4 Unknown
NE-m-ô tö wa pa [o]môp-u 宿毛等和波毛布 14:3494.4 Unknown
MÎ-tutu sinôp-am-ô 見都追思努婆毛 14:3516.5 Unknown
mî-m-ô pîtö möNkamö 美毛比等母我母 20:4329.5 Sagamu
mî-te ya watar-am-ô 美弖夜和多良毛 20:4355.2 Kamitsufusa
kuni-ni pë muk-am-ô 久尓々閇牟可毛 20:4359.5 Kamitsufusa
wasure-m-ö siNta pa 和須例母之太波 20:4367.2 Hitachi
tas-i-[i]Nte-m-ô tökî-ni 多志遅毛等伎尓 20:4383.4 Shimotsuke
yuk-am-ô pîtö möNka 由加毛比等母我 20:4406.2 Kamitsuke
mata mî-te-m-ô mö ya 麻多美弖毛母也 20:4415.5 Musashi
tuti-ni oti-m-ö kamô 都知尓於知母加毛 20:4418.5 Musashi
kôpusi-kë [o]môp-am-ö 古布志氣毛波母 20:4419.5 Musashi
aya n-i kamö ne-m-ô 阿也尓加母祢毛 20:4422.5 Musashi
saya n-i mî-m-ô kamö 佐夜尓美毛可母 20:4423.5 Musashi
aNse kô si map-am-ö 阿是古志麻波母 Hitachi Fudoki 7.5

F.1.4 AFTER TENTATIVE MARKER *-unam-* (5)

wanu-ni kôp-unam-ô 和奴尓故布奈毛 14:3476a.2 Unknown
kôpusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö 故布思可流奈母 14:3476a.5 Unknown
puta yuk-unam-ö tö 布多由久奈母等 14:3526.4 Unknown
omôp-os-unam-ö rö 於毛抱須奈母呂 14:3552.4 Unknown
wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô 和乎可麻都那毛 14:3563.4 Unknown

F.1.5 AFTER PERFECTIVE MARKER *-n-* (5)

sapaNta nar-i-n-ô-wo 佐波太奈利努乎 14:3395.4 Hitachi
yô-N-tat-i k-î-n-ô kamö 欲太知伎努可母 14:3480.5 Unknown
kô-rö-Nka osö kî-n-ö 古呂賀於曽伎能 14:3509.4 Unknown
ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö 於伎弖伎努可母 14:3527.5 Unknown
kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu 古与弖伎怒加牟 20:4403.5 Shinano

F.1.6 AFTER NEGATIVE MARKER *-an-* (3)

wanô yuk-an-ö [i]pê pa 和努由賀乃敞波 14:3476b.2 Unknown
wasure se-n-ô kamô 和須例勢努加毛 20:4344.5 Suruga
wasur-aye-n-ô kamô 和須良延努可毛 20:4356.5 Kamitsufusa

F.1.7 AFTER PROGRESSIVE MARKER -*ar*- (2)

kö-yöpî tö nör-ar-ô 許余比登乃良路 14:3469.2 Unknown
par-ar-ô kapa tô-ni 波良路可波刀尓 14:3546.2 Unknown

F.2 ALLOMORPH -*ke* (18)

kanasi-kê KÔ-ra-ni 可奈師家兒良尓 14:3412.4 Kamitsuke
yôru tökê-yasu-kê 欲流等家也須家 14:3483.5 Unknown
ura-N-kanasi-kê-wo 宇良我奈之家乎 14:3500.4 Unknown
kököNpa kanasi-kê 許已婆可那之家 14:3517.5 Unknown
kanasi-kê siNta pa 可奈思家之太波 14:3533.2 Unknown
kanasi-kê se-rö-ni 可奈思家世呂尓 14:3548.4 Unknown
kanasi-kê-wo ok-î-te 加奈思家乎於吉弖 14:3551.5 Unknown
nayamasi-kê 奈夜麻思家 14:3557.1 Unknown
kanasi-kê KÔ-rö-wo 可奈之家兒呂乎 14:3564.4 Unknown
aNse ka kanasi-kê 安是可加奈思家 14:3576.5 Unknown
kanasi-kê imö sö 可奈之家伊母曽 20:4369.4 Hitachi
pîru mô kanasi-kê 比留毛可奈之祁 20:4369.5 Hitachi
ima Nsö kuyasi-kë 伊麻叙久夜之氣 20:4376.5 Shimotsuke
asi-kë pîtö n-ar-i 阿志氣比等奈里 20:4382.2 Shimotsuke
naNka-kë kö-nö yô-wo 奈賀氣已乃用乎 20:4394.5 Shimotsufusa
utukusi-kë 宇都久之氣 20:4414.3 Musashi
sum-î yö-kë-wo 須美与氣乎 20:4419.3 Musashi
kôpusi-kë [o]môp-am-ö 古布志氣毛波母 20:4419.5 Musashi

F.3 ALLOMORPH -*e* (5)

ap-anöp-ê siNta mô 安波乃敞思太毛 14:3478 Unknown
ne-nap-ê-nö kara n-i 祢奈敞乃可良尓 14:3482b.4 Unknown
tökê-nap-ê pîmô-nö 等家奈敞比毛乃 14:3483.2 Unknown
ne-nap-ê kô yuwe n-i 祢奈敞古由恵尓 14:3529.4 Unknown
NE-NAp-ê KÔ yuwe n-i 宿莫敞兒由恵尓 14:3555.5 Unknown

F.4 ALLOMORPH -*a* (10)

F.4.1 AFTER NEGATIVE MARKER -*an*- (9)

ne-ni pa tuk-an-a-na 祢尓波都可奈那 14:3408.2 Kamitsuke
ura-N-kare-se-n-a-na 宇良賀礼勢奈那 14:3436.4 Kamitsuke

yöpî-na pa kö-n-a-ni 与比奈波許奈尓 14:3461.4 Unknown
NE-N-A-na n-ar-i-n-i-si 宿莫奈那里尓思 14:3487.4 Unknown
? ne-rö tö [i]p-ên-a kamö 祢呂等敞奈香母 14:3499.5 Unknown
wasure pa se-n-a-na 和須礼波勢奈那 14:3557.4 Unknown
wa-Nka te pure-n-a-na 和我弖布礼奈々 20:4418.4 Musashi
oNpî pa tök-an-a-na 於妣婆等可奈々 20:4422.4 Musashi
yeNpî pa tök-an-a-na 叡比波登加奈々 20:4428.4 Unknown

F.4.2 AFTER CONSONANT-STEM VERB BASES (1)

kayôp-a töri-Nka SU 可欲波等里我栖 14:3526.2 Unknown

F.5 POEMS CONTAINING FREE VARIATION OF *-o* AND *-u/uru* (19)

F.5.1 *-o* AFTER CONSONANT-STEM VERB BASES (4)

a. 14:3478.1-3 Unknown
等保斯等布 / 故奈乃思良祢尓 / 阿抱思太毛
töposi tö-[i]p-u / kôna-nö sira-ne-ni / ap-o siNta mô
far(FIN) DV-say(vt)-ATTR / *Kona*-GEN white-peaks-LOC / meet-EATTR time PT
'when (we) meet on the white peak(s) of Kona, which (they) say are far away…'

b. 14:3527.1-5 Unknown[45]
於吉尓須毛 / 乎加母乃毛已呂 / 也左可杼利 / 伊伎豆久伊毛乎 / 於伎弖伎努可母
okî-ni sum-ô / woN-kamö-nö môkörö / yasaka-N-töri / ikî-N-tuk-u imô-wo / ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö
offing-LOC live-EATTR / DIM-ducks-GEN similarity / *Yasaka*-GEN-bird / breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR darling-ACC / leave.behind-INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT
'just like ducks that live far from shore, are the birds of Yasaka – I left my darling panting (i.e., weeping) like those birds, to come (here).'

c. 14:3541.2-5 Unknown
古麻乃由胡能須 / 安也波刀文 / 比等豆麻古呂乎 / 麻由可西良布母
kô-[u]ma-nö yuk-ô-nösu / ayapa tô mo / pîtö-N-tuma kô-rö-wo / ma-yu ka s-er-ap-u mö
DIM-horse-GEN go-EATTR-ECOMP / dangerous DV PT / person-GEN-spouse girl-EDIM-ACC / eye-ABL KPT do-PROG-ITER-ATTR PT

[45] This poem contains two instances of attributive allomorph *-o* (once after a consonant-stem verb base, and again after the perfective marker *-n-*), and so is included twice in this data, for a total of nineteen citations of eighteen unique poems.

‘although (I) know it is as dangerous as going on my horse (near the edge of crumbling cliffs) – (yet) with (my) eyes (I) keep looking at that girl who is another man’s wife.’

d. 20:4352.1-5 Kamitsufusa
美知乃倍乃 / 宇万良能宇礼尓 / 波保麻米乃 / 可良麻流伎美乎 / 波可礼加由加牟
mîti-nö pë-nö / umara-nö ure-ni / pap-o mamë-nö / karam-ar-u kîmî-wo / pakare ka yuk-am-u
road-GEN side-GEN / briar-GEN tip-LOC / spread-EATTR bean.vine-COMP / enwrap-EPROG-ATTR lord/you-ACC / be.distant(INF?) KPT go-TENT-ATTR
‘should I go away from you, my lord, to whom I cling, like bean vines around the boughs of roadside briar?’

F.5.2 -*o* AFTER VOWEL-STEM VERB BASES (1)

a. 14:3414.2-4 Unknown
夜左可能為提尓 / 多都努自能 / 安良波路萬代母
yasaka-nö wiNte-ni / tat-u nôNsi-nö / arapar-ô-maNte mö
Yasaka-GEN dam-LOC / rise-ATTR rainbow-GEN / appear-EATTR-TERM PT
‘until appears the rainbow that rises at the dam of Yasaka’

F.5.3 -*o* AFTER TENTATIVE MARKER -*am*- (10)

a. 14:3405b.4-5 Kamitsuke
世奈波安波奈母 / 美流比登奈思尓
se-na pa ap-ana-m-ö / mî-ru pîtö na-si-ni
lover-EDIM TOP meet-DES-TENT-EATTR / see-ATTR person not.exist-FIN-LOC
‘(I) want to meet (my) lover, since there is no one (here) to see (us)’

b. 14:3472.2-5 Unknown
安是可曽乎伊波牟 / 志可良波加 / 刀奈里乃伎奴乎 / 可里弖伎奈波毛
aNse ka sö-wo ip-am-u / sika-[a]r-aNpa ka / tônari-nö kînu-wo / kar-i-te kî-n-ap-am-ô
why KPT she-ACC say-TENT-ATTR / thus-exist-COND KPT / neighbor-GEN robes-ACC / borrow-INF-SUB wear(INF)-PERF-ITER-TENT-EATTR
‘why should (I) say that that? If it is so, then (I’ll) borrow my neighbor’s robes and wear them all the time (i.e., I’ll impersonate him).’

c. 14:3473.2-5 Unknown
宇都也乎能登乃 / 等抱可騰母 / 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 於母尓美要都留
ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö / töpo-ka-Ntö mö / ne-m-ô tö ka KÔ-rö-Nka / omö-ni mî-ye-t-uru

hit-ATTR KPT axe sound-GEN / distant-EV-CONC PT / sleep-TENT-EATTR DV KPT girl-EDIM-POSS / face-DAT see-PASS-PERF-ATTR
'is it the sound of a striking axe far in the distance? Though (she is) far away, just when I think to go to sleep, I can see my girl's face (as in a dream or reverie).'

d. 14:3494.3-5 Unknown
毛美都麻弖 / 宿毛等和波毛布 / 汝波安杼可毛布
mômît-u-maNte / NE-m-ô tö wa pa [o]môp-u / NA pa aNtö ka [o]môp-u
leaves.turn-ATTR-TERM / sleep-TENT-EATTR DV I TOP think-FIN / you TOP what KPT think-ATTR
'I think we should sleep together until the leaves turn red – what do you think?'

e. 14:3516.2-5 Unknown
之多具毛安良南敷 / 可牟能祢尓 / 多奈婢久君毛乎 / 見都追思努婆毛
sita-N-kumô ar-anap-u / kamu n-ö ne-ni / tana-N-pîk-u kumô-wo / MÎ-tutu sinôp-am-ô
below-GEN-clouds exist(vi)-ENEG-FIN? / divine DV-ATTR peak-LOC / PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR clouds-ACC / see(INF)-COOR long.for-TENT-EATTR
'there are no low clouds (around the peaks of Tusima); (but) while I gaze at the clouds trailing (high) over the divine peak, I shall think of you!'

f. 20:4329.4-5 Sagamu
安我世武比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我母
a-Nka se-m-u pî-rö-wo / mî-m-ô pîtö möNkamö
I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-EDIM-ACC / see-TENT-EATTR person PT
'I want there to be someone to see the day when I'll do (the boat-decorating!)'

g. 20:4355.2-4 Kamitsufusa
美弖夜和多良毛 / 奈尓波我多 / 久毛為尓美由流
mî-te ya watar-am-ô / nanipa-N-kata / kumô wi-ni mî-y-uru
see(INF)-SUB KPT cross-TENT-EATTR / PN-GEN-lagoon / clouds stay.put(NML)-LOC see-PASS-ATTR
'gazing far into the distance, over the bay of Naniwa, I can see clouds hanging (there)'

h. 20:4359.2-5 Kamitsufusa
敞牟加流布祢乃 / 伊都之加毛 / 都加敞麻都里弖 / 久尓々閇牟可毛
pê muk-ar-u pune-nö / itu si kamô / tukapê-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pë muk-am-ô
bow turn-EPROG-ATTR boat-COMP / when PT KPT / serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB / province-LOC bow turn-TENT-EATTR
'when, after I have done my service, will this boat which (now) turns its bow to the shores (of Tukusi) turn its bow to my homeland?'

i. 20:4415.1-5 Musashi

志良多麻乎 / 弖尓刀里母之弖 / 美流乃須母 / 伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弖毛母也
sira-tama-wo / te-ni tôr-i-mös-i-te / mî-ru-nösu mö / ipê n-ar-u imö-wo / mata mî-te-m-ô mö ya
white-pearl-ACC / hand-LOC take-hold-INF-SUB / see-ATTR-ECOMP PT / home LOC-exist-ATTR darling-ACC / again see(INF)-PERF-TENT-EATTR PT KPT
'like gazing at the pearls I have taken up in my hands – how I would like to see again my darling who is at home!'

j. 20:4423.4-5 Musashi
伊波奈流伊毛波 / 佐夜尓美毛可母
ipa n-ar-u imô pa / saya n-i mî-m-ô kamö
home LOC-exist-ATTR darling TOP / clearly DV-INF see-TENT-EATTR KPT
'I wonder if my darling at home can see (me) clearly (as I wave to her)?'

F.5.4 *-o* AFTER PERFECTIVE MARKER *-n-* (3)

a. 14:3395.4-5 Hitachi
佐波太奈利努乎 / 萬多祢天武可聞
sapaNta nar-i-n-ô-wo / mata ne-te-m-u kamo
many become-INF-PERF-EATTR-ACC / again sleep(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR KPT
'since (my nights away) have become many, I wonder if (I) will sleep (with her) again'

b. 14:3527.1-5 Unknown
於吉尓須毛 / 乎加母乃毛已呂 / 也左可杼利 / 伊伎豆久伊毛乎 / 於伎弖伎努可母
okî-ni sum-ô / woN-kamö-nö môkörö / yasaka-N-töri / ikî-N-tuk-u imô-wo / ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö
offing-LOC live-EATTR / DIM-ducks-GEN similarity / *Yasaka*-GEN-bird / breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR darling-ACC / leave.behind-INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT
'just like ducks that live far from shore, are the birds of Yasaka – I left my darling (or wife) panting (i.e., weeping) like those birds, to come (here).'

c. 20:4403.4-5 Shinano
多奈妣久夜麻乎 / 古与弖伎怒加牟
tana-N-pîk-u yama-wo / kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu
PREF-GEN-pull-ATTR mountain-ACC / get.past(INF)-SUB come-INF-PERF-EATTR KPT
'I have come over the mountains where (blue clouds) are trailing'

F.5.5 *-o* AFTER PROGRESSIVE MARKER *-ar-* (1)

a. 14:3469.2-5 Unknown
許余比登乃良路 / 和賀西奈波 / 阿是曽母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴
kö-yöpî tö nör-ar-ô / wa-Nka se-na pa / aNse sö mö kö-yöpî / yös-i-rö-k-î-mas-an-u
this-evening DV tell-EPROG-EATTR / I-POSS lover-EDIM TOP / why KPT PT this-evening / approach-INF-UNCLEAR(Korean copula?)-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
'as for my lover, of whom (the fortune-teller) said "(he will come) this evening": *why*, this evening, does (he) not come near?'

Appendix G
Predicate Data

G.1 TERMINAL PREDICATE TABLES

Table G.1 Terminal Predicates in First Lines

Predicate Form	Predicate Syntax						Totals
	End	__ tö	__ mo	__ ya	__ ka	Other	
Final -u, -si, -i		1					1
Ambiguous Adjective (-si)							0
Apparent Final -u	1	1					2
Apparent Attributive -u							0
Attributive -ki, -ke -uru, -ô				1 (RD)			1
Evidential -e, -ure, -sika					2		2
Other							0
Totals	1	2	0	1	2	0	6

Table G.2 Terminal Predicates in Second Lines

Predicate Form	Predicate Syntax						Totals
	End	__ tö	__ mo	__ ya	__ ka	Other	
Final -u, -si, -i	6	1					7
Ambiguous Adjective (-si)	3		1				4
Apparent Final -u	8	6		1			15
Apparent Attributive -u	4 (KM)						4
Attributive -ki, -ke -uru, -ô	3 (KM) 2 (RD)						5
Evidential -e, -ure, -sika	4 (KM)	1 (ID)		1			6
Defective verb n-i	1						1
Other	8	1					9
Totals	39	9	1	2	0	0	51

Table G.3 Terminal Predicates in Third Lines							
Predicate Form	Predicate Syntax						Totals
	End	__ tö	__ mo	__ ya	__ ka	Other	
Final -u, -si, -i	1	2			1	4	8
Ambiguous Adjective (-si)							0
Apparent Final -u		2					2
Apparent Attributive -u							0
Attributive -ki, -ke -uru, -ô							0
Evidential -e, -ure, -sika						1	1
Defective verb n-i			1				1
Other	1	1					2
Totals	2	5	1	0	1	5	14

Table G.4 Terminal Predicates in Forth Lines							
Predicate Form	Predicate Syntax						Totals
	End	__ tö	__ mo	__ ya	__ ka	Other	
Final -u, -si, -i	7	2	2	1		2	14
Ambiguous Adjective (-si)	1	1					2
Apparent Final -u	12	8				1	21
Apparent Attributive -u	14 (KM)	2 (KM)	1 (KM)		1		18
Attributive -ki, -ke -uru, -ô	7 (KM) 2 (RD)	1 (KM) 3 (RD)			1	1 (RD)	15
Evidential -e, -ure, -sika	2 (KM)			3	1		6
Defective verb n-i	4						4
Other	11	1	1			1	14
Totals	60	18	4	4	3	5	94

Table G.5 Terminal Predicates in Fifth Lines							
Predicate Form	Predicate Syntax						Totals
	End	__ tö	__ mo	__ ya	__ ka	Other	
Final -u, -si, -i	21	2	7		1	2	33
Ambiguous Adjective (-si)	2		11				13
Apparent Final -u	23	3	9		2	2	39
Apparent Attributive -u	29 (KM)		1 (KM)		4	2	36
Attributive -ki, -ke -uru, -ô	18 (KM) 10 (RD)		1 (KM) 1 (RD)		17	1	48
Evidential -e, -ure, -sika	7 (KM)			5	4		16
Defective verb n-i	19						19
Other	32	2	5	1		1	41
Totals	161	7	35	6	27	8	245

G.2 PREDICATES IN "OTHER" SYNTACTIC POSITIONS (18)

G.2.1 UNAMBIGUOUS FINAL *-u*, *-si*, *-i* (8)

1. 14:3487.3
   安豆左由美 / 湏恵尓多麻末吉 / 可久湏酒曽 / 宿莫奈那里尓思 / 於久乎可奴加奴
   aNtusa yumî / suwe-ni tama mak-î / ka-ku s-u s-u sö / NE-N-A-na n-ar-i-n-i-si / oku-wo kan-u kan-u
   catalpa bow / tip-LOC jade wind-(NML) / thus-INF do-FIN do-FIN KPT / sleep-NEG-ATTR-ELOC DV-exist-INF-PERF-INF-PAST(ATTR) / future-ACC expect-FIN expect-FIN
   '(my) catalpa bow, its ends wrapped with jewels – it is just so – because (we) haven't slept (together yet), (I) am worried for (our) future.'

2. 14:3543.3
   武路我夜乃 / 都留能都追美乃 / 那利奴賀尓 / 古呂波伊敞杼母 / 伊末太年那久尓
   murôNkaya-nö / turu-nö tutumî-nö / nar-i-n-u Nkani / kô-rö pa ip-ê-Ntö mö / imaNta ne-n-aku n-i
   Murogaya-GEN / *Turu*-GEN embankment-COMP / become-INF-PERF-FIN PT / girl-EDIM TOP say-EV-CONC PT / not.yet sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF

‘like the embankments of Turu in Murongaya – although (she) talks as if it were already so, (the fact is that we) still have not slept together.’

3. 20:4429.3
   宇麻夜奈流 / 奈波多都古麻乃 / 於久流我弁 / 伊毛我伊比之乎 / 於岐弖可奈之毛
   uma-ya n-ar-u / napa tat-u kô-[u]ma-nö / okur-u Nkapê / imô-Nka ip-î-si-wo / ok-î-te kanasi mô
   horse-shed LOC-exist-ATTR / rope cut-ATTR DIM-horse-GEN / remain-FIN PT / darling-POSS say-INF-PAST(ATTR)-ACC / leave.behind-INF-SUB sad(FIN?) PT
   ‘it is sad (for me) to leave (her), since my darling said to me, ‘would a colt that has broken the ropes in his stable remain (there)? – (no, I guess he wouldn’t.)’

4. Hitachi Fudoki 3.3
   都久波尼爾 / 伊保利弖 / 都麻奈志爾 / 和我尼牟欲呂波 / 波夜母 / 阿氣奴賀母也
   tukupa ne-ni / ipor-i-te / tuma na-si-ni / wa-Nka ne-m-u yô-rö pa / paya mö / akë-n-u kamö
   Tukupa peak-LOC / take.up.temporary.lodging-INF-SUB / spouse not.exist-FIN-LOC / I-POSS sleep-TENT-ATTR night-EDIM TOP / early PT / brighten(INF)-PERF-FIN KPT
   ‘since I am without a spouse, camping on Mt. Tukupa—the night I sleep (alone) here dawns early!’

5. 14:3425.4
   志母都家努 / 安素乃河泊良欲 / 伊之布麻努受 / 藤良由登伎奴与 / 奈我已許呂能礼
   simötukênô / asô-nö KApa-[pa]ra-yô / isi pum-aNs-u / sôra-yu tö k-î-n-u yö / na-Nka kökörö nör-e
   Simotukeno / *Aso*-GEN river-plain-ABL / stone step-NEG-FIN / sky-ABL KPT come-INF-PERF-FIN PT / you-POSS heart tell-IMP
   ‘from the riverbank of Aso in Shimotsukeno, (I dreamt that) without even touching the stones (by the riverside), you came (flying) through the sky! Let me know your feelings!’

6. 14:3458.4
   奈勢能古夜 / 等里乃乎加恥志 / 奈可太乎礼 / 安乎祢思奈久与 / 伊久豆君麻弖尓
   na se n-ö kô ya / töri-nö woka-N-ti si / naka-N-tawore / a-wo ne si nak-u yö / iku-N-tuk-u-maNte-ni
   I lover DV-ATTR child KPT / *Tori*-GEN hill-GEN-road PT / inside-GEN-sag(NML) / I-ACC voice PT make.cry-FIN PT / breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR-TERM-LOC

‘my dear husband! – (the way you) are bent (by the hardship of your travels) on the hilly road of Tori makes (me) cry out loud, until (I) am panting.’

7. 14:3390.5
筑波祢尓 / 可加奈久和之能 / 祢乃未乎可 / 奈伎和多里南牟 / 安布登波奈思尓
TUKUpa ne-ni / kaka nak-u wasi-nö / ne nömï wo ka / nak-î-watar-i-n-am-u / ap-u tö pa na-si-ni
Tukupa peak-LOC / ONO cry-ATTR eagle-COMP / voice PT PT KPT / cry-INF-cross-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR / meet-FIN DV PT not.exist-FIN-LOC
‘like the eagles that cry ‘ka— ka—’ over the peaks of Tukupa, shall I cross (over the mountains) just crying aloud (lit., ‘with only my voice’), and (then) have no meeting (with her)?’

8. 20:4330.5
奈尓波都尓 / 余曽比余曽比弖 / 氣布能日夜 / 伊田弖麻可良武 / 美流波々奈之尓
nanipa tu-ni / yösöp-î-yösöp-î-te / këpu-nö PÎ ya / iNte-te makar-am-u / mîr-u papa na-si-ni
Nanipa harbor-LOC / make.ready-INF-make.ready-INF-SUB / today-GEN sun KPT / emerge(INF)-SUB go(HUM)-TENT-ATTR / see-ATTR mother not.exist-FIN-LOC
‘in Nanipa harbor (we) ready the boats, and will (we) be setting out today?—for my mother is not here to watch.’

G.2.2 AMBIGUOUS FINAL *-u* (3)

1. 14:3477.4
安都麻道乃 / 手兒乃欲婢佐可 / 古要弖伊奈婆 / 安礼波古非牟奈 / 能知波安比奴登母
atuma MÎTI-nö / TEKÔ-nö yôNp-î-saka / kôye-t(e i)n-aNpa / are pa kôpï-m-u na / nöti pa ap-î-n-u tö mö
Atuma road-GEN / maiden-GEN call-NML-hill / get.past(INF)-SUB leave-COND / I TOP love-TENT-FIN PT / later TOP meet-INF-PERF-FIN DV PT
‘if (I) get past the ‘Maiden-Calling Hill’ on the road of Azuma – then I will surely love, even if (I) meet you later.’

2. 14:3375.5
武蔵野乃 / 乎具奇我吉藝志 / 多知和可礼 / 伊尓之与比欲利 / 世呂尓安波奈布与
muSASI NÔ-nö / woN-kukï-Nka kîNkîsi / tat-i-wakare / in-i-si yöpî-yôri / se-rö-ni ap-anap-u yö
Musasi moor-GEN / DIM-cave-POSS pheasant / rise-INF-separate(INF) / leave-INF-PAST(ATTR) evening-ABL / lover-EDIM-DAT meet-ENEG-FIN PT

‘like the pheasants of the small caves on Musashi Plain, we up and part ways – (and) since that evening when (he) left, (I) have not met my beloved.’

3. 14:3557.5
奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母与 / 許具布祢能 / 和須礼波勢奈那 / 伊夜母比麻須尓
nayamasi-kê / pîtö-N-tuma kamö yö / köNk-u pune-nö / wasure pa se-n-a-na / iya [o]möp-î-mas-u n-i
distressing-EATTR / person-GEN-spouse KPT PT / row-ATTR boat-COMP / forget(NML) TOP do-NEG-ATTR-ELOC / extremely think-INF-increase-FIN DV-INF
‘(I) am distressed! (This) other man’s wife – since (I) do not forget (her), I think (of her) more and more, like a boat (that never stops) rowing.’

G.2.3 AMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTIVE *-u* (2)

1. 14:3420.5
可美都氣努 / 佐野乃布奈波之 / 登里波奈之 / 於也波左久礼騰 / 和波左可流賀倍
kamîtukënô / saNÔ-nö puna-pasi / tör-i-panas-i / oya pa sak-ure-Ntö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapë
Kamitukeno / *Sano*-GEN boat-bridge / take-INF-separate-NML / parents TOP let.go-EV-CONC / I TOP be.far.from-ATTR PT
‘(like how) the pontoon (lit., ‘boat’) bridge of Sano (in) Kamitsukeno is taken (i.e., pulled) apart – although (our) parents keep us apart, will I stay away (from you)? – (no, I will not.)’

2. 14:3502.5
和我目豆麻 / 比等波左久礼杼 / 安佐我保能 / 等思佐倍已其登 / 和波佐可流我倍
wa-Nka MË-N-tuma / pîtö pa sakur-e-Ntö / asa-N-kapo-nö / tösi sapë köNkötö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapë
I-POSS eye-GEN-spouse / person TOP be.far.from-EV-CON / morning-GEN-face-COMP / year PT greatly / I TOP be.far.from-ATTR PT
‘people keep me away from my beloved wife, but, like a morning-glory, will I be away (from her) for many years? – (no, I will not.)’

G.2.4 UNAMBIGUOUS ATTRIBUTIVE *-kî*, *-ke -uru*, *-ô* (2)

1. 14:3552.4
麻都我宇良尓 / 佐和恵宇良太知 / 麻比等其等 / 於毛抱須奈母呂 / 和賀母抱乃須毛
matu-Nka ura-ni / sawawe ura-N-tat-i / ma-pîtö-N-kötö / omôp-os-unam-ö rö / wa-Nka [o]möp-o-nösu mô

pine-POSS bay-LOC / UNCLEAR(noisy?) tip-LOC-rise-(NML) / INT-people-words / think-HON-ETENT-EATTR DV / I-POSS think-EATTR-ECOMP PT
'(you) surely think that people's rumors are like (noisy waves) raising to the tips (of the tree branches) in the bay of pines. My thoughts are also like that.'

2. 14:3452.5
於毛思路伎 / 野乎婆奈夜吉曽 / 布流久佐尓 / 仁比久佐麻自利 / 於非波於布流我尓
omôsirô-kî / NÔ woNpa na yak-î-sö / puru kusa-ni / nipî-kusa maNsir-i / opï-Npa op-uru Nkani
pleasant-ATTR / moor PT NEGIMP burn-INF-NEGDES / old grass-LOC / new-grass mix-INF / grow-COND grow-ATTR PT
'do not burn the pleasant fields! (For) it seems it will (still) grow, if new grasses grow and mix with the old grasses.'

G.2.5 EVIDENTIAL *-e*, *-ure*, *-sika* (1)

1. 20:4323.3
等伎騰吉乃 / 波奈波佐家登母 / 奈尓湏礼曽 / 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥已受祁牟
tökî-Ntökî-nö / pana pa sak-ê-Ntö mö / nani s-ure sö / papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / sak-î-[i]Nte-kö-s-u-kem-u
time-time-GEN / blossom TOP bloom-EV-CONC PT / what do-EV KPT / mother DV call-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-emerge(INF)-come-HON-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
'although there are (some) flowers blooming at all times, what shall I do (so that) the flower which I call 'mother' might come out in bloom?'

G.2.6 OTHER (2)

1. 14:3575.4
美夜自呂乃 / 渚可敞尓多弖流 / 可保我波奈 / 莫佐吉伊弖曽祢 / 許米弖思努波武
mîyaNsirö-nö / SUka pê-ni tat-er-u / kapo-Nka pana / NA sak-î-iNte-sö ne / kömë-te sinôp-am-u
Miyajiro-GEN / sandbar area-LOC stand-PROG-ATTR / face-POSS blossom / NEGIMP bloom-INF-emerge(INF)-NEGDES PT / enter(INF)-SUB long.for-TENT-FIN
'(you) convolvulus blossoms growing in the sandbars of Miyajiro: do not blossom open! but yearn in secret.'

2. 14:3449.5

思路多倍乃 / 許呂母能素弖乎 / 麻久良我欲 / 安麻許伎久見由 / 奈美多都奈由米

sirô tapë-nö / körömö-nö sôNte-wo / makuraNka-yô / ama kök-î-[i]k-u MÎ-y-u / namî tat-una yumë

white tapa-GEN / robes-GEN sleeves-ACC / *Makuraga*-ABL / divers row-INF-go-ATTR(NML) see-PASS-FIN / waves rise-NEGIMP certainly.not

'like the sleeves of my robes of white tapa-cloth (that I use for a pillow) – I see divers rowing out from Makuraga. Waves, don't rise up!'

Appendix H
Kakari Musubi Data

H.1 KAKARI PARTICLE *ya* (35)

H.1.1 SORTED BY PRECEDING MORPHOLOGY (35)

H.1.1.1 *Nominals* (10)

na se n-ö kô ya 奈勢能古夜 14:3458.1 Unknown
TI-töSE ya in-uru 千等世夜伊奴流 14:3470.2 Unknown
are ya sika [o]môp-u 安礼也思加毛布 14:3470.4 Unknown
ar[a]-isô ya n-i 安里磯夜尓 14:3562.1 Unknown
pîtö-ri ya N-Uram-u 比登里夜宿良牟 14:3562.4 Unknown
ok-î ya kar-as-am-u 於吉夜可良佐武 14:3573.5 Unknown
asu-yuri ya 阿須由利也 20:4321.3 Tōtōmi
këpu-nö PÎ ya 氣布能日夜 20:4330.3 Sagamu
tas-i ya paNpakar-u 多志夜波婆可流 20:4372.6 Hitachi
tuku pî ya pa 都久比夜波 20:4378.1 Shimotsuke

H.1.1.2 *Verbals* (18)

a. in the evidential form (10)
tama-nö wo sik-ê ya 多麻能乎思家也 14:3358c.2 Suruga
mîNtare-simë-m-ë ya 美太礼志米梅楊 14:3360a.5 Izu
tuNk-am-u tö [o]möp-ë ya 都我牟等母倍也 14:3360b.4 Izu
pana-tuN-tuma nar-e ya 波奈都豆麻奈礼也 14:3370.4 Sagamu
tô-ni tate-m-ë ya mö 刀尓多弖米也母 14:3386.5 Shimotsufusa
wa pa mak-aNsi ya mô 和波麻可自夜毛 14:3464.5 Unknown
asu kî-se-s-am-ë ya 安須伎西佐米也 14:3484.4 Unknown
ware wasur-ure ya 和礼和須流礼夜 14:3498.5 Unknown
irö-ni [i]Nte-m-ë ya mö 伊呂尓弖米也母 14:3503.5 Unknown
are kôpï-m-ë ya mö 安礼古非米夜母 14:3508.5 Unknown

b. in the final or attributive forms (6)
ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö 宇都也乎能登乃 14:3473.2 Unknown
pus-u ya kuSA mura 布須也久草無良 14:3530.2 Unknown
NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u 宿受夜奈里奈牟 14:3565.2 Unknown
ositeru ya 於之弖流夜 20:4365.1 Hitachi
kasikô-kî ya 可之古伎夜 20:4321.1 Tōtōmi
ok-î-te sö k-î-n-u ya 意伎弖曽伎奴也 20:4401.4 (2) Shinano

c. the defective verb *tö* (2)
kaku kôpï-m-u tö ya 可久古非牟等夜 14:3415.4 Kamitsuke
kaNkîr-i tö ya 可藝里登也 14:3495.3 Unknown

H.1.1.3 *Gerunds* (3)

a. subordinative (1)
mî-te ya watar-am-ô 美弖夜和多良毛 20:4355.2 Kamitsufusa

b. conditional (1)
tuma tö ip-aNpa ya 川麻止伊波波夜 Hitachi Fudoki 5.4

c. coordinative (1)
kôpï-tutu ya ar-am-u 古非都追夜安良 14:3433.5 Sagamu

H.1.1.4 *Case Markers* (1)

a. genitive (1)
mîna-tô-nö ya 美奈刀能也 14:3445.1 Unknown

H.1.1.5 *Particles* (3)

a. desiderative particle *mökamo* (2)
pana n-i möNkamô ya 波奈尓母我毛夜 20:4325.2 Tōtōmi
tama n-i möNkamö ya 多麻尓母賀母夜 20:4377.2 Shimotsuke

b. focus particle *mo* (1)
mata mî-te-m-ô mö ya 麻多美弖毛母也 20:4415.5 Musashi

H.1.2 SORTED BY MUSUBI (35)

H.1.2.1 *No Musubi* (20)

a. first lines (6)
mîna-tô-nö ya 美奈刀能也 14:3445.1 Unknown
na se n-ö kô ya 奈勢能古夜 14:3458.1 Unknown
ar[a]-isô ya n-i 安里蕝夜尓 14:3562.1 Unknown
kasikô-kî ya 可之古伎夜 20:4321.1 Tōtōmi
ositeru ya 於之弖流夜 20:4365.1 Hitachi
tuku pî ya pa 都久比夜波 20:4378.1 Shimotsuke

b. second lines (3)

tama-nö wo sik-ê ya 多麻能乎思家也 14:3358c.2 Suruga
pus-u ya kuSA mura 布須也久草無良 14:3530.2 Unknown
tama n-i möNkamö ya 多麻尓母賀母夜 20:4377.2 Shimotsuke

c. fourth lines (3)
asu kî-se-s-am-ë ya 安須伎西佐米也 14:3484.4 Unknown
ok-î-te sö k-î-n-u ya 意伎弖曽伎奴也 20:4401.4 (2) Shinano
tuma tö ip-aNpa ya 川麻止伊波波夜 Hitachi Fudoki 5.4

d. fifth lines (7)
mîNtare-simë-m-ë ya 美太礼志米梅楊 14:3360a.5 Izu
tô-ni tate-m-ë ya mö 刀尓多弖米也母 14:3386.5 Shimotsufusa
wa pa mak-aNsi ya mô 和波麻可自夜毛 14:3464.5 Unknown
ware wasur-ure ya 和礼和須流礼夜 14:3498.5 Unknown
irö-ni [i]Nte-m-ë ya mö 伊呂尓弖米也母 14:3503.5 Unknown
are kôpï-m-ë ya mö 安礼古非米夜母 14:3508.5 Unknown
mata mî-te-m-ô mö ya 麻多美弖毛母也 20:4415.5 Musashi

e. sixth lines (1)
tas-i ya paNpakar-u 多志夜波婆可流 20:4372.6 Hitachi

H.1.2.2 *Unambiguous Musubi* (4)

a. second lines (3)
TI-töSE ya in-uru 千等世夜伊奴流 14:3470.2 Unknown
ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö / töpo-ka-Ntö mö / ne-m-ô tö ka KÔ-rö-Nka 宇都也乎能登乃 / 等抱可騰母 / 祢毛等可兒呂賀 14:3473.2-4 Unknown
mî-te ya watar-am-ô 美弖夜和多良毛 20:4355.2 Kamitsufusa

b. third lines (1)
kaNkîr-i tö ya / kîmî-Nka k-î-mas-an-u 可藝里登也 / 伎美我伎麻左奴 14:3495.3-4 Unknown

H.1.2.3 *Apparent Musubi* (11)

a. second lines (2)
NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u 宿受夜奈里奈牟 14:3565.2 Unknown
pana n-i möNkamô ya / kusa makura / taNpî pa yuk-u tömö / sasaNkö-te yuk-am-u 波奈尓母我毛夜 / 久佐麻久良 / 多妣波由久等母 / 佐々已弖由加牟 20:4325.2-5 Tōtōmi

b. third lines (2)

asu-yuri ya / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u 阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢乎 20:4321.3-4 Tōtōmi
këpu-nö PÎ ya / iNte-te makar-am-u 氣布能日夜 / 伊田弖麻可良武 20:4330.3-4 Sagamu

c. fourth lines (5)
tuNk-am-u tö [o]möp-ë ya / mîNtare-sömë-ky-em-u 都我牟等母倍也 / 美太礼曽米家武 14:3360b.4-5 Izu
pana-tuN-tuma nar-e ya / pîmö tök-aNs-u ne-m-u 波奈都豆麻奈礼也 / 比母登可受祢牟 14:3370.4-5 Sagamu
kaku kôpï-m-u tö ya / tane motömë-ky-em-u 可久古非牟等夜 / 多祢物得米家武 14:3415.4-5 Kamitsuke
are ya sika [o]môp-u 安礼也思加毛布 14:3470.4 Unknown
pîtö-ri ya N-Uram-u 比登里夜宿良牟 14:3562.4 Unknown

d. fifth lines (2)
kôpï-tutu ya ar-am-u 古非都追夜安良 14:3433.5 Sagamu
ok-î ya kar-as-am-u 於吉夜可良佐武 14:3573.5 Unknown

H.2 KAKARI PARTICLE *ka* (36)

H.2.1 SORTED BY PRECEDING MORPHOLOGY (36)

H.2.1.1 *Nominals* (15)

a. plain nouns and nominalized verbs (7)
suNkï-nö KÖ-nö ma ka 須疑乃木能末可 14:3363.5 Sagamu
ta-Nka kê ka möt-am-u 多賀家可母多牟 14:3424.5 Shimotsuke
ika n-ar-u se-na ka 伊可奈流勢奈可 14:3536.4 Unknown
pîmô tök-u mônö ka 比毛登久毛能可 14:3551.4 Unknown
wakare ka yuk-am-u 和加例加由可牟 20:4349.5 Kamitsufusa
pakare ka yuk-am-u 波可礼加由加牟 20:4352.5 Kamitsufusa
sa-ne ka watar-am-u 佐尼加和多良牟 20:4394.4 Shimotsufusa

b. question words (8)
aNse ka mak-as-am-u 安是加麻可左武 14:3369.4 Sagamu
aNtö ka taye-se-m-u 阿杼可多延世武 14:3397.5 Hitachi
aNtö ka a-Nka se-m-u 安杼加安我世牟 14:3404.5 Kamitsuke
itu ka itar-am-u 伊都可伊多良武 14:3441a.4 Unknown
aNse ka sö-wo ip-am-u 安是可曽乎伊波牟 14:3472.2 Unknown
NA pa aNtö ka [o]môp-u 汝波安杼可毛布 14:3494.5 Unknown
aNse ka taye-m-u tö 安是可多要牟等 14:3513.4 Unknown

aNse ka kanasi-kê 安是可加奈思家 14:3576.5 Unknown

H.2.1.2 *Verbals* (7)

a. in the attributive form (3)
sipo mît-unam-u ka 思保美都奈武賀 14:3366.5 Sagamu
kupusi-ku më ar-u ka 苦不志久米阿流可 20:4345.5 Suruga
opuse-tamap-o ka 於不世他麻保加 20:4389.4 Shimotsufusa

c. in the evidential form (2)
aNse tö ip-ê ka 安是登伊敞可 14:3461.1 Unknown
aNtö [o]môp-ê ka 安杼毛敞可 14:3572.1 Unknown

c. in the final form (1)
aNtö s-u s-u ka 安騰湏酒香 14:3564.3 Unknown

d. the defective verb *tö* (1)
ne-m-ô tö ka KÔ-rö-Nka 祢毛等可兒呂賀 14:3473.4 Unknown

H.2.1.3 *Gerunds* (7)

a. subordinative (3)
iNtuti muk-î-te ka 伊豆知武吉弖加 14:3357.4 Suruga
iNtusi muk-î-te ka 伊豆思牟伎弖可 14:3474.4 Unknown
kôpï-te ka N-Uram-u 孤悲天香眠良武 14:3505.4 Unknown

b. conditional (4)
kôpï-Npa ka imô-ni 古非波可伊毛尓 14:3376b.2 Musashi
sika [a]r-aNpa ka 志可良波加 14:3472.3 Unknown
inör-aNpa ka 以乃良波加 20:4392.3 Shimotsufusa
ta-Nka kötö kîk-ë-Npa ka 多賀己等岐氣波加 Hitachi Fudoki 2.4

H.2.1.4 *Case Markers* (5)

a. ablative (3)
MË-yu ka NA-wo MÎ-m-u 目由可汝乎見牟 14:3396.4 Hitachi
ma-yu ka s-er-ap-u mö 麻由可西良布母 14:3541.5 Unknown
kasi-yu ka yar-am-u 加志由加也良牟 20:4417.5 Musashi

b. accusative (1)
wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô 和乎可麻都那毛 14:3563.4 Unknown

c. locative (1)

yama-ni ka ne-m-u mô 夜麻尓可祢牟毛 14:3442.4 Unknown

H.2.1.5 *Particles* (2)

a. focus particle *mo* (1)
kö-yöpî mô ka 許余比毛可 14:3459.3 Unknown

b. emotive particle *wo* (1)
ne nömï wo ka 祢乃未乎可 14:3390.3 Hitachi

H.2.2 SORTED BY MUSUBI (36)

H.2.2.1 *No Musubi* (6)

a. first lines (1)
aNtö [o]môp-ê ka 安杼毛敞可 14:3572.1 Unknown

b. fourth lines (2)
pîmô tök-u mônö ka 比毛登久毛能可 14:3551.4 Unknown
opuse-tamap-o ka 於不世他麻保加 20:4389.4 Shimotsufusa

c. fifth lines (3)
suNkï-nö KÖ-nö ma ka 須疑乃木能末可 14:3363.5 Sagamu
sipo mît-unam-u ka 思保美都奈武賀 14:3366.5 Sagamu
kupusi-ku më ar-u ka 苦不志久米阿流可 20:4345.5 Suruga

H.2.2.2 *Unambiguous Musubi* (5)

a. first lines (1)
aNse tö ip-ê ka / sa-NE-ni ap-an-aku n-i / MA-PÎ kure-te / yöpî-na pa kö-na-ni / akê-n-u siNta k-uru 安是登伊敞可 / 佐宿尓安波奈久尓 / 真日久礼弖 / 与比奈波許奈尓 / 安家奴思太久流 14:3461.1-5 Unknown

b. third lines (1)
sika [a]r-aNpa ka / tônari-nö kînu-wo / kar-i-te kî-n-ap-am-ô 志可良波加 / 刀奈里乃伎奴乎 / 可里弖伎奈波毛 14:3472.3-5 Unknown

c. fourth lines (2)
ne-m-ô tö ka KÔ-rö-Nka / omö-ni mî-ye-t-uru 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 於由 尓美要都留 14:3473.4-5 Unknown
wa-wo ka mat-unam-ô 和乎可麻都那毛 14:3563.4 Unknown

d. fifth lines (1)

aNse ka kanasi-kê 安是可加奈思家 14:3576.5 Unknown

H.2.2.3 *Apparent Musubi* (25)

a. second lines (2)
kôpï-Npa ka imô-ni / muSASI NÔ-nö / ukêra-Nka pana-nö / irö-ni [i]Nte-Ns-u ar-am-u 古非波可伊毛尓 / 武蔵野乃 / 宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尓(イ弖)受安良牟 14:3376b.2-5 Musashi
aNse ka sö-wo ip-am-u 安是可曽乎伊波牟 14:3472.2 Unknown

b. third lines (4)
ne nömï wo ka / nak-î-watar-i-n-am-u 祢乃未乎可 / 奈伎和多里南牟 14:3390.3-4 Hitachi
kö-yöpî mô ka / tönö-nö waku-Nkô-Nka / tör-i-te naNkëk-am-u 許余比毛可 / 等能乃和久胡我 / 等里弖奈氣可武 14:3459.3-5 Unknown
aNtö s-u s-u ka / kanasi-kê KÔ-rö-wo / omôp-î suNkôs-am-u 安騰須酒香 / 可奈之家兒呂乎 / 於毛比須吾左牟 14:3564.3-5 Unknown
inör-aNpa ka / utukusi papa-ni / mata kötö tô [i]p-am-u 以乃良波加 / 有都久之波々尓 / 麻多已等刀波牟 20:4392.3-5 Shimotsufusa

c. fourth lines (11)
iNtuti muk-î-te ka / imô-Nka naNkëk-am-u 伊豆知武吉弖加 / 伊毛我奈氣可牟 14:3357.4-5 Suruga
aNse ka mak-as-am-u 安是加麻可左武 14:3369.4 Sagamu
MË-yu ka NA-wo MÎ-m-u 目由可汝乎見牟 14:3396.4 Hitachi
itu ka itar-am-u 伊都可伊多良武 14:3441a.4 Unknown
yama-ni ka ne-m-u mô 夜麻尓可祢牟毛 14:3442.4 Unknown
iNtusi muk-î-te ka / imô-Nka naNkëk-am-u 伊豆思牟伎弖可 / 伊毛我奈氣可牟 14:3474.4-5 Unknown
kôpï-te ka N-Uram-u 孤悲天香眠良武 14:3505.4 Unknown
aNse ka taye-m-u tö 安是可多要牟等 14:3513.4 Unknown
ika n-ar-u se-na ka / wa-Nkari kö-m-u tö ip-u 伊可奈流勢奈可 / 和我理許武等伊布 14:3536.4-5 Unknown
sa-ne ka watar-am-u 佐尼加和多良牟 20:4394.4 Shimotsufusa
ta-Nka kötö kîk-ë-Npa ka / mî-ne ap-aNs-u-k[ë-a]m-u 多賀己等岐氣波加 / 彌尼阿波須氣牟 Hitachi Fudoki 2.4-5

d. fifth lines (8)
aNtö ka taye-se-m-u 阿杼可多延世武 14:3397.5 Hitachi
aNtö ka a-Nka se-m-u 安杼加安我世牟 14:3404.5 Kamitsuke
ta-Nka kê ka möt-am-u 多賀家可母多牟 14:3424.5 Shimotsuke
NA pa aNtö ka [o]môp-u 汝波安杼可毛布 14:3494.5 Unknown

ma-yu ka s-er-ap-u mö 麻由可西良布母 14:3541.5 Unknown
wakare ka yuk-am-u 和加例加由可牟 20:4349.5 Kamitsufusa
pakare ka yuk-am-u 波可礼加由加牟 20:4352.5 Kamitsufusa
kasi-yu ka yar-am-u 加志由加也良牟 20:4417.5 Musashi

H.3 KAKARI PARTICLE *kamo* (48)

H.3.1 SORTED BY PRECEDING MORPHOLOGY (48)

H.3.1.1 *Nominals* (8)

a. plain nouns and nominalized verbs (6)
yukî kamö pur-ar-u 由伎可母布良留 14:3351.2 Hitachi
ma-kötö kamo 麻許登可聞 14:3384.3 Shimotsufusa
ap-êr-u kîmî kamö 安敞流伎美可母 14:3413.5 Kamitsuke
ap-êr-u se-na kamö 安敞流世奈可母 14:3463.5 Unknown
ipê-nö atari kamo 伊敞乃安多里可聞 14:3542.5 Unknown
pîtö-N-tuma kamö yö 比登都麻可母与 14:3557.2 Unknown

b. question words (2)
aNtö kamö ip-am-u 安杼可母伊波武 14:3379.2 Musashi
na-wo [a]Ntö kamö si-m-u 那乎杼可母思武 14:3556.5 Unknown

H.3.1.2 *Verbals* (32)

a. in the attributive form (20)
ninô pos-ar-u kamö 尓努保佐流可母 14:3351.5 Hitachi
köt[ö]-iNte-t-uru kamö 許知弖都流可母 14:3371.5 Sagamu
omôp-ar-uru kamô 於毛波流留可毛 14:3372.5 Sagamu
mata ne-te-m-u kamo 萬多祢天武可聞 14:3395.5 Hitachi
yô-N-tat-i k-î-n-ô kamö 欲太知伎努可母 14:3480.5 Unknown
ap-î-yör-u kamô 阿比与流等可毛 14:3483.4 Unknown
kata-ni iNte-m-u kamö 可多尓伊弖牟可母 14:3488.5 Unknown
ne-rö tö [i]p-ên-a kamö 祢呂等敞奈香母 14:3499.5 Unknown
ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö 於伎弖伎努可母 14:3527.5 Unknown
kîmî mô ap-an-u kamô 伎美毛安波奴可毛 14:3558.5 Unknown
yuk-î-kate-n-u kamô 由伎加弖奴加毛 20:4341.5 Suruga
wasure-se-n-ô kamô 和須例勢努加毛 20:4344.5 Suruga
ipap-ï-te-si kamö 伊波非弖之加母 20:4347.5 Kamitsufusa
yasu-ku ne-m-u kamö 夜須久祢牟加母 20:4348.5 Kamitsufusa
wasure-se-n-u kamö 和須礼世奴可母 20:4354.5 Kamitsufusa
wasur-aye-n-ô kamô 和須良延努可毛 20:4356.5 Kamitsufusa

taye-n-i-kër-u kamö 多延尓氣流可母 20:4404.5 Kamitsuke
wasur-aye-n-u kamö 和須良延奴加母 20:4407.5 Kamitsuke
tuti-ni oti-m-ö kamô 都知尓於知母加毛 20:4418.5 Musashi
saya n-i mî-m-ô kamö 佐夜尓美毛可母 20:4423.5 Musashi
kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu 古与弖伎怒加牟 20:4403.5 Shinano

b. in the evidential form (5)
köNk-uram-ë kamö yö 許求良米可母与 14:3430.4 Suruga
tura pak-am-ê kamô 都良波可馬可毛 14:3437.5 Michinoku
arapas-am-ë kamö 阿良波左米可母 14:3559.5 Unknown
kôpî-Ns-u ar-am-ë kamô 古比須安良米可毛 20:4371.5 Hitachi
ayôk-unam-ë kamö 阿用久奈米加母 20:4390.5 Shimotsufusa

c. in the final form (4)
ap-aNs-u kamö ar-am-u 阿波受可母安良牟 14:3355.5 Suruga
kaNse puk-aNs-u kamö 可是布可受可母 14:3572.5 Unknown
ip-aNs-u-k-î-n-u kamö 伊波須伎奴可母 20:4364.5 Hitachi
akë-n-u kamö 阿氣奴賀母 Hitachi Fudoki 3.6

d. the defective verb *n-i* (2)
aya n-i kamö ne-m-ô 阿也尓加母祢毛 20:4422.5 Musashi
aya n-i kamô ne-m-u 阿夜尓可毛祢牟 20:4428.5 Unknown

e. the defective verb *tö* (1)
aNtö se-rö tö kamö 安杼世呂登可母 14:3465.4 Unknown

H.3.1.3 *Gerunds* (1)

a. conditional (1)
ip-î-ky-eNpa kamö yö 伊比祁婆賀母輿 Hitachi Fudoki 6.4

H.3.1.4 *Case Markers* (2)

a. accusative (1)
NE-wo kamö wop-uru 根乎可母乎布流 14:3500.2 Unknown

b. ablative (1)
iNtu-yu kamö 伊豆由可母 14:3549.3 Unknown

H.3.1.5 *Particles* (3)

a. emotive particle *wo* (1)
ina wo kamö 伊奈乎可母 14:3351.3 Hitachi

ina wo kamô 伊奈乎加毛 14:3470.3 Unknown

a. emphatic particle *si* (1)
itu si kamô 伊都之加毛 20:4359.3 Kamitsufusa

H.3.1.6 *Unclear Morphology* (1)

söwapê kamô 曽和敞可毛 14:3566.3 Unknown

H.3.2 SORTED BY MUSUBI (48)

H.3.2.1 *No Musubi* (34)

a. second lines (1)
pîtö-N-tuma kamö yö 比登都麻可母与 14:3557.2 Unknown

b. third lines (2)
ina wo kamö 伊奈乎可母 14:3351.3 Hitachi
ina wo kamô 伊奈乎加毛 14:3470.3 Unknown

c. fourth lines (1)
köNk-uram-ë kamö yö 許求良米可母与 14:3430.4 Suruga

d. fifth lines (29)
ninô pos-ar-u kamö 尓努保佐流可母 14:3351.5 Hitachi
köt[ö]-iNte-t-uru kamö 許知弖都流可母 14:3371.5 Sagamu
omôp-ar-uru kamô 於毛波流留可毛 14:3372.5 Sagamu
mata ne-te-m-u kamo 萬多祢天武可聞 14:3395.5 Hitachi
ap-êr-u kîmî kamö 安敞流伎美可母 14:3413.5 Kamitsuke
tura pak-am-ê kamô 都良波可馬可毛 14:3437.5 Michinoku
ap-êr-u se-na kamö 安敞流世奈可母 14:3463.5 Unknown
ok-î-te k-î-n-ô kamö 於伎弖伎努可母 14:3527.5 Unknown
yô-N-tat-i k-î-n-ô kamö 欲太知伎努可母 14:3480.5 Unknown
kata-ni iNte-m-u kamö 可多尓伊弖牟可母 14:3488.5 Unknown
ne-rö tö [i]p-ên-a kamö 祢呂等敞奈香母 14:3499.5 Unknown
ipê-nö atari kamo 伊敞乃安多里可聞 14:3542.5 Unknown
kîmî mô ap-an-u kamô 伎美毛安波奴可毛 14:3558.5 Unknown
arapas-am-ë kamö 阿良波左米可母 14:3559.5 Unknown
kaNse puk-aNs-u kamö 可是布可受可母 14:3572.5 Unknown
ipap-ï-te si kamö 伊波非弖之加母 20:4347.5 Kamitsufusa
yasu-ku ne-m-u kamö 夜須久祢牟加母 20:4348.5 Kamitsufusa
wasure-se-n-u kamö 和須礼世奴可母 20:4354.5 Kamitsufusa

wasur-aye-n-ô kamô 和須良延努可毛 20:4356.5 Kamitsufusa
yuk-î-kate-n-u kamô 由伎加弖奴加毛 20:4341.5 Suruga
wasure-se-n-ô kamô 和須例勢努加毛 20:4344.5 Suruga
ip-aNs-u-k-î-n-u kamö 伊波須伎奴可母 20:4364.5 Hitachi
kôpî-Ns-u ar-am-ë kamô 古比須安良米可毛 20:4371.5 Hitachi
ayôk-unam-ë kamö 阿用久奈米加母 20:4390.5 Shimotsufusa
kôyö-te k-î-n-ô kamu 古与弖伎怒加牟 20:4403.5 Shinano
taye-n-i-kër-u kamö 多延尓氣流可母 20:4404.5 Kamitsuke
wasur-aye-n-u kamö 和須良延奴加母 20:4407.5 Kamitsuke
tuti-ni oti-m-ö kamô 都知尓於知母加毛 20:4418.5 Musashi
saya n-i mî-m-ô kamö 佐夜尓美毛可母 20:4423.5 Musashi

e. sixth lines (1)
akë-n-u kamö 阿氣奴賀母 Hitachi Fudoki 3.6

H.3.2.2 *Unambiguous Musubi* (6)

a. second lines (2)
yukî kamö pur-ar-u 由伎可母布良留 14:3351.2 Hitachi
NE-wo kamö wop-uru 根乎可母乎布流 14:3500.2 Unknown

b. third lines (1)
itu si kamô / tukapê-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pë muk-am-ô 伊都之加毛 / 都加儆麻都里弖 / 久尓々閇牟可毛 20:4359.3-5 Kamitsufusa

c. fourth lines (2)
aNtö se-rö tö kamö / aya n-i kanasi-kî 安杼世呂登可母 / 安夜尓可奈之伎 14:3465.4-5 Unknown
ap-î-yör-u kamô / yôru tökê-yasu-kê 阿比与流等可毛 / 欲流等家也須家 14:3483.4-5 Unknown

d. fifth lines (1)
aya n-i kamö ne-m-ô 阿也尓加母祢毛 20:4422.5 Musashi

H.3.2.3 *Apparent Musubi* (8)

a. second lines (1)
aNtö kamö ip-am-u 安杼可母伊波武 14:3379.2 Musashi

b. third lines (3)
ma-kötö kamo / ware-ni yös-u tö [i]p-u 麻許登可聞 / 和礼尓余須等布 14:3384.3-4 Shimotsufusa

iNtu-yu kamö / kanasi-kî se-rö-Nka / wa-Nkari kayôp-am-u 伊豆由可母 / 加奈之伎世呂我 / 和賀利可欲波牟 14:3549.3-5 Unknown
söwapê kamô / kamï-ni opose-m-u 曽和敞可毛 / 加未尓於保世牟 14:3566.3-4 Unknown

c. fourth lines (1)
ip-î-ky-eNpa kamö yö / wa-Nka wep-î-n-i-ky-em-u 伊比祁婆賀母輿 / 和我惠比爾祁牟 Hitachi Fudoki 6.4-5

d. fifth lines (3)
ap-aNs-u kamö ar-am-u 阿波受可母安良牟 14:3355.5 Suruga
na-wo [a]Ntö kamö si-m-u 那乎杼可母思武 14:3556.5 Unknown
aya n-i kamô ne-m-u 阿夜尓可毛祢牟 20:4428.5 Unknown

H.4 KAKARI PARTICLE *(N)sö* (29)

H.4.1 SORTED BY PRECEDING MORPHOLOGY (29)

H.4.1.1 *Nominals* (12)

a. plain nouns and nominalized verbs (10)
tama sö ap-î-n-i-kêr-u 多麻曽阿比尓家留 14:3393.5 Hitachi
sa-n-uru YÔ sö na-kî 左奴流夜曽奈伎 14:3504.4 Unknown
pîtö sö otapap-u 比等曽於多波布 14:3518.4 Unknown
pîtö tö otapap-u 比等登於多波布 14:3409.4 Kamitsuke
naNkëk-î sö a-Nka s-uru 奈氣伎曽安我湏流 14:3524.5 Unknown
ima Nsö kuyasi-kî 已麻叙久夜志伎 20:4337.5 Suruga
kanasi-kê imö sö 可奈之家伊母曽 20:4369.4 Hitachi
ima Nsö kuyasi-kë 伊麻叙久夜之氣 20:4376.5 Shimotsuke
kumô sö tana-N-pîk-u 久毛曽多奈妣久 20:4380.5 Shimotsuke
ip-î-si këtö-N-pa Nse 伊比之氣等波是 20:4346.4 Suruga

b. question words (2)
nani sö kö-nö KÔ-nö 奈仁曽許能兒乃 14:3373.4 Musashi
aNse sö mö kö-yöpî 阿是曽母許与比 14:3469.4 Unknown

H.4.1.2 *Verbals* (6)

a. in the final form (1)
ka-ku s-u s-u sö 可久湏酒曽 14:3487.3 Unknown

b. in the attributive form (1)

nak-î-si sö [o]möp-ay-u 奈伎志曽母波由 20:4357.5 Kamitsufusa

c. in the evidential form (1)
nani s-ure sö 奈尓湏礼曽 20:4323.3 Tōtōmi

d. the defective verb *tö* (3)
itar-am-u tö sö yö 伊多良武等曽与 14:3381.4 Musashi
ika n-i se-yö tö sö 伊可尓世余等曽 14:3491.5 Unknown
körö k-u tö sö nak-u 許呂久等曽奈久 14:3521.5 Unknown

H.4.1.3 *Gerunds* (5)

a. subordinative (4)
KÔ-ra-ni yör-i-te sö 兒良尓与里弖曽 14:3421.5 Kamitsuke
ok-î-te sö k-î-n-u ya 意伎弖曽伎奴也 20:4401.4 (2) Shinano
ok-î-te tö mö k-î-n-u 於枳弖等母枳奴 20:4385.5 Shimotsufusa
iNte-te tö a-Nka k-uru 伊邪弖登阿我久流 20:4430.5 Unknown

b. coordinative (1)
MÎ-tutu sö k-î-n-uru 見都々曽伎奴流 14:3571.4 Unknown

H.4.1.4 *Case Markers* (5)

a. accusative (4)
yö-ti-wo sö möt-er-u 余知乎曽母弖流 14:3440a.4 Unknown
NE-wo sö nak-î-t-uru 哭乎曽奈伎都流 14:3485.4 Unknown
MOnö-wo sö omôp-u 物能乎曽於毛布 14:3511.4 Unknown
kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö 伎美乎等麻刀母 14:3561.5 Unknown

b. ablative (1)
sôra-yu tö k-î-n-u yö 蕪良由登伎奴与 14:3425.4 Shimotsuke

H.4.1.5 *Particles* (1)

a. focus particle *nömï* (1)
ip-an-aku nömï sö 伊波奈久能未曽 14:3560.4 Unknown

H.4.2 SORTED BY MUSUBI (29)

H.4.2.1 *No Musubi* (7)

a. fourth lines (3)
sôra-yu tö k-î-n-u yö 蕪良由登伎奴与 14:3425.4 Shimotsuke

ip-an-aku nömï sö 伊波奈久能未曽 14:3560.4 Unknown
ok-î-te sö k-î-n-u ya 意伎弖曽伎奴也 20:4401.4 (2) Shinano

b. fifth lines (4)
KÔ-ra-ni yör-i-te sö 兒良尓与里弖曽 14:3421.5 Kamitsuke
ika n-i se-yö tö sö 伊可尓世余等曽 14:3491.5 Unknown
nak-î-si sö [o]möp-ay-u 奈伎志曽母波由 20:4357.5 Kamitsufusa
ok-î-te tö mö k-î-n-u 於枳弖等母枳奴 20:4385.5 Shimotsufusa

H.4.2.2 *Unambiguous Musubi* (16)

a. third lines (1)
ka-ku s-u s-u sö / NE-NA-na n-ar-i-n-i-si 可久須酒曽 / 宿莫奈那里尓思
14:3487.3-4 Unknown

b. fourth lines (9)
nani sö kö-nö KÔ-nö / kököNta kanasi-kî 奈仁曽許能兒乃 / 已許太可奈之伎
14:3373.4-5 Musashi
itar-am-u tö sö yö / a-Nka sita papë-si 伊多良武等曽与 / 阿我之多波倍思
14:3381.4-5 Musashi
yö-ti-wo sö möt-er-u 余知乎曽母弖流 14:3440a.4 Unknown
aNse sö mö kö-yöpî / yös-i-rö-k-î-mas-an-u 阿是曽母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴
14:3469.4-5 Unknown
NE-wo sö nak-î-t-uru 哭乎曽奈伎都流 14:3485.4 Unknown
sa-n-uru YÔ sö na-kî 左奴流夜曽奈伎 14:3504.4 Unknown
MÎ-tutu sö k-î-n-uru 見都々曽伎奴流 14:3571.4 Unknown
ip-î-si këtö-N-pa Nse / wasure-kane-t-uru 伊比之氣等波是 / 和須礼加祢津流
20:4346.4-5 Suruga
kanasi-kê imö sö / pîru mô kanasi-kê 可奈之家伊母曽 / 比留毛可奈之祁
20:4369.4-5 Hitachi

c. fifth lines (6)
tama sö ap-î-n-i-kêr-u 多麻曽阿比尓家留 14:3393.5 Hitachi
naNkëk-î sö a-Nka s-uru 奈氣伎曽安我須流 14:3524.5 Unknown
kîmî-wo tö mat-ô mö 伎美乎等麻刀母 14:3561.5 Unknown
ima Nsö kuyasi-kî 已麻叙久夜志伎 20:4337.5 Suruga
ima Nsö kuyasi-kë 伊麻叙久夜之氣 20:4376.5 Shimotsuke
iNte-te tö a-Nka k-uru 伊涅弖登阿我久流 20:4430.5 Unknown

H.4.2.3 *Apparent Musubi* (6)

a. third lines (1)

nani s-ure sö / papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / sak-î-[i]Nte-kö-Ns-u-k(y-e)m-u 奈尓湏礼曽 / 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥已受祁牟 20:4323.3-5 Tōtōmi

b. fourth lines (3)
MOnö-wo sö omôp-u 物能乎曽於毛布 14:3511.4 Unknown
pîtö sö otapap-u 比等曽於多波布 14:3518.4 Unknown
pîtö tö otapap-u 比等登於多波布 14:3409.4 Kamitsuke

c. fifth lines (2)
körö k-u tö sö nak-u 許呂久等曽奈久 14:3521.5 Unknown
kumô sö tana-N-pîk-u 久毛曽多奈妣久 20:4380.5 Shimotsuke

H.5 KAKARI PARTICLE *kösö* (15)

H.5.1 SORTED BY PRECEDING MORPHOLOGY (15)

H.5.1.1 *Nominals* (6)

a. plain nouns and nominalized verbs (6)
MË kösö kar-uram-ë 目許曽可流良米 14:3367.4 Sagamu
tama mô kösö 多麻毛許曽 14:3397.3 Hitachi
ima kösö mas-ar-e 伊麻許曽麻左礼 14:3417.5 Kamitsuke
yösi kös[ö] ar-uram-ë 余志許佐流良米 14:3430.5 Suruga
masaka kösö 麻左可許曽 14:3490.3 Unknown
YAnaNkï kösö 楊奈疑許曽 14:3491.1 Unknown
kîsö kösö pa 伎曽許曽波 14:3522.1 Unknown

H.5.1.2 *Verbals* (1)

a. in the attributive form (1)
ar-ô kösö ye-si mö 安路許曽要志母 14:3509.5 Unknown

H.5.1.3 *Gerunds* (5)

a. subordinative (1)
sa-NE sa-NE-te kösö 左宿佐寐弖許曽 14:3497.4 Unknown

b. conditional (1)
wasura-kö-Npa kôsö 和湏良許婆古曽 14:3394.4 Hitachi

c. adjectival (2)
tônap-uNpë-mî kösö 刀奈布倍美許曽 14:3468.4 Unknown
ura waka-mî kösö 宇良和可美許曽 14:3574.5 Unknown

H.5.1.4 *Case Markers* (3)

a. accusative (3)
na-ni kösö yös-ar-e 奈尓已曽与佐礼 14:3478.5 Unknown
na-wo kösö mat-am-ê 奈乎許曽麻多賣 14:3493a.2 Unknown
imö-wo kösö 伊母乎許曽 14:3531.1 Unknown

H.5.2 SORTED BY MUSUBI (15)

H.5.2.1 *No Musubi* (2)

a. fifth lines (2)
ar-ô kösö ye-si mö 安路許曽要志母 14:3509.5 Unknown (six features)
ura waka-mî kösö 宇良和可美許曽 14:3574.5 Unknown (no features)

H.5.2.2 *Unambiguous Musubi* (13)

a. first lines (3)
YAnaNkï kösö / kîr-e-Npa paye-s-ure 楊奈疑許曽 / 伎礼波伴要須礼 14:3491.1-2 Unknown (no features)
kîsö kösö pa / KÔ-rö-tö sa-NE-sika 伎曽許曽波 / 兒呂等左宿之香 14:3522.1-2 Unknown (two features)
imö-wo kösö / ap-î-mî-n-i-k-ö-sika 伊母乎許曽 / 安比美尓許思可 14:3531.1-2 Unknown (two features)

b. second lines (1)
na-wo kösö mat-am-ê 奈乎許曽麻多賣 14:3493a.2 Unknown (two features)

c. third lines (2)
tama mô kösö / pîk-ë-Npa taye-s-ure 多麻毛許曽 / 比氣波多延須礼 14:3397.3-4 Hitachi (one feature)
masaka kösö / pîtö MË-wo opo-mî / na-wo pasi-ni ok-êr-e 麻左可許曽 / 比等目乎於保美 / 奈乎波思尓於家礼 14:3490.3-5 Unknown (no features)

d. fourth lines (3)
MË kösö kar-uram-ë 目許曽可流良米 14:3367.4 Sagamu (no features)
wasura-kö-Npa kôsö / na-wo kakê-nap-am-ê 和須良許婆古曽 / 那乎可家奈波賣 14:3394.4-5 Hitachi (six features)
tônap-uNpë-mî kösö / na-ni yösör-i-ky-em-ë 刀奈布倍美許曽 / 奈尓与曽利鷄米 14:3468.4-5 Unknown (one feature)

e. fifth lines (4)

ima kösö mas-ar-e 伊麻許曽麻左礼 14:3417.5 Kamitsuke (no features)
yösi kös[ö] ar-uram-ë 余志許佐流良米 14:3430.5 Suruga (no features)
na-ni kösö yös-ar-e 奈尓已曽与佐礼 14:3478.5 Unknown (six features)
sa-NE sa-NE-te kösö / kötö-ni [i]Nte-n-i-sika 左宿佐寐弖許曽 / 已登尓弖尓思可 14:3497.4-5 Unknown (no features)

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