TRANSLATION OF THE MAN'YŌSHŪ

BOOK 15

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To my mother Svetlana

ACKNOLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

LANGUAGES

EMC	Early Middle Chinese
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MJ	Middle Japanese
MK	Middle Korean
OC	Old Chinese
OJ	Old Japanese
OK	Old Korean
OT	Old Turkic
PAN	proto-Austronesian
PJ	proto-Japonic
PK	proto-Korean
PM	proto-Mongolic
PR	proto-Ryukyuan
PT	proto-Turkic
PTu	proto-Tungusic
WOJ	Western Old Japanese

TEXTS AND SOURCES

Japonic

BS	Bussoku seki no uta, 753 AD
GSWKS	Goshūi wakashū, 1087 AD
FK	Fudoki kayō, ca. 737 AD
JDB	Jidai betsu kokugo dai jiten (Omodaka 1967)
KGU	Kagura uta, 8-9th centuries
KK	Kojiki kayō, 712 AD
MYS	Man'yōshū, ca. 759 AD
NK	Nihonshoki kayō, 720 AD
NR	Nihon ryōiki, early 9th century
NT	Norito, 7-9th centuries
OM	Ochikubo monogatari, 10th century
OS	Omoro sōshi, 16th century
RK	Ryūka, 17-19th centuries
RKJ	Okinawa go jiten
SM	Senmyō, 7-8th century
SNK	Shoku nihongi kayō
SSI	Shōsōin documents, 7-8th centuries
TN	Tosa nikki, 935 AD
TS	Jōgu teisetsu, 7th century

GRAMMAR TERMS

ASSER	Assertive
ATTR	Attributive
CAUS	Causative
CL	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COMP	Comparative
CON	Conjunctive gerund
CONC	Concessive gerund
COND	Conditional gerund
CONJ	Conjunction
CONJC	Conjectural
COOP	Cooperative
COOR	Coordinative gerund
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DEB	Debitive

DES	Desiderative
DV	Defective verb
EMPH	Emphatic
EV	Evidential
EXCL	Exclamation
FIN	Final verbal form
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerund
HON	Honorific
HUM	Humble
INF	Infinitive
INTER	Interjection
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NML	Nominalizer
PAST	Past tense
PEJ	Pejorative
PERF	Perfective
POL	Polite
POSS	Possessive
POT	Potential
PREF	Prefix
PREV	Preverb
PROG	Progressive
PT	Particle
REC	Reciprocal
RETR	Retrospective
SUB	Subordinative gerund
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SUP	Suppositional
TENT	Tentative
TERM	Terminative
TOP	Topic

PREFACE

With this volume I start the new English translation of the *Man'yōshū* (萬葉集), the earliest and the largest Japanese poetic anthology (ca. 759 AD) with detailed commentaries. There are two other complete English translations: by Pierson (1929-63) in eighteen volumes, and by Suga (1991) in three volumes. I will discuss both in the introduction below. For the moment, it will suffice to say that there is a room for another translation, and that such translation as planned is in fact badly needed.

This translation is academically oriented. There are several reasons for that. First, the *Man'yōshū* is not only a work of literature, it is the most important compendium of the Japanese culture of the Asuka period (592-710 AD) and most of the Nara period (710-784 AD). A literary translation will inevitably call for English poetic expressions at the expense of the Japanese text. Meanwhile, I want to present the *Man'yōshū* to the reader preserving to the maximum possible extent the flavor and the actual semantics of the poems. In other words, I want the Japanese poets of that distant past to sound in their own words, and not on the terms of modern English poetics. Thus, I present mostly literate translations, as long as it possible not to violate English. Second, many realia of this time now past are absolutely alien not only to Westerners, but also to modern Japanese. This requires an extensive commentary, which has no place in a literary translation, because it may seem as an interruption of a general flow of the text. Third, I provide original text, kana transliteration, romanization, and glossing with morphemic analysis for the benefit of the specialists and students of Old Japanese, who will be interested to learn the language. Finally, like Pierson and Suga, I am not a native speaker of English, but ironically, as it may seem no native speaker of English has produced so far a complete translation of the *Man'yōshū*.

I intend to produce the complete translation of the *Man'yōshū* in twenty volumes, dedicating a volume to each of the twenty books constituting this text. I start from book fifteen, which may seem puzzling for the reader, since all previous translations started from book one, but there are good reasons for this, too. The main problem is that majority of *Man'yōshū* books are written in semantographic or almost semantographic script. In some books, like book ten, the semantographic script is so prevalent, that it almost looks like that poems are written in Classical Chinese, and not Old Japanese. This means that reconstructing the Old Japanese readings of such texts without relying on external evidence from other texts is bound to become a guess work. However, luckily enough, several books of the *Man'yōshū*, namely books five, fourteen, fifteen, seventeen, eighteen, and twenty are predominantly written in the phonographic script. Given the recurrent nature of Old Japanese poetry, where many lines turn out to be identical in phonographic and semantographic parts of the *Man'yōshū*, especially due to the makura kotoba (枕詞) and honkadori (本歌取り)[1] poetic techniques, we have the clue to the reading of the significant portion of the semantographic part. This means that books in the phonographic writing have to be done first, and books in semantographic writing second. Certainly, the *Man'yōshū* has an old tradition of commentaries that have already proposed readings for the semantographic parts. However, as the reader will see below even in book fifteen which is almost completely phonographic, various commentators often propose different readings and/or interpretations. The situation in the semantographic part of the *Man'yōshū* becomes even more drastic. Besides, on a number of occasions, I found out that neither of proposed readings is acceptable, and had to devise my own. This called to a revision of obscure passages in the text, although at the same time, I, of course, relied on the previous Japanese scholarship to a considerable extent. Book fifteen occupies quite a unique position among the phonographic volumes of the *Man'yōshū*. Although none of the greatest poets of the *Man'yōshū*, with the exception of Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro (柿本人麿), who is marginally present as the author of 15.3611, and whose poems are also partially appearing in the *honkadori* form in 15.3606-15.3610, is represented in this book; and in spite of the fact that book fifteen has a poor history of transmission and multiple misspellings, it, nevertheless, is extremely important. The importance of book fifteen lies in the fact that it contains a large number of Western Old Japanese grammatical forms and constructions that are not attested in any other Western Old Japanese text, but are extremely important for our knowledge of this language. In addition, it also includes practically all the basic grammatical forms that are necessary for the mastery of Western Old Japanese. Thus, the beginning student is advised to read book fifteen from the beginning to the end before tackling other Western Old Japanese texts, especially the more difficult to understand *Kojiki kayō* (古事記歌謡) 'Songs of the Kojiki,' *Nihonshoki kayō* (日本書紀歌謡) 'Songs of the Nihonshoki,' and *Senmyō* (宣命) 'Imperial edicts.'

[1] See the introduction on poetic techniques.

Therefore, after book fifteen my translation will deal first with the volumes in the phonographic script in the following order: book five, book seventeen, book eighteen, book twenty, and book fourteen. This order is dictated by the consideration that books twenty and fourteen are mixed: they contain poems written in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese (see the introduction). Then I will translate book nineteen, which tends to be semantographic, but also contains good chunks of phonographic script. After that I will proceed to book one which also has more phonographic elements than the remaining books. Then the turn will come for book nine that contains some very important texts for the history of the Japanese culture. After that I will turn to book two, and proceed in the ascending order of remaining books in semantographic script, finishing my translation with book sixteen.

In my translation I have kept to a minimum notes on grammar, as detailed explanations would simply double my *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese*, which also has sections on Eastern Old Japanese (Vovin 2005, 2008a). Since this is the most detailed grammar of Western Old Japanese in any language, including even Japanese, those who are specifically interested in grammar issues, are advised to consult it while reading through the translation. For those who are not, I hope that glossing and morphemic analysis will provide enough guidance.

Some readers may find my romanization of Old Japanese difficult to digest, especially if they have no knowledge of the history of the Japanese language. This romanization, which is essentially a mix of a transcription and a transliteration of the Old Japanese original text, serves the double purpose of conveying both the phonology of Old Japanese and its writing. Thus, even if the text contain unetymological spellings (like the confusion between *kō-rui* /mô/ and *otsu-rui* /mö/, since the contrast between /ô/ and /ö/ was already lost in all books of the *Man'yōshū* except book five, where it is preserved to a certain extent), it is faithfully romanized according to a spelling found in a given text. I have also tried to reflect in my romanization the actual phonology of the language of the time, which was considerably different from that of modern Japanese. Thus, for example, Modern Japanese fricative /h/ was Old Japanese stop /p/, and Modern Japanese voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ were prenasalized stops /^{m}b/, /^{n}d/, /^{ŋ}g/, transliterated as /Np/, /Nt/, and /Nk/. In Classical philology it has already been known starting from Erasmus of Rotterdam that one cannot read Ancient Greek in its Modern Greek pronounciation, but the idea that the same is true for Old Japanese and Modern Japanese seems to come very slowly in the minds of the majority of Western Japanologists engaged in historical and literary studies. Anyway, for the benefit of those who do not like to bother with a romanization based on the principles of historical linguistics, I have provided the *kana* transliteration, since I cannot make myself to romanize Old Japanese as if it were Modern Japanese. The only frivolity that I allowed myself with the kana transliteration is to introduce subscripts 1 and 2 which denote *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* syllabic signs respectively. I hope that it finally helps at least the notion of *kō* and *otsu* vowels, already known for about one hundred years, to find its way into the romanizations of Old Japanese in general Western Japanological literature.

INTRODUCTION

The *Man'yōshū* (萬葉集) 'Anthology of Myriad Leaves' is the earliest and the largest Japanese poetic anthology, consisting of 4,516 poems. The *Man'yōshū,* which includes twenty volumes (further called books) (*maki,* 巻), is also the largest extant Old Japanese text. The *Man'yōshū* is believed to be compiled to a considerable extent by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi (大伴家持) (717(?)-785 AD), a mid- and late- Nara period politician and poet, sometime in or soon after 759 AD.[2] Chronologically, the *Man'yōshū* includes poems composed from the late sixth century, if not earlier, to 759 AD.

The *Man'yōshū* alongside with the *Genji monogatari* (源氏物語) 'The Tale of Genji' (ca. 1001 AD) and the *Heike monogatari* (平家物語) 'The Tale of Heike' (thirteenth century) is one of the three masterpieces of traditional Japanese literature most widely known and loved in Japan today. It is certainly much more popular than any of the later poetic anthologies of the *Hachidaishū* (八代集) 'Eight Poetic Collections,' even such masterpieces as the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集) 'The Collection of Old and New Japanese Songs' (921 AD) and *Shin Kokin wakashū* (新古今和歌集) 'The New Collection of Old and New Japanese Songs' (1205 AD). I believe that the main secret of the *Man'yōshū*' popularity even today is because many of its poems come close to hearts of ordinary people due to its incredible variety. The *Man'yōshū* is strikingly different from all later Japanese poetic anthologies both in form and content. Unlike other anthologies, it does not follow the 'association and progression' principle, but rather each book consists of various poetic collections or cycles loosely or not at all connected one with another. Each collection or cycle in its turn can be sometimes subdivided into mini-cycles. However, sometimes there is no connection at all between some sequences of poems appearing in certain volumes. While the poetic themes in later anthologies became quite limited: seasonal poetry, love poetry, parting, sorrow, traveling, religious poems, congratulatory poems, and poems of miscellaneous content, with the first two being absolutely dominant, in the *Man'yōshū* one finds many more topics, such as, for example poems on suffering from poverty that do not occur in the later *Hachidaishū* anthologies. Although traditionally *Man'yōshū* poems are classified into several basic genres (see below), this classification is apparently artificial, as most of the poems are classified as poems of miscellaneous content (*zōka*, 雑歌). In contrast to later *Hachidaishū* anthologies, where all known authors belonged to nobility, the voices of the *Man'yōshū* come from all walks of life: emperors and empresses, princes and princesses, high nobles, representatives of lesser nobility travelling on foreign missions, provincial gentry, border guards and their wives, provincial courtesans, and peasants. Not all poems of the *Man'yōshū* are masterpieces of poetry, some are quite plain, and do not have the technical virtuosity of the poems found in the *Hachidaishū*. But at the same time even the technically simplest poems have emotional content, which many poems in the *Hachidaishū* lack. The *Man'yōshū* is also most varied as long as poetic forms are concerned: although by sheer numbers the short poem (*tanka*, 短歌) is already dominant in *Man'yōshū*, it also has three other poetic forms: long poem (*chōka* or *nagauta*, 長歌), head-repeating poem (*sedōka*, 旋頭歌), and poem about the stone with the footprint of the Buddha (*bussokusekika*, 仏足石歌). The last one appears only in Nara period, and *chōka* and *sedōka* forms have disappeared for good from Japanese poetry after the *Kokin wakashū*, but even in the latter they occupy just a tiny fraction (six *chōka* and four *sedōka* out of 1,100 poems). In contrast to the *Hachidaishū* poems that almost all are written in standard Classical Japanese,[3] the *Man'yōshū* is not homogeneous linguistically, since some parts of it are written not in the standard Western Old Japanese dialects of the Asuka region (Early Western Old Japanese) and of the capital Nara (Late Western Old Japanese), but in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects of Kantō and Southern Chūbu (at that time known as Azuma) areas (traditionally all poems in book fourteen[4] and a considerable part of book twenty). While all *Hachidaishū* anthologies are written in *hiragana* with small admixture of characters, the *Man'yōshū* script is cardinally different: it includes the texts written both phonographically, partially phonographically, semantographically, and almost semantographically. The phonetic *man'yōgana* script, from which *hiragana* originated, is much more complex, and varied. In contrast to *Hachidaishū* anthologies, where all prefaces to poems are written in Classical Japanese, prose prefaces and postscripts in the *Man'yōshū* are in Classical Chinese. Thus, as a matter of fact, the *Man'yōshū* is written in two languages.

[2] The last poem in the *Man'yōshū*, MYS XX: 4516, was composed by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi at the New Year's banquet in 759 AD.

[3] The *Kokin wakashū* includes fourteen Eastern poems (1087-1100), but the last one (1100) is an apparent fake, written by Fujiwara-no Toshiyuki. In addition, none of these poems with the exception of 1097 has any distinctive Eastern dialect features.

[4] Actually, many poems in book fourteen are written in perfect Western Old Japanese. Possibly they were edited and/or translated from now lost Eastern Old Japanese originals.

Many prefaces are very long and represent the outstanding literary masterpieces, especially those by Yamanoue-no Okura (山上憶良) in book five.

Date of compilation and compilers

The last poem of the *Man'yōshū* text (20.4516) in the form it is known to us in its entirety is dated by the first day of the first lunar month of the third year of Tenpyō hōji (天平宝字), that is 759 AD. Thus, the anthology could not be possibly compiled earlier than this date, in spite of the fact that the colophone of *Genryaku kōhon* (元暦校本) manuscript of the *Man'yōshū* (1184 AD) and the tale *Eiga monogatari* (栄花物語, eleventh century AD) unanimously indicate 753 AD as the date of complilation. The conflicting data regarding are found in the next anthology of the Japanese poetry, the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集), the first of the eight *Hachidaishū* anthologies compiled in 921 AD. In the Japanese introduction (*kana jo*, 仮名序) to the *Kokin wakashū* it is stated that the *Man'yōshū* was compiled according to the order of emperor Heizei (平城, 806-09 AD). However, in the poem 18.997 from the *Kokin wakashū*, composed by Fun'ya-no Arisue in response to emperor Seiwa (清和) question regarding the date of the *Man'yōshū* compilation, which the latter asked during his reign under the name Jōgan (貞観, 859-77), the former replied:

神な月時雨ふりおけるならのはの名におふ宮のふることぞ
It is the ancient matter when the palace was covered with fame of the leaves [or words] from Nara where drizzling rain falls in the month of deities.

The poem is older than the preface to the *Kokin wakashū*, and I think that using all this combined evidence one can argue that the anthology was compiled during Nara period no earlier than 759 AD and no later than 784 AD.

There is no agreement on the identity of the compiler of the *Man'yōshū* among Japanese scholars. There are about fourteen-fifteen different versions, among which five are the leading: (1) Ōtomo-no Yakamochi, (2) Tachibana-no Moroe (橘諸兄) (acording to the colophone in *Genryaku kōhon* manuscript of the *Man'yōshū* (1184 AD) and the tale *Eiga monogatari* (eleventh century AD)), (3) emperor Heizei, (4) different persons: Ōtomo-no Yakamochi, Tachibana-no Moroe, Yamanoue-no Okura, etc., (5) the compiler is unknown. Among those the most popular is the first version that takes Ōtomo-no Yakamochi as the compiler. In my opinion, this is probably a combination of (1) and (4). I have almost no doubts that Ōtomo-no Yakamochi was the final compiler of the anthology who gave the ultimate touch to it and who is probably responsible for the final shape we know it today. Several facts strongly suggest this: last four volumes of the *Man'yōshū* are without any doubt are creation of Ōtomo-no Yakamochi, also the poems of Ōtomo-no Yakamochi and other members of Ōtomo clan play a prominent role in several other volumes as well, such as books three, four, six, and sixteen (see the *Outline of contents* below). The date of compilation as calculated above also agrees well with the life of Ōtomo-no Yakamochi, who passed away in 785 AD. However, such a monumental work as *Man'yōshū*, is unlikely to be compiled by a single person. There are several facts that speak in favor of this interpretation. First, none of the earliest following anthologies in *Hachidaishū*, such as *Kokin wakashū* or *Gosenshū* (後撰集) is a work of a single compiler. Second, although it might seem possible that Ōtomo-no Yakamochi compiled book five, where Yamanoue-no Okura poems dominate, since the latter was a close frienf of Ōtomo-no Yakamochi's father, Ōtomo-no Tabito, this would be highly unlikely in the case of book fourteen containing Azuma poems, since Ōtomo-no Yakamochi has never served as a governor in any eastern province. Moreover, although Ōtomo-no Yakamochi has recorded (probably at the time when he was together with his father serving in Dazaifu) a number of poems of border guards from the Azuma who were serving in Kyūshū, he placed them as such into book twenty without or with very little editing. In contrast to that, many poems from book fourteen look like they are heavily edited or even completely translated into the Western Old Japanese. Thus it seems highly unlikely that Ōtomo-no Yakamochi collected poems in book fourteen. Similar doubts can be raised about Ōtomo-no Yakamochi taking part in compilation of books nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fifteen. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely, that a single mind did not stand behind the bringing all these books together, and if it were the case, Ōtomo-no Yakamochi seems to be the likeliest candidate.

Man'yōshū genres

Traditionally, four genres of *Man'yōshū* poems are differentiated. This tradition goes back to the contents of the *Man'yōshū* that are found in front of each book. The classification of poetic genres in the *Man'yōshū* is based largely on the Chinese model, but at many times it

turns out to be difficult to squeeze Japanese poetry into the Procrustean bed of the Chinese one. Quite frequently, the Chinese genre classification is violated, or even outright replaced with a more appropriate Japanese one, as, e.g. dialogue poems *mondōka* alien to the Chinese poetic system.

Miscellaneous poems *(zōka,* 雑歌) represent poems composed on occasions of royal trips, banquets, journeys, nature, miscellaneous objects, etc.

Relationship poems (*sōmonka*, 相聞歌) are mostly poems about love, but relationships between parents and children, friends or sovereign and retainer are also included in this genre. The term *sōmonka* is borrowed from Chinese anthology *Wenxuan* (文選, ca. 550 AD).

Elegies (*banka,* 挽歌) are poems on death, parting, sorrow, and absence from the capital. The term *banka* is borrowed from Chinese anthology *Wenxuan* (文選, ca. 550 AD).

Dialogue poems or question and answer poems (*mondōka,* 問答歌). The famous example of a *mondōka* is *Hinkyū mondōka* (貧窮問答歌) 'A dialogue between a poor and a very poor man' by Yamanoue-no Okura (5.892).

Allegorical poems (*hiyuka* or *tatoe-uta*, 比喩歌). In many cases these are love poems that do not mention love directly, but use objects from the outside world to convey the allegorical meaning.

Two additional genres are also sometimes mentioned:

Miscellaneous poems of four seasons (*siki zōka*, 四季雑歌).

Miscellaneous relationship poems of four seasons (*siki sōmonka*, 四季相聞歌).

Man'yōshū poetic forms

As mentioned above, four poetic forms are present in the *Man'yōshū*:

Short poem (*tanka*, 短歌), consisting of five lines with the (ideal) syllable count 5-7-5-7-7. Tanka is divided into two stanzas (*ku*, 句): an upper stanza 5-7-5 (*kami no ku*, 上の句), and a lower stanza 7-7 (*shimo no ku*, 下の句). Sometimes there is an extra syllable in a line, resulting in a hypermetric line -- a phenomenon known as an 'extra characters' (*jiamari*, 字余り); thus there might be six syllables instead of seven, or eight instead of seven. However, this also may be a graphic illusion in the case if there is a 'vowel+vowel' sequence in a line, because in the real pronounciation one of these vowels tended to undergo elision, which is witnessed by such contracted spelling as *wa-Nk-îmô-kô* < *wa-Nka imô-kô 'my dear beloved,' or *wa-Nk-îpê* < *wa-Nka ipê 'my home.' Thus, for example the first hypermetric line 和我伊母古我 *wa-Nka imô-kô-Nka* 'my dear beloved-POSS' in 20.4405 was in all probability pronounced as [wa-Nk-îmô-kô-Nka]. The opposite phenomenon, namely hypometric lines, called 'lack of characters' (*jitarazu*, 字足らず), with syllable count less than five or seven predominantly occur only in the earliest poems from the *Man'yōshū*, and the hypometric lines can lack not only one, but also two or three syllables, for example, the first two lines of the very first poem in the *Manyōshū* (1.1) are *kô mô yö / mî kô möt-i* 'oh basket, holding a fine basket' with the syllable count of 3-4 instead of expected 5-7. A *tanka* which represents a reply or poetic reaction to *chōka* is called envoy (*hanka*, 反歌; or *kaeshi-uta* 返し歌). There may be more than one envoy after a given *chōka*.

Long poem (*chōka* or *nagauta*, 長歌) always starts with a line consisting of five syllables (unless it is a hypermetric or a hypometric line) and is followed by a line consisting of seven syllables (unless it is also a hypermetric or a hypometric line). Then the alternation 5-7 is repeated until the end of the poem, which normally ends with two 7-7 lines, thus the typical structure of chōka may be represented as: 5-7-5-7-5-7…7-7. However, in the earliest *Man'yōshū* poetry there are exceptions, thus, for example last two lines in 1.2 are 5-7, and in 1.3 they are 5-5. *Chōka* can be very long: the longest *chōka* in the *Man'yōshū* has 149 lines (2.199).

Head-repeating poem (*sedōka*, 旋頭歌) consists of six lines with the syllable count 5-7-7-5-7-7. This form apparently consists of two identical stanzas, hence the name 'head-repeating.' *Sedōka* was already a rare poetic form in the times of the *Man'yōshū*.

Poem about the stone with the footprint of the Buddha (*bussokusekika*, 仏足石歌) like sedōka consists of six lines, but with a different syllabic count: 5-7-5-7-7-7. Thus, it looks like a *tanka* with an extra line with seven syllables. There is only one poem in the Man'yōshū written in this poetic form (in book sixteen), most known samples are known from the stone stella in the Yakushiji temple in Nara (ca. 756 AD) that has twenty one poems (some only partially readable) in this form, although this poetic form also occurs among *Kojiki kayō* and *Nihonshoki kayō* poems.

Man'yōshū poetic techniques

There are several very specific poetic techniques used in the Man'yōshū (and in later traditional Japanese poetry.

Makura kotoba (枕詞) 'pillow word' is a kind of permanent epithet applied to a specific word or several words. For example, *awo ni yösi* 'green earth is good' is a permanent epithet for the capital Nara, *sirô tape-nö* '[made] from the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark, like the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark' is a permanent epithet for garments and sleeves, *kusa makura* 'grass pillow' is a permanent epithet for journeys, *nuNpa tama* is a permanent epithet for pitch-black things like nights and hair, and *taratine-nö* is a permanent epithet for *papa* 'mother.' The meaning of a makura kotoba can be transparent, as in the first three cases above, partially understood, like in the case of *nuNpa tama* -- *tama* is probably 'jewel' or 'jade,' but the meaning of *nuNpa* is not known, or completely obscured or at least not analyzable as a Japanese word or phrase as in the case of *taratine-nö*.

Honkadori (本歌取り) 'allusive variation' or, more literally, 'taking the original poem.' This technique, which might have been classified as a plagiarism in our days, involved the borrowing of up to four lines of an original poem and adding to it one's own line(s) in such a way that a new poem would provide a new angle or an unexpected turn. In book thirteen this technique is clearly used in poems 15.3606-15.3610, where parts of older poems by Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro are borrowed by the members of the mission to Silla.

Jo (序) 'introduction' involves several lines (up to four) that prepare the reader for a following word or idea.

Kakekotoba (掛詞) 'pivot word' is a play on words mostly involving homophones or near-homophones. Thus, for example, Kara 'Karak (Mîmana), Korea' and *kara-* 'to be bitter,' Akasi, place name, and *aka-* 'to be bright,' *matu* 'pine' and *mat-u* 'waits.'

Outline of the contents of the Man'yōshū

In this section I will briefly outline the general contents of the Man'yōshū, and give the overall characteristics of each book.

Book one (1.1-1.84) includes eighty-four miscellaneous poems (*zōka*, 雑歌), arranged in chronological order (sixty-eight *tanka*, sixteen *chōka*). Tradition attributes the poems of book one from the rule of Emperor Yūryaku (雄略, 457-473 AD) to 712 AD in the Nara period (710-784 AD), but most likely the earliest specimens do not predate the early seventh century. There are different authors in this volume, but there is quite a significant percentage of poems written by or attributed to emperors, empresses, members of the imperial family, and high nobility. Many poems in this volumes belong to princess Nukada. This volume exhibits predominantly mixed semantographic and phonetic spelling, although quite a few songs are written with very few phonetic elements at all, or, just the opposite include quite a good portion of phonetic writing. Book one is considered to be compiled on the basis of an imperial order (*chokusen*, 勅撰).

Book two (2.85-2.234) includes 150 relationship poems (*sōmonka*, 相聞歌) and elegies (*banka*, 挽歌), also arranged in chronological order (131 *tanka*, nineteen *chōka*). Tradition attributes the poems of book two from the rule of Emperor Nintoku (仁徳, 313-393 AD) to the 715 AD, but most likely the earliest specimens do not predate the early seventh century, either. The poems were composed by various authors. The famous elegies by Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro are included into this volume. The spelling is largely semantographic, with a few phonetic elements, normally indicating particles or (more seldom) other grammatical elements. Book two, like book one, is considered to be compiled on the basis of an imperial order (*chokusen*, 勅撰).

Book three (3.235-3.483) includes 249 poems (226 *tanka*, twenty-three *chōka*) in the genres of *zōka* (雑歌), *banka* (挽歌), and *hiyuka* (比喩歌). Not arranged in chronological order, but according to tradition the poems range from the end of the sixth century to 744 AD. As is the case with the two previous volumes, the earliest poems are unlikely to be earlier than the early seventh century. The poems were composed by various authors, although there are many poems composed by authors from Ōtomo clan. The spelling is largely semantographic, with few phonetic elements. The spelling system is very close to the one employed in book two, although some grammatical elements appear to be spelled phonetically more frequently than in book two. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book four (4.484-4.792) includes 309 poems (301 *tanka*, seven *chōka*, one *sedōka*) in the *sōmonka* genre, ranging chronologically according to the tradition from the rule of Emperor Nintoku (仁徳, 313-393 AD) to the 748 AD, but most likely the earliest specimens do not predate early seventh century, either. The poems were composed by various authors, but like book three many poems were composed by authors from Ōtomo clan. The spelling system is identical with book three. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book five (5.793-5.906) includes 114 poems (104 *tanka*, ten *chōka*) considered to be traditionally in the *zōka* genre, although some of them can be definitely classified as *banka*,

since they deal with death and sorrow. There are also two poems in Chinese. This volume has long several long introductions (all written in Chinese) to following poems. All the poems in this volume were composed between 724 and 733 AD, which represents a much greater chronological homogeneity in comparison with books one to four. Most of the poems in this volume belong to Yamanoue-no Okura (山上憶良, 660-733 AD), one of the greatest *Man'yōshū* poets, who was possibly a Korean from Kudara (Paekche), or at least a descendant of Kudara immigrants to Japan. Yamanoue-no Okura is also well known an outstanding scholar of the Chinese classics and Buddhism. In addition to his poetic and scholarly talents, Yamanoue-no Okura had an illustrious career in the Asuka and Nara periods. After being a member of the Japanese embassy to Tang China in 702 AD, he served through different appointments, rising higher and higher, until he became the governor-general of *Dazaifu* in Kyūshū (*Dazai-no sochi*, 太宰帥), a highly elevated position that could only be granted to a person who held a Third Rank at court. The spelling system in this volume is predominantly phonetic, with rather few exceptions. In addition, the spelling system appears to reflect Early Western Old Japanese, as demonstrated by Bentley (1997, 2002). The same can be said about its overall grammatical features. Yamanoue-no Okura is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book six (6.907-6.1067) includes 161 poems in the *zōka* genre (133 *tanka*, twenty-seven *chōka*, one *sedōka*). All of these poems date from 723-744 AD, representing a just slightly less tight chronological frame than book five. The poems were composed by various authors, but there the same authors as in books three and four appear frequently. Many famous poems of Yamabe-no Akahito and Ōtomo-no Tabito are found in this book. By the contents and nature of poems this book is very close to books three, four, and eight. The spelling system is mostly semantographic, being identical to the one employed in book three and book four. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book seven (7.1068-7.1417) includes 350 poems written in the *zōka, hiyuka* and *banka* genres (324 *tanka*, twenty-six *sedōka*). Most of the poems in this volume have no dates, but they are usually believed to be from late seventh and the first part of the eighth century. The poems were composed by various authors. In contrast to the previous six books, the majority of poems in book seven are anonymous, although the poems from the poetic collection of Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro, which might have been or might not have been composed by Hitomaro himself are also present. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. Mizushima Yoshiharu believes that poem 7.1265 is a *Sakimori* poem (Mizushima 2003: 863). However, the poem in question is written almost completely in semantographic script, therefore it is impossible to define whether it represents an Eastern Old Japanese text. The compiler is unknown.

Book eight (8.1418-8.1663) includes 246 poems in the *shiki zōka* and *shiki sōmonka* genres (236 *tanka*, six *chōka*, four *sedōka*). Similar to book seven, most of the poems in this volume have no dates, but they are believed to be from the late seventh — early eighth centuries. The poems were composed by various authors, but there are many poems by poets from Ōtomo clan. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book nine (9.1664-9.1811) includes 148 poems in the *zōka*, *sōmonka*, and *banka* genres (125 *tanka*, twenty-two *chōka*, one *sedōka*). The poems in the *zōka* genre date up to 744 AD, and the rest are undated, but probably no poems are earlier than the late seventh century. The poems were composed by various authors. There are many poems by Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro and Takahasi Mushimaro (高橋虫麿). For the history of the Japanese culture and folklore this is one of the most important books in the Man'yōshū, as a number of well-known legends, such as the legend about fisherman Urashima who married the daughter of the dragon-king of the sea, as well as poems on the love between the Weaver Star and Cow-hearder Star are present here. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. The compiler of book nine is unknown, but sometimes Takahashi Mushimaro, who was known for his interested in folklore, is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book ten (10.1822-10.2350) includes 539 poems in the *shiki zōka* (四季雑歌) and *shiki sōmonka* (四季相聞歌) genres (532 *tanka*, three *chōka*, four *sedōka*). Book ten is, therefore, identical by contents to book eight. The poems of book ten are traditionally believed to be from the end of the seventh century, but it is also possible that some of them were composed in the eighth. The poems were composed by various authors. Like in book eight, all of poems in book seven are anonymous, although the poems from the poetic collection of Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro, which might have been or might not have been composed by Hitomaro himself are also present. Like in book nine, the poems on the love between the Weaver Star and Cow-hearder Star are present here. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. By the number of the poems included, this is the largest book in the *Man'yōshū*.

Book eleven (11.2351-12.2840) includes 490 anonymous poems (473 *tanka*, 17 *sedōka*) in the *sōmonka* and *mondōka* genres and thirteen poems in the *hiyuka* genre from the late seventh — early eighth centuries. The poems were composed by anonymous authors and many of them have distinct folklore flavor. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. By the number of the poems included, this is the second largest book in the *Man'yōshū*. The compiler is unknown.

Book twelve (12.2841-12.3220) includes 380 poems in the *sōmonka* and *mondōka* genres (380 *tanka*). This general classification is violated though, as this volume includes also poems on travel and parting, which are not normally classified as *sōmonka*. In addition, *mondōka* poems are included in this volume, too. Dates are unknown, but most likely these poems are from the late seventh — early eighth centuries. Book twelve is very close by contents and nature of the poems to book eleven: the poems were composed by anonymous authors (with the exception of one) and many of them have distinct folklore flavor. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. By the number of the poems included, this is the third largest book in the *Man'yōshū*. The compiler is unknown, but it is believed that books eleven and twelve could have been compiled by the same person.

Book thirteen (13.3221-13.3347) includes 127 poems in the *sōmonka*, *zōka*, *mondōka*, *hiyuka*, and *banka* genres (sixty *tanka*, sixty-six *chōka*, one *sedōka*). None of the poems is dated, but probably none is later than the end of the seventh century. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. This book is strikingly different from all other books, because over the half of the poems included into it are *chōka*, while in other volumes *tanka* dominate numerously. The compiler is unknown.

Book fourteen (14.3348-14.3577) includes 230 poems in *zōka, sōmonka, hiyuka*, and *banka* genres (230 *tanka*). These poems are written in the Eastern Old Japanese (Azuma) dialect. It must be noted though, that a number of poems in book fourteen look like they are written in flawless Western Old Japanese. The modern descendant of Eastern Old Japanese survives only in the Hachijō and Aogashima islands; everywhere else in the Kantō region it has been replaced by a variety of Central Japanese. Thus, book fourteen along with the *sakimori* (border guards) poems in book twenty is a unique source for knowing the non-Central Japanese dialect in the shape it was attested in the eighth century. The poems in this volume are all anonymous and are undated, but at the same time in slightly less than half of the poems there is an indication from which province in the East (Azuma, 吾妻／東国) a poem comes from. Technically speaking, book fourteen also includes five poems (14.3567-14.3571) composed by border guards. With a very few marginal exceptions the spelling system is entirely phonetic. The compiler is unknown.

Book fifteen (15.3578-15.3785) includes 208 poems in different genres, mostly *sōmonka*, *banka*, and *zōka* (201 *tanka*, four *chōka*, three *sedōka*). Book fifteen is very unusual in the *Manyōshū*: it is clearly divided into two poetic collections. The first collection includes 145 poems composed mostly by members of diplomatic mission to the Silla kingdom (新羅, *Shiragi*) in 736 AD. The remaining sixty-three poems represent the poetic exchange between Nakatomi-no Yakamori (中臣宅守) and his wife Sano-no otogami-no wotome (狭野弟上娘子), which was probably composed before 741 AD,[5] while he was in exile in Echizen (越前) province. Nineteen poems are composed by Sano-no otogami-no wotome and forty-four by Nakatomi-no Yakamori. The spelling is predominantly phonetic, but on a few occasions semantographic spelling is used. The compiler is unknown.

Book sixteen (16.3786-16.3889) includes 104 poems (ninety-two *tanka*, seven *chōka*, four *sedōka*, one *bussokusekika*) in a subvariety of the *zōka* genre: miscellaneous poems on occasion (*yuen aru zōka* or *yoshi aru zōka,* 有由縁雑歌). None of the poems is dated, but probably none is earlier than the eighth century. The contents of book sixteen is quite unusual: besides several legends, including the famous legend about old man Taketori, there are also a number of humor poems. The poems were composed by various authors, most of them anonymous. Among the poems with known authors there are poems by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book seventeen (17.3890-17.4031) includes 142 poems with unspecified genres (127 *tanka*, fourteen *chōka*, one *sedōka*). All poems in this volume were either composed or collected by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi (大伴家持) during 730-748 AD. In general it is believed that books seventeen -- twenty represent a poetic diary of Ōtomo-no Yakamochi, although not all poems in these books are composed by him personally. This is especially true of the book twenty (see below). It is believed that Ōtomo-no Yakamochi (717(?)-785 AD), the son of another *Man'yōshū* poet, Ōtomo-no Tabito (大伴旅人, 665-731 AD) was the chief compiler

[5] The date of 741 AD is somewhat tentative.

of the whole *Man'yōshū* anthology, and he is also known as one of the best *Man'yōshū* poets himself. Similar to Yamanoue-no Okura and other *Man'yōshū* poets, he combined his poetic activities with political career, although in the latter he was not as successful as Yamanoue-no Okura. Throughout his life he had to struggle with the declining fortunes of the Ōtomo clan, one of the greatest aristocratic families of the Asuka period, whose role in the Nara period greatly diminished. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi spent five years (746-751 AD) as the governor of Etchū (越中) province, and he returned to Nara in 751 AD with the title of junior counselor (*shōnagon,* 少納言), corresponding to the Lower Grade of the Junior Fifth Rank — quite low for the scion of a famous and noble family. Only in 783 AD, two years before his death, was he promoted to middle counselor (*chūnagon,* 中納言), a title corresponding to the Junior Third Rank. The spelling system in this volume is predominantly phonetic, although semantographic spelling is also used. There are also two Chinese poems by Yakamochi included into book seventeen. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book eighteen (18.4032-18.4138) includes 107 poems with unspecified genres (ninety-seven *tanka*, ten *chōka*). All poems in this volume were either composed or collected by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi during 748-750 AD, while he was the governor of Etchū province. The spelling system is predominantly phonetic, although semantographic spelling is also used. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book nineteen (19.4139-19.4292) includes 154 poems with unspecified genres (131 *tanka*, twenty-three *chōka*). Most are composed by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi (103 poems), and the rest of the poems, collected by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi belong to different authors. The poems were composed or collected between 750-753 AD, partially while Yakamochi was still in Etchū until 752, and then after his return to the capital. The distinct peculiarity of this volume is that it includes a number of rather old poems, the oldest being from the end of the seventh century (19.4260). The spelling system of book nineteen is somewhat unique: overall it is mostly semantographic, but at the same time there are quite long sequences in many poems written phonetically. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Book twenty (20.4293-20.4516) includes 224 poems with unspecified genres (218 *tanka*, six *chōka*). Like the three previous books, the poems in book twenty are either collected or composed by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi in 753-759 AD, while he was governor of Inaba (因幡) province until 758 AD, with the last poem composed on the first day of the first lunar month in 759 AD. However, in contrast to the previous book nineteen, the poems in book twenty are mostly collected. 107 poems, slightly less than half of all the poems included in book twenty were composed by border guards (*sakimori*) in Eastern Old Japanese. Therefore, the book twenty of the *Man'yōshū* is linguistically split: poems 20.4293-20.4320, 20.4360-20.4362, 20.4395-20.4400, 20.4408-20.4412, 20.4433-20.4435 and 20.4437-20.4516 are written in late Western Old Japanese, while poems 20.4321-20.4359, 20.4363-20.4394, 20.4401-20.4407, 20.4413-20.4432, and 20.4436 are in Eastern Old Japanese. Ōtomo-no Yakamochi is usually credited with the complilation of this book.

Major manuscripts of the Man'yōshū[6]

There are many manuscripts of the *Man'yōshū* which are no longer extant today, but their names are preserved in the historical sources. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Man'yōshū* is *Katsura-bon* (桂本) named so because it is kept at the *Katsura Rikyū* (桂離宮) 'Katsura imperial villa' in south-west Kyoto. *Katsura-bon* includes only about one third of book four (109 poems). *Katsura-bon* is done on color paper with pictures of birds, flowers and plants. It dates from the mid-Heian period.

The second oldest manuscript of the *Man'yōshū* is *Ranshi-bon* (藍紙本) named so because it is done on the indigo-colored paper. *Ranshi-bon* contains about 4/5 of book nine (116 poems), but there are also eleven leaves of existing fragments that include altogether 30 poems from books one, nine, ten, and eighteen. It dates from the mid-Heian period.

The third oldest manuscript of the *Man'yōshū* is *Genryaku kōhon* (元暦校本)*,* compiled in the mid-Heian period, but collated in the first year of Genryaku (1184 AD), together with existing fragments comprises fourteen books and 2,718 poems. It includes books one, two, four, six, seven, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, fourteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, and twenty (altogether 2585 poems), although it is believed that book six was added in the Kamakura period. There are also sixty-seven leaves of surviving fragments that contain 133 poems from books one, two, four, six, seven, ten, eleven, twelve, fourteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, and twenty.

[6] The following description of the *Man'yōshū* manuscripts is based upon (Hayashi 1990) and (Hayashi 1994).

The fourth oldest manuscript is *Kanazawa-bon* (金沢本) from the late Heian period. *Kanazawa-bon* includes about 4/5 of book two, and 1/4 of book fourth (208 poems). The surviving fragments on six leaves preserve contents of book three, and twenty-three poems from books four and six.

The fifth oldest manuscript is *Tenji-bon* (天治本) from the late Heian period. It includes the complete version of book thirteen (127 poems). The surviving fragments on more than sixteen leaves include 61 or more poems from books two, ten, fourteen, and fifteen.

The sixth oldest manuscript is *Amagasaki-bon* (尼崎本) from the late Heian period. It includes almost complete book sixteen (minus three poems) and contents to book sixteen (101 poems). The surviving fragments on five leaves have ten poems from book twelve.

The seventh oldest manuscript is *Ruiju koshū* (類聚古集) 'Old collection organized by categories' from the end of the Heian period. It includes all books with the exception of books nine, ten, eighteen, and twenty (3,828 poems), although there are some lacunae in other books.

The manuscripts from the Heian period listed above are all fragmentary. The same is true about the early and mid-Kamakura manuscripts. The earliest complete manuscript that includes all books in the form familiar to us today dates from the late Kamakura period: *Nishi Honganji-bon* (西本願寺本), although book twelve in this manuscript is considered to come from a different textological line as compared to other books. Other important manuscripts and xylographs from the Kamakura, the Muromachi, and the Edo periods in the roughly chronological ascending order are:

Karyaku denshō-bon (嘉暦伝承本), 'Orally transmitted copy from the Karyaku era.' Although the era of Karyaku (嘉暦) is 1326-28 AD, namely the reign of emperor Godaigo (後醍醐), is in the late Kamakura period, the term *denshō* 'orally transmitted' implies an earlier origin. *Karyaku denshō-bon* includes most of book eleven (472 poems).

Koyō ryaku ruiju shō (古葉略類聚鈔) 'An abriged selection of old leaves [of words] organized by categories' is from the early Kamakura period. It includes books eight, nine, ten, and twelve (1,906 poems).

Den Mibu-no Takasuke hitsu-bon (伝壬生隆祐筆本) 'The copy attributed to the brush of Mibu-no Takasuke' is from the mid-Kamakura period. It includes first half of book nine (eighty-five poems).

Kasuga-bon (春日本) is from the mid-Kamakura period and is known only in fragmentes containing more than seventy-six leaves. It includes 201 poem from books five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, thirteen, fourteen, seventeen, nineteen, and twenty.

Kishū-bon (紀州本) also known as *Kanda-bon* (神田本) is also complete like *Nishi Honganji-bon* (西本願寺本) mentioned above, and even includes one and the same poem in book ten twice. Among twenty notebooks that constitute it, first ten are from the end of the Kamakura period, and the remaining ten are from the end of the Muromachi period.

Den Reizei Tameyori hitsu-bon (伝冷泉為頼筆本) 'The copy of the [emperor] Reizei [copy] attributed to the brush of Tameyori' is from Muromachi period. It includes almost complete book one (eighty-three poems).

Kanazawa bunko-bon (金沢文庫本) includes books one, nine, and nineteen, as well as six leaves of fragments with more than ten poems from books seven, thirteen, and sixteen. It is dated by the early Muromachi period.

Jingū bunko-bon (神宮文庫本) 'The copy from the library of [Ise] shrine,' named so because it is kept in the library of Ise shrine. It is practically complete: only book and book two lacks three and two poems respectively. It is dated by the late Muromachi period, but before the tenth year of Tenbun era (天文, 1542 AD).

Hosoi-bon (細井本) is complete, although the poem 4.655 is absent. Its books four, five, and six go back to the end of the Muromachi period, the rest are dated by the early Edo period.

Ōya-bon (大矢本) is complete and dates from the end of the Muromachi period. It was copied by several copyists.

Onkodō-bon (温故堂本) is complete, but there is no poem 10.1973. It dates back to the late Muromachi period, ca. the second year of Genki era (元亀, 1571 AD).

Kyōto daigaku-bon (京都大学本) 'Kyōto University copy' is complete and dates from the early Edo period.

These copies above are all manuscripts. There are also four important wood-block printed editions (all of them complete) that go back to Edo period:

Katsuji mukun-bon (活字無訓本) 'Printed edition without kun readings' goes back to the early Edo period, namely to the beginning of the Genna (元和) era (1615-24 AD).

Katsuji fukun-bon (活字附訓本) 'Printed edition with kun readings' goes back to the early Edo period.

Kan'ei-bon (寛永本) is dated by the twentieth year of the Kan'ei era (寛永, 1643 AD), also in the early Edo period.

Hōei-bon (宝永本) is dated by the sixth year of the Hōei era (宝永, 1709 AD), in the mid-Edo period.

Previous studies

In this section I will discuss glossing traditions as well as premodern and modern commentaries on the *Man'yōshū*.

Glossing traditions

There are three glossing traditions of the *Man'yōshū* indicating the Japanese readings (*kun*, 訓) of the *man'yōgana* script in *kana* signs. They are known as the 'old glossing' (*koten*, 古点), the 'following glossing' (*jiten*, 次点), and the 'new glossing' (*shinten*, 親点) respectively.

The 'old glossing' (*koten*, 古点) was added by the five scholars from the Pear Pavilion (*Nashitsubo*, 梨壺): Kiyowara-no Motosuke (清原元輔), Ki-no Tokibumi (紀時文), Ōnakatomi-no Yoshinobu (大中臣能宣), Minamoto-no Shitagau (源順), and Sakanoe-no Mochiki (坂上望城), who received in 951 AD an imperial order to compile the anthology *Gosenshū* (後撰集) and at the same time to add Japanese readings to the *Man'yōshū*. The 'old glossing' was added by different counts to about 4,000 ~ 4,100 poems of the *Man'yōshū*. However, it was mostly added to *tanka* and only to about a half of *sedōka*. *Chōka* were mostly left without glossing. No manuscripts with 'old glossing' are extant, but the glossing found in *Katsura-bon* (桂本) and *Karyaku denshō-bon* (嘉暦伝承本) is believed to be largely based on the 'old glossing.'

The 'following glossing' (*jiten*, 次点) was probably added by Fujiwara-no Michinaga (藤原道長), Fujiwara-no Atsutaka (藤原敦隆), Fujiwara-no Kiyosuke (藤原清輔), and Ōe-no Tadafusa (大江匡房) (as well as possibly by others -- there are various hypotheses regarding the authorship of the 'following glossing') in the eleventh century. The 'following glossing' was added by different counts to about 192 ~ 355 poems. Such manuscripts as *Koyō ryaku ruiju shō* (古葉略類聚鈔) and *Kasuga-bon* (春日本) include the 'following glossing.'

The 'new glossing' (*shinten*, 親点) was added by the monk Sengaku (仙覚, 1203- after 1272 AD) to the poems that were left without glossing by the 'old glossing' and the 'new glossing.' Sengaku have also corrected some of the 'old' and 'new' glossings already done. Sengaku marked various glossings with different colors. Thus, 'old glossings' are written in black ink like the original text, 'following glossings' were written also in black ink but with the addition of gatten (合点) signs[7] in cinnabar ink, and 'new glossings' were rendered in cinnabar ink. Sengaku's corrections to 'old' and 'following' glossings are done in blue ink. Three manuscript copies of the *Man'yōshū* by Sengaku: *Bun'ei*[8] *ninen-bon* (文永二年本), *Bun'ei sannen-bon* (文永三年本), and *Bun'ei jūnen-bon* (文永十年本) are not extant, but *Nishi Honganji-bon* (西本願寺本) and *Kanazawa bunko-bon* (金沢文庫本) descend from the first two, while *Ōya-bon* (大矢本), *Onkodō-bon* (温故堂本), and *Kyōto daigaku-bon* (京都大学本) descend from the latter.

Premodern commentaries

The first extant commentary on the *Man'yōshū* in the true sense of the word is *Man'yōshū chūshaku* (萬葉集註釈, 1269 AD) by Sengaku (仙覚), consisting of ten books. Naturally, not all the poems from the anthology are provided with commentaries, but overall, the scholarly study of the *Man'yōshū* began from Sengaku, and it is difficult to overestimate the importance of his commentary, especially given the fact that all later important commentaries date only from the Edo period, so between Sengaku's work and Edo there is essentially a gap in four hundred years when no significant commentary was produced. I used the edition of the published by Sasaki Nobutsuna (1925).

The studies of the *Man'yōshū* began to flourish in the Edo period. There are several complete commentaries, and scores of the partial ones. Let me start from the complete commentaries.

The first complete premodern commentary to the *Man'yōshū* is *Man'yō Shūsui shō* (萬葉拾穂抄, 1686 AD) 'Shūsui's *Man'yōshū* collection' by Kitamura Kigin (北村季吟, 1624-1705 AD), early Edo period poetry scholar and *haikai* poet. His real name is Hisanosuke (久助), and besides Kigin (季吟), he also had another pen name Shūsuiken (拾穂軒), from which the title of the commentary is partially derived. Nakanishi Susumu notes that Kitamura Kigin produced a compilation of previous commentaries on the *Man'yōshū*, but his work is poor in originality (1985: 46). I have used Sakamoto, Nishihata, Hasegawa, and Suzuki edition of the *Man'yō Shūsui shō* (2002-06).

[7] Gatten signs in the shapes of a dot (*ten*, 点), a circle (*maru*, 丸), or a hook (*kagi*, 鉤) were used by commentators of Japanese poetry to mark special passages (as in this case), or to mark excellent passages in poetic works.

[8] The Bun'ei (文永) era is 1264-1275 AD.

The chronologically second complete premodern commentary to the *Man'yōshū* is *Manyō Daishōki* (萬葉代匠記, 1690 AD) 'Artistic Notes on the *Man'yōshū*' by Keichū (契沖, 1640-1701 AD), early Edo period scholar of Japanese traditional culture, poet, and a monk from the Shingon sect. His secular family name is Shimogawa (下川), and he was born in the samurai family in Amagasaki (尼崎) in the Settsu (摂津) province. Keichū was known for his fenomenal memory: he memorized the whole Hyakunin isshu (百人一首) in ten days when he was only five years old. He entered the monastery when he was eleven years old and later became a monk. In 1657 he moved to Kōya-san (高野山) monastery. Later he frequently changed his domicile. Keichū's commentary is still considered to be very important today, and many of the modern commentaries still heavily rely on it. This is certainly a monumental philological work. I have used Hisamatsu Sen'ichi's edition of the *Manyō Daishōki* (1975).

The chronologically third complete premodern commentary to the *Man'yōshū* is *Man'yō kō* (萬葉考, 1760 AD) 'The commentary on the *Man'yōshū*' by Kamo Mabuchi (賀茂真淵, 1697-1770 AD), who is known as one of the most outstanding scholars of Japanese traditional culture and literature in the Edo period. Kamo Mabuchi has written the commentary himself only on the books one, two, eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen, which he considered to be the oldest in the anthology. The rest of the commentaries represent the conspectus of his explanations made by his students. I have used the edition by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Inoue Yutaka (1976-84).

The chronologically fourth complete premodern commentary to the *Man'yōshū* is *Man'yōshū Ryakuge* (萬葉集略解, 1796 AD) 'An Abreviated Commentary on the *Man'yōshū*' by Tachibana Chikage (橘千蔭, 1735-1808 AD), also known as Katō Chikage (加藤千蔭). Tachibana was the student of Kamo Mabuchi. It is comparable to Kamo's commentary, but overall is inferior to the Man'yōshū Kogi by Kamochi Masazumi that I will discuss next. I have used the edition by Yosano, Masamune, and Yosano (1925-27).

The last and the largest complete premodern commentary on the *Man'yōshū* is *Man'yōshū Kogi* (萬葉集古義) 'The old meaning of the *Man'yōshū*' by the late Edo period scholar Kamochi Masazumi (鹿持雅澄, 1791-1858 AD). The title also implies the play on words with one of the pen names of Kamochi Masazumi, namely Kogiken (古義軒).Although ultimately a descendant of the Fujiwara (藤原) clan, Kamochi spent his life in the outmost poverty, and never left his native Tosa (土佐) province, acquiring all his knowledge scholarship from books that he mostly borrowed from his friends, as he could not afford to buy them. His gigantic work in forty seven books (*Man'yōshū* books one, two, three, ten, eleven, twelve, fifteen, nineteen, and twenty have three books of commentaries each, and books four, five, six, seven, nine, thirteen, fourteen, sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen have two books of commentaries each) is not only the largest and most detailed among the premodern commentaries, it is also the most authoritative. It took about half a thirty years to complete, as Kamochi prepared the first draft in 1823 AD, but it was not finished until after 1854 AD. In a sense, all modern commentaries are ultimately based on Kamochi Masazumi's work. Of course, modern scholars brought in much other additional information, and the present reading or readings of the *Man'yōshū* is not identical to that of Kamochi, but the latter could be called the gradndfather of all modern *Man'yōshū* studies. I have used Yamada, Itō, and Bunden's edition (1911-14).

As mentioned above, there are many partial commentaries on the *Man'yōshū* done in the Edo period. Most of them are interesting nowadays only for the history of the *Man'yōshū* studies, but the following two are worth noting:

Man'yōshū tama-no o-goto (萬葉集玉の小琴, 1779 AD) 'A Jewel Little Koto of the *Man'yōshū*) by Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730-1801 AD). Motoori Norinaga, arguably the most outstanding Japanese philologist of the Edo period, may be only paralleled by Kamo-no Mabuchi, was born as son of the cotton merchant in the province of Ise (伊勢). His original family name is Ozu (小津), and his child name is Tominosuke (富之助), but he changed his names frequently. Motoori's work represents a commentary on the selected poems from books one, two, three, and four of the *Man'yōshū*. I have used a facsimile edition of Motoori's manuscript published by Man'yōshū ko chūshaku shūsei henshū iinkai (1991.14: 19-118), and the transliterated edition by Ōno Susumu and Okubo Tadashi (1975).

Man'yōshū kōshō (萬葉集攷證, 1828 AD) 'A Study of the *Man'yōshū*' by Kishimoto Yuzura (岸本由豆良, 1788-1846 AD) is a commentary on the first six books of the *Man'yōshū*. I have used Takeda Yūkichi's edition (1916).

Modern commentaries

Annotating in detail all modern editions of the *Man'yōshū* with commentaries will undoubtedly require a full monograph treatment. Therefore, only major editions relevant to this study will be discussed below. Among the pre-1960s editions, Origuchi (1917-18), Inoue

(1928), Kōnosu (1930-35), Kubota (1943-52), Saeki, Ishii, Fujimori (1947-55), Takeda (1948-51), and Sasaki (1948-1954) should be mentioned. All these commentaries represent very solid philological work, but at the present time they are superceded by the more recent editions, dating from 1960s -- early 2000s. I have extensively used the following editions that all include original text (*honbun,* 本文): Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, and Ōno Susumu's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Takagi et al. 1957-62); Kojima Noriyuki, Kinoshita Masatoshi, and Satake Akihiro's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Kojima et al. 1971-75); Nakanishi Susumu's edition (Nakanishi 1984), more readily available today in paperback (Nakanishi 1978-83);[9] *Man'yōshū zenchū* edition,[10] where each book of the *Man'yōshū* is done in a separate volume with commentaries by eighteen different scholars (Itō Haku and Kinoshita Masatoshi each prepared two volumes, remaining sixteen volumes are done by individual scholars); the twenty-two-volume edition by Omodaka Hisataka (Omodaka 1984), including a separate volume on each of the *Man'yōshū*'s books, an index volume, and a volume with the original text (*honbun,* 本文); thirteen volume edition by Itō Haku, *Manyōshū chūshaku* (Itō 1995-2000), consisting of ten volume edition with very detailed commentary, a supplementary volume, a volume with index of poetic lines and personal names, and a volume with the original text (*honbun,* 本文); and the latest new edition by Satake Akihiro, Yamada Hideo, Ōtani Masao, and Yamazaki Yoshiyuki in the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series (Satake et al. 1999-2003). I also occasionally consulted another multivolume edition of the *Man'yōshū sichū* by Tsuchiya Fumiaki (Tsuchiya 1976-77), although in many respects it is inferior to the one done by to other multivolume editions.

My favourite editions are (in chronological order): Takagi et al. 1957-62, which I especially value for the meticuluous indication of different spellings in manuscripts, and Omodaka 1984 as well as *Man'yōshū zenchū*, for their extensive commentaries. I like Itō 1995-2000, too, but it has quite a few impressionistic parts in the commentary, which is also not so well organized as in Omodaka 1984 and *Man'yōshū zenchū*. Kojima et al. 1971-75, Tsuchiya 1976-77, Nakanishi 1978-83, and Satake et al. 1999-2003 are inferior, because they tend to have much shorter (and very often unsufficient) commentaries.

There are also several editions presenting only parts of the *Man'yōshū* written in Eastern Old Japanese: book fourteen and border guards poems from book twenty. Mizushima Yoshiharu's edition of book fourteen together with indexes is one of the best publications the Japanese philological tradition ever produced: it combines photocopies of all manuscript variants of the original text, Mizushima's readings with commentaries, and all imaginable indexes (Mizushima 1984a). Somewhat less detailed but still very useful is Mizushima Yoshiharu's edition of both book fourteen and the border guards' poems from book twenty (much fewer indexes are provided) (Mizushima 1996), as well his recent publication of border guards' poems (Mizushima 2003), which, unfortunately, unlike Mizushima 1984a does not include either photocopies of manuscripts or detailed indexes. Hoshino Yukihiko's edition of the border guards' poems conveniently combines many of the old commentaries on them (Hoshino 1976).

Any work on such an enormous text as the *Man'yōshū* is impossible without appropriate indexes. Besides, I have also extensively used *Man'yōshū sakuin* (Kinosita et al. 2003), and to a lesser extent Masamune Atsuo's two-volume index (Masamune 1974), the aforementioned indexes by Omodaka and Itō, and the index to the poetic lines in the *Man'yōshū* (Hiyoshi 1992). The various *Man'yōshū jiten* [Man'yōshū encyclopedia] by Itō et al. (1981), Sasaki (1983), and Nakanishi (1985) have also proven to be very useful (Sasaki 1983). Finally, this work has benefited considerably from a new CD-ROM edition of the *Man'yōshū* by Kinoshita (2001), and even more from the electronic search engine MYSearcher, created by Dr. Sven Osterkamp from University of Bochum.

Translations into foreign languages

Although there are numerous partial translations of the *Man'yōshū* into many languages, to the best of my knowledge, the complete translations exist only in English, Russian, French, and Korean. I will briefly outline these complete translations below.

English translations

There are two complete translations into English: by Jan L. Pierson (1929-63) and by Suga Teruo (1991). They are very different, and deserve a separate treatment.

[9] The paperback edition also has another important advantage: it includes the *Man'yōshū jiten* [The *Man'yōshū* encyclopedia] by the same author, which is not included in the hardback edition.

[10] Please see the reference to Yoshii 1988 in this volume. The references to other volumes of this series will be provided in the following volumes translating other books of the *Man'yōshū*.

Pierson's translation is in eighteen separate volumes because book sixteen is published in one volume with book seventeen, and book eighteen together with book nineteen. Pierson also published a separate volume on *makura kotoba* in the *Man'yōshū* (1964), character dictionary of the *Man'yōshū* (1967), and the general index of the *Man'yōshū* (1969). The latter is rather a dictionary than an index, since it does not provide all occurrences of a given word. Pierson's translation is academically oriented. The translation of book one is preceded by the introduction on sixty-eight pages. In Pierson's translation, the original text of every poem in the *man'yōgana* script with transcription is followed by Translation, General Remarks, Grammar, Script, and Different Readings (if any). This is without any doubt a monumental work, but for several reasons Pierson's edition is now seriously outdated. First, the only Japanese commentary on the *Man'yōshū* that Pierson used extensively, is *Man'yōshū kogi* (萬葉集古義) by the Edo period scholar Kamochi Masazumi (鹿持雅澄, 1791-1858 AD), although occasionally he also refers to other Edo period commentaries. Only two contemporary Japanese commentaries are mentioned in the back inserts to his translation: Inoue (1928) starting from volume three (1933) and Kōnosu (1930-35) starting from volume five (1938), and only references to Kōnosu, who is called 'the best commentator' in the preface to the translation of book twenty (1963), are really visible. Since the translation was going on until 1963, it remains a mystery why there is no even a mention of, let alone references to such fundamental works of Japanese scholars of the first two thirds of the twentieth century as Origuchi (1917-18), Kubota (1943-52), Saeki, Ishii, Fujimori (1947-55), Takeda (1948-51), and Sasaki (1948-1954). Although these works also rely to a certain extent on the work of Kamochi Masazumi and other Edo commentators, they also supercede them. Second, Pierson ignored or misunderstood many facts of Old Japanese grammar and phonology. Although Pierson mentions Yamada Yoshio's Grammar of the Japanese Written Language in preface to his translation of book one (1929), it is unclear which book he means, as he does not provide the title. His system of transcription completely ignores *kō-otsu* distinctions, rediscovered by Hashimoto Shinkichi in late 1910-30s (1917, 1931, 1938). Pierson apparently believed that Old Japanese had /F/ and not /p/, but transcribed it confusingly with the letter {v}, which is probably another manifestation of his Nazi sympaties.[11] As a result, many Pierson's translations are either misleading, or simply erroneous. The Japanese scholarship on the *Man'yōshū* went a long way in the twentieth century, but its achievements are not reflected in Pierson's work. Thus, nowadays Pierson's translation can be used only with a great care, and overall cannot be completely trusted. In addition, there is little information in Pierson's commentaries on Old Japanese culture and history.

Suga Teruo's translation (1991) is in three volumes, and its is a literary oriented. There are no original text and no transcription or transliteration of the text. The commentaries are kept to the minimum, mostly reduced to explaining titles, placenames, etc. Some of them are misleading, as for example '*iratsuko*' means '*lad*' (1991.1: 337), which ignores the fact that WOJ *iratukô* is a honorific term for a male (Omodaka et al. 1967: 105), possibly an ancient title. Thus, this translation cannot be used for academic purposes. Suga must be given credit for his attempt to do the translation in 5-7 rhythm, but for a literary English translation this rhythm is rather meaningless.

Russian translation

There is only one complete Russian translation of the *Man'yōshū* (Gluskina 1971-73, reprinted 2001) in three volumes, which is overall literary oriented. It has no original text or transcription, but a very useful fifty-page introduction (more than half of it is dedicated to poetics of the *Man'yōshū*), a detailed commentary and a vocabulary of placenames is provided. Gluskina has also consulted most of the major Japanese commentaries available by late 1960s. Overall, it is a wonderful work of poetic art, which also can be consulted for academic purposes, although some of translations are either outdated, or misleading.

French translation

There is only one complete French translation of the *Man'yōshū* (Sieffert 1997-2003) in five volumes, which is literary oriented. It has no original text or transcription, but an introduction, a commentary and an index is provided. Overall, it is an edition comparable to Gluskina's, but it is inferior to the Russian translation, as Sieffert used only five modern Japanese editions

[11] The translation of book three carries on its dedication page: 'To Benito Mussolini the Strongest and Most Ricghteous Man of All Times' (Pierson 1933) and translation of book five: 'To Adolf Hitler the Personification of Goodwill and the Master of Well-Timed Action' (Pierson 1938). Unfortunately, these facts from Pierson's biography are generally poorly known in modern Japanese Studies. The letter {v} has the phonetic value [f] in German, but not in Dutch, Pierson's mother tongue.

(1997: 43-44), but there is no references to them in the commentaries, and Sieffert's introduction is also shorter than Gluskina's and less useful. Thus, it is not to be consulted for academic purposes.

Korean translation
There is only one complete or almost complete Korean translation of the *Man'yōshū* (Kim 1984-91), which is academically oriented. It includes *kana kakikudashi*, original text, translation and commentaries. I have been able to trace only the translation of books one to sixteen (in four volumes), but I have not located the fifth volume that presumably includes books seventeen to twentieth. The commentary is somewhat short, and the publication does not meet the standards of modern philological research, as it includes practically no references.

Man'yōgana script and transliterational conventions[12]
There are several writing systems used in Western Old Japanese texts. Most of them are written in either completely phonetic syllabic script usually called *man'yōgana* (萬葉仮名), or in a mixed semantographic-phonographic script, where Chinese characters can be used either semantographically or phonographically. There are two varieties of the mixed script: one where both semantograms and phonograms are written in the same size and the one where phonograms are written in the smaller size than the semantograms. The second variety is called *Senmyōgaki* 'Senmyō writing' (宣命書), and as the name suggests, it is used in the *Senmyō* and also in the *Norito*. Other texts with mixed script use the first type with the semantograms and phonograms of the same size. A number of poems in the *Man'yōshū* are written exclusively with semantograms so that the text represents a Chinese rather than a Japanese text, where scribes attempted to sinicize the script as much as possible, rendering even Japanese grammatical elements with their approximate Chinese equivalents. For example, OJ *mî-Ns-u* 'see-NEG-FIN' can be written as MC 不見 [put kEn^{h}] 'NEG see', with the negative particle preceding the verb unlike OJ, where negative suffix follows the verbal stem. With the exception of *Senmyōgaki*, which seems to be restricted to the *Senmyō, Norito*, and one poem in the *Shoku Nihongi kayō* (SNK 8), there are, of course, all imaginable combinations of phonetic, mixed semantographic-phonetic and 'pure' semantographic scripts, where both 'sinicization' and density of semantograms varies to a considerable degree. In some rare cases it may be difficult to draw exact boundary between phonetic and semantographic usage. For example, the word *umë* 'plum blossom' is frequently written as *uMË* (宇梅) (5.843, 17.3904, 17.3906, etc.), where the second character is simultaneously a phonogram for syllable /mey/ and a semantogram 'plum blossom.' Finally, there are different types of rebus writing that are occasionally used in the *Man'yōshū*.

The *man'yōgana* syllabic script is represented by two types: *ongana* and *kungana*. *Ongana* employs Japanicized EMC or LMC readings of the characters for phonetic values of the syllables, e.g. EMC 加 [ka꜖] 'add' is used as a syllabic sign with the reading /ka/. There are two varieties of *ongana*: variety A, based on EMC readings of the Chinese characters, and variety B, based on LMC readings. Variety A is the dominant one: it is used in all OJ texts except the *Nihonshoki*, and the variety B is limited to the *Nihonshoki*.[13] There are good reasons to believe that variety A was originally borrowed from similar systems of writing adopted on the Korean peninsula (Kim 1983), (Bentley 2001b). Thus, the character readings of variety A are not directly based on EMC readings, but are conditioned by a Korean intermediary. Meanwhile, variety B appears to be modeled directly on LMC readings, although, of course, the same syllabic principle of writing underlies both varieties. There is a significant overlap between varieties A and B, since they share a number of signs. However, other signs remain specific, reflecting the differences between EMC and LMC. Different phonetic mergers within each variety represent the major difference between varieties A and B. Thus, variety A often uses the same signs for syllables containing initial voiceless obstruents /C/ and prenasalized voiced /NC/,[14] keeping the nasal sonorants /m/ and /n/ transcribed in a different way. On the other hand, variety B frequently employs the same signs for syllables with prenasalized voiced obstruents and nasal sonorants, keeping voiceless obstruents distinct.

Kungana employs the Japanese readings of the characters for their phonetic values irrespective of their meanings. For example, character 田 'rice field' (Japanese reading /ta/)

[12] This section is mostly based on Vovin (2005: 24-36) with some additions and corrections.
[13] There is a theory that the *Nihonshoki*'s *ongana* itself includes two varieties, alpha and beta (Mori 1991). However, I agree with Miyake that there are very significant arguments against this theory (Miyake 2003: 57-60).
[14] This manifests itself primarily in the inconsistent spelling of the syllables with prenasalized consonants, which may be spelt as if they were voiceless. The reverse (that is, spelling of syllables with voiceless consonants as if they were prenasalized) is more rare.

and character 名 ‘name’ (Japanese reading /na/) are used to write syllables [ta] and [na] respectively. Overall, *kungana* is used much more rarely than *ongana* both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is more typical for the *Man’yōshū* than for any other OJ texts, but even in the *Man’yōshū* it is comparatively infrequent. In addition, not every possible syllable has a corresponding *kungana*, while *ongana* exists for all syllables with a minor exception of syllable [Nswo] in variety B. The lack of *kungana* is especially noticeable for the most syllables that contain prenasalized obstruent initials [Np], [Nt], [Nk], [Ns], as well as flap [r].

As with all early syllabic scripts, the polyphonic principle is largely at work in *man’yōgana*. The polyphonic principle manifests itself in two facts: a) a syllable can normally be written with more than one written sign; b) a written sign can have different phonetic values. The polyphonic principle is well illustrated by the chart of the *man’yōgana* signs below. Thus, for example, the syllable /ka/ can be transcribed by the *ongana* signs 加 迦 可 賀 訶 珂 箇 架 嘉 甲 甘 敢 in variety A and by *ongana* signs 加 迦 可 賀 訶 河 箇 伽 舸 歌 軻 柯 介 甲 甘 in variety B. Not every given syllable has so many possibilities, but cases when only one or two signs are used, like in the case of the syllable /Nse/ written with only one character 是 in variety A and with only two characters 筮 噬 in variety B, are quite rare.

A number of the *man’yōgana* signs (most of them based on *ongana*) are disyllabic, that is, they transcribe not one syllable but two. Since there were no syllable final consonants in Old Japanese, some of the Chinese characters that had readings with final consonants were provided with an extra vowel after the consonant. In some of cases, it is an echo vowel, like, for example, MC 壱 /it/ transcribing OJ sequence /iti/, but in the other cases the second vowel may be unpredictable, for example, MC 因 //in/ transcribing OJ sequence /ina/. Care must be taken, since a number of disyllabic signs can be also used as monosyllabic, thus, for example, MC 南 /nam/ can render both OJ monosyllable /na/ and a disyllabic sequence /namyi/. Overall, however, disyllabic graphemes are used infrequently. They mostly appear in transcriptions of proper nouns, and sometimes in the texts written predominantly with semantograms. Their usage in mostly phonetically written texts is quite close to non-existent.
It is also necessary to note that some (but not all) characters are used both as *ongana* and *kungana*. For example, character 田 ‘rice field’ may function as *ongana* for syllable [Nte] and as *kungana* for syllable [ta], or character 世 is used as ongana for syllable [se] and kungana for syllable [yö].

There are different types of rebus writing occurring predominantly in the *Man’yōshū*. Rebus writing is comparatively rare, and many examples of it are unique due to its playful and/or associative nature. A student of Old Japanese should not go to the trouble of memorizing rebus writing because of its very infrequent usage. In addition, all types of rebus writing are unsystematic, and only with some difficulty can one devise a classification system of it, as done, for example in (Seeley 1991: 51-52), which I follow here also using Seeley’s examples.

(1) Rebus writing based on Chinese usage: for example, characters 金風 in 9.1700 are read not as *kane kaze ‘metal wind’ but as *akî kaze* ‘autumn wind’, reflecting that MC 金風 [kim puwŋ^{h}] means ‘autumn wind,’ due to the association of metal as one of Five Elements with autumn. In 10.1844 characters 朝烏 are read not *asaNkarasu ‘morning raven’ but as *asapî* ‘morning sun,’ reflecting that in Chinese mythology the raven can symbolize the sun.

(2) Rebus writing based on purely semantic links: for example, the character 寒 ‘be cold’ is used to write *puyu* ‘winter’ (10.1844, 10.1884) and the character 暖 ‘be warm’ is used to write *paru* ‘spring’ (3.336, 10.1884).

(3) Rebus writing based on double semantic association: for example, characters 少熱 ‘a little hot’ evoke Japanese *nuru-* ‘be lukewarm,’ and are used to write the homonymous attributive form of the perfective marker *-n-uru* in 11.2579.

(4) Erudite rebuses: for example, the sequence *tesi* representing a combination of perfective *-te-* with past tense attributive *-si* could be written as 大王 (7.1321) or 羲之 (MYS 3.394, 4.664, 7.1324). There was a word *tesi* ‘calligrapher’ in Old Japanese (< *te* ‘hand’ + *si* ‘master’). Here the rebus is based on the association with the name of the famous Chinese calligrapher, Wang Xizhi (王羲之, 303(?)-361(?) C. E.), who was also used to be referred to as 大王 ‘the greater Wang’ in opposition to his seventh son Wang Xianzhi (344-388 C. E.) who was referred to as 小王 ‘the lesser Wang.’

(5) Rebus writing based on double semantic-phonetic association: for example, numeral 八十一 ‘eighty-one’ for 九九 /kuku/ ‘nine nines’ in 八十一里 /kukur-i/, an infinitive of *kukur-* ‘to tie up’ (13.3330); or numeral 十六 ‘sixteen’ for 四四 /sisi/ ‘four fours’ for writing homophonous *sisi* ‘boar’ (3.239, 6.926, 13.3278).

(6) Rebus writing based on graphic association, for example 山上復有山 ‘on the top of a mountain there is again a mountain’ (9.1787). This character sequence represents the verb

iNte- ‘to go out,’ written semantographically as 出, the shape that resembles two signs for ‘mountain’ (山) one placed on the top of the other.

There is one more variety of rebus writing that Seely does not mention, although potentially it can be viewed as a peculiar subclass of case (5). In this variety double semantic-phonetic association is used just to indicate one particular syllable. For example, characters 馬声 ‘horse voice’ are used to write syllable /i/, apparently by association with *inanak-* ‘to neigh’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 891).

In the following chart I present *man’yōgana* phonographic signs used in the *Man’yōshū*. As mentioned above, all man’yōgana signs used in the *Man’yōshū* are from variety A.

Chart 1: *Man’yōgana* phonographic signs used in the *Man’yōshū*

Transcription	*Man’yōgana* signs
a あ	ongana: 阿 安 kungana: 足 吾 鳴呼 disyllabic: 英[aNka]
i い	ongana: 伊 夷 以 怡 異 移 因 印 壱 kungana: 射 五十 馬声 disyllabic: 因[ina] 印[ina] 壱[iti]
u う	ongana: 于 汙 宇 有 羽 烏 雲 kungana: 鵜 菟 卯 得 disyllabic: 雲[una] 鬱[utu]
e え$_1$	ongana: 衣 愛 依 kungana: 得 榎 荏
o お	ongana: 意 於 応 乙 憶 飫 disyllabic: 乙[otu] 邑[opî, opu]
ka か	ongana: 加 迦 可 賀 珂 箇 架 嘉 甲 甘 敢 kungana: 鹿 香 蚊 芳 歟 disyllabic: 甘[kamu] 敢 [kamu] 漢[kani] 干[kani] 葛[katu] 甲[kapî] 香 [kaNku] 各[kaku]
kî き$_1$	ongana: 支 伎 吉 岐 棄 枳 企 kungana: 寸 杵 来
kï き$_2$	ongana: 紀 幾 貴 奇 騎 綺 寄 記 kungana: 城 木 樹
ku く	ongana: 久 玖 口 群 苦 丘 九 鳩 君 kungana: 来 disyllabic: 君[kuni]
kê け$_1$	ongana: 祁 家 計 鶏 介 奚 谿 価 係 結 kungana: 異 disyllabic: 兼[kêmu] 監[kêmu] 険[kêmu]
kë け$_2$	ongana: 気 既 kungana: 毛 食 飼 消
kô こ$_1$	ongana: 古 故 庫 祜 姑 孤 枯 kungana: 子 児 籠 小 粉
kö こ$_2$	ongana: 己 許 巨 居 去 虚 忌 興 kungana: 木 disyllabic: 金[kömu] 今 [kömu] 近[könö] 乞[köti] 興[köNkö]
Nka が	ongana: 何 我 賀 河 蛾
Nkî ぎ$_1$	ongana: 芸 祇 岐 伎
Nkï ぎ$_2$	ongana: 疑 宜 義
Nku ぐ	ongana: 具 遇 求 隅 群 disyllabic: 群[Nkuni/Nkuri]
Nkê げ$_1$	ongana: 牙 雅 夏
Nkë げ$_2$	ongana: 義 宜 導
Nkô ご$_1$	ongana: 胡 呉 候 後 虞
Nkö ご$_2$	ongana: 其 期 碁 凝
sa さ	ongana: 佐 沙 作 左 者 柴 紗 草 匝 讃 散 尺 積 kungana: 狭 猿 羅 disyllabic: 三[samu] 雑[sapa/sapî] 匝[sapî] 颯[sapu] 讃[sanu] 散 [sani] 薩[sati, satu] 相 [saNka/saNku] 尺[saka] 作[saka/saku] 積[saka]
si し	ongana: 斯 志 之 師 紫 新 四 子 思 司 芝 詩 旨 寺 時 指 此 至 次 死 偲 事 詞 信 kungana: 為 磯

	disyllabic: 信[sina] 鍾 [siNku] 色[sikî/sikö] 餝 [sika] 式[sikî] 拭[sikî] 叔[siku]
su　す	ongana: 須 周 酒 洲 珠 数 kungana: 酢 簀 栖 渚 為 disyllabic: 駿[suru] 宿[suka, suku]
se　せ	ongana: 勢 世 西 斉 kungana: 瀬 湍 背 脊 迫 disyllabic: 瞻[semî]
sô　そ$_1$	ongana: 蘇 宗 祖 素 kungana: 十 麻
sö　そ$_2$	ongana: 曾 所 僧 増 則 kungana: 衣 背 其 苑
Nsa　ざ	ongana: 射 蔵 邪 社 謝 座
Nsi　じ	ongana: 自 士 慈 尽 時 寺 仕
Nsu　ず	ongana: 受 授 聚 殊
Nse　ぜ	ongana: 是
Nsô　ぞ$_1$	ongana: 俗
Nsö　ぞ$_2$	ongana: 叙 序 賊 [15]
ta　た	ongana: 多 太 他 丹 kungana: 田 手 disyllabic: 丹[tani] 塔[tapu] 但[tani, taNti] 当[taNkî]
ti　ち	ongana: 知 智 恥 陳 珍 kungana: 道 千 乳 路 血 茅 disyllabic:珍[tinu]
tu　つ	ongana: 都 豆 通 追 川 kungana: 津 disyllabic: 筑[tukî, tuku]
te　て	ongana: 弖 氐 提 天 帝 底 堤 代 kungana: 手 価 直 disyllabic: 点[temu]
tô　と$_1$	ongana: 刀 斗 都 土 度 kungana: 戸 門 利 礪 速
tö　と$_2$	ongana: 止 等 登 騰 得 kungana: 鳥 十 跡 迹 常 disyllabic:徳[tökö] 得[tökö]
Nta　だ	ongana: 陁 太 大 disyllabic: 弾[Ntani]
Nti　ぢ	ongana: 遅 治 地
Ntu　づ	ongana: 豆 頭 disyllabic: 曇 [Ntumî]
Nte　で	ongana: 提 代 田 低 泥 涅
Ntô　ど$_1$	ongana: 度 渡 土
Ntö　ど$_2$	ongana: 杼 騰 藤 特
na　な	ongana: 那 奈 寧 難 南 kungana: 名 魚 中 菜 七 莫 disyllabic: 南[namî] 難[nani]
ni　に	ongana: 爾 迩 仁 日 二 而 尼 耳 人 kungana: 丹 荷 似 煮
nu　ぬ	ongana: 奴 怒 努 濃 農 kungana: 沼 宿 寝 渟
ne　ね	ongana: 尼 禰 泥 涅 年 kungana: 根 宿 disyllabic: 念[nemu]
nô　の$_1$	ongana: 努 怒 弩 奴(?) kungana: 野

[15] The phonogram 賊 as a sign for /Nsö/ is attested only in the *Man'yōshū* (Omodaka et al. 1967: 896). However, it appears as a phonogram in the *Man'yōshū* just once, in the word *kîNsö* (伎賊) 'last night' (MYS 2.150). This is the only phonographic attestation of this word in the Western Old Japanese part of the *Man'yōshū*. Interestingly enough, Omodaka et al. transcribe this word in the same poem as *kîsö* in the entry on *kîsö* 'last night' (1967: 241). In addition, the same word is attested in Eastern Old Japanese four times in 14.3505, 14.3522, 14.3550, and 14.3563 written as 伎曾 /kîsö/ with a voiceless /s/. Thus, I believe that the phonogram 賊 was read /sö/ and I think that this word should be read as *kîsö* in Western Old Japanese as well.

nö　の$_2$	ongana: 乃 能 kungana: 荷 笑 箆
pa　は	ongana: 波 播 幡 芳 婆 破 方 防 八 房 半 皤 薄 伴 泊 叵 kungana: 羽 葉 歯 者
pî　ひ$_1$	ongana: 比 卑 必 臂 嬪 賓 kungana: 日 檜 氷
pï　ひ$_2$	ongana: 非 斐 悲 飛 kungana: 火 干 乾
pu　ふ	ongana: 布 不 敷 府 賦 否 負 福 kungana: 経 歴 disyllabic: 粉[puni] 福[puku]
pê　へ$_1$	ongana: 平 弊 覇 幣 敝 陛 遍 返 反 弁 kungana: 部 辺 重 隔 disyllabic: 伯[pêkî]
pë　へ$_2$	ongana: 閇 倍 拝 kungana: 戸 跡 綜 経
po　ほ	ongana: 富 保 宝 朋 倍 抱 方 凡 品 kungana: 帆 穂 disyllabic: 凡[pomu] 品[pomu]
Npa　ば	ongana: 婆 伐
Npî　び$_1$	ongana: 毘 鼻 妣 婢
Npï　び$_2$	ongana: 備 肥
Npu　ぶ	ongana: 夫 父 部 扶
Npê　べ$_1$	ongana: 辨 便 別
Npë　べ$_2$	ongana: 倍
Npo　ぼ	ongana: 煩
ma　ま	ongana: 麻 磨 万 馬 末 満 摩 kungana: 真 間 目 信 鬼 disyllabic: 望[maNka, maNku] 莫[maku] 幕[maku]
mî　み$_1$	ongana: 弥 美 民 kungana: 三 御 見 水 参 視 disyllabic: 敏[mînu]
mï　み$_2$	ongana: 微 未 味 尾 kungana: 身 実 箕
mu　む	ongana: 牟 武 无 模 務 無 謀 鵡 儛 kungana: 六 disyllabic: 目[muku]
mê　め$_1$	ongana: 賣 咩 馬 面 kungana: 女 婦
më　め$_2$	ongana: 米 梅 迷 昧 kungana: 目 眼
mô　も$_1$	ongana: 毛
mö　も$_2$	ongana: 母
mo　も	ongana: 毛 母 茂 文 聞 忘 蒙 畝 問 門 勿 木 物 kungana: 裳 藻 哭 喪 裙 disyllabic: 物[moti]
ya　や	ongana: 夜 移 陽 耶 益 野 楊 也 kungana: 屋 八 矢
yu　ゆ	ongana: 由 喩 遊 油 kungana: 弓 湯
ye　え$_2$	ongana: 延 叡 曳 遙 要 kungana: 兄 江 枝 吉
yô　よ$_1$	ongana: 用 欲 容 kungana: 夜
yö　よ	ongana: 余 与 予 餘 誉 kungana: 世 吉 四 代
ra　ら	ongana: 羅 良 浪 楽 disyllabic: 藍[ramu] 濫 [ramu] 覧[ramu] 臘[rapu] 楽[raku] 落[raku]
ri　り	ongana: 理 利 里 隣
ru　る	ongana: 留 流 類
re　れ	ongana: 禮 例 列 烈 連

	disyllabic: 廉[remu]
rô　ろ$_1$	ongana: 漏 路
rö　ろ$_2$	ongana: 呂 侶 里
wa　わ	ongana: 和 丸 kungana: 輪 disyllabic: 丸[wani]
wi　ゐ	ongana: 為 位 謂 kungana: 井 猪 居
we　ゑ	ongana: 恵 廻 慧 偎 kungana: 画 座 咲
wo　を	ongana: 乎 袁 烏 遠 怨 呼 越 kungana: 小 尾 少 麻 男 雄 緒 綬 叫 disyllabic: 越[woti]

Note that I use the *transliteration*, not the *transcription* of the *man'yōgana* script.

I present two transliterational systems of Western Old Japanese in my translation. One is based on pre-1946 Japanese *kana*, and is directed primarily to those who do not want to burden themselves with learning more complex (but also more accurate) romanization system. Since Western Old Japanese had more vowels (eight or seven) than Middle (Classical) Japanese that had only five, the straightforward usage of *kana* would obviously be inadequate. I use subscripts $_1$ and $_2$ to indicate whether a given syllable transliterated into *kana* had a *kō* (甲) or an *otsu* (乙) vowel respectively. There is one case where the subscripts $_1$ and $_2$ do not indicate the kō-otsu distinctions, but are used to show the difference in a syllable onset. Namely, え$_1$ and え$_2$ transliterate syllables /e/ and /ye/ respectively. It should be also kept in mind that the syllable transliterated by kana sign ゝ was actually always pronounced /yi/ and not /i/ when found in the non-initial position in a word, and sometimes probably in the initial position as well, although the latter is more controversial; for details see (Vovin 2008a: 420-27).

The romanized transliteration is overall based on the transliteration system devised by my former colleague Bart Mathias from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, now retired. The ingenuity and the superiority of this system as compared to the traditional one or the one used by Frellesvig and Whitman (2008) is that it differentiates between three possibilities: *kō*-type, otsu-type and unknown type, where the *kō-otsu* distinctions are not clear. The *kō*-type has a circonflex diacritic over a vowel (e.g., *kô*), the *otsu*-type has a trema diacritic over a vowel (e.g., *kö*), and the unknown type is left without any diacritic (e.g., *ko*). The Yale Romanization System devised by Samuel E. Martin, Professor Emeritus from Yale University, has the the same advantage, and I used it extensively myself in the linguistically oriented work (e.g., Vovin 2005 and Vovin 2008a), since it is very friendly for morphemic analysis, but being practically devoid of diacritics, it presents a difficulty for a non-linguist with its transcriptions like *kwo* (= *kô* in Mathias system) and *kye* (= *kê* in Mathias system) that may produce unwanted associations with phonetic sequences [k^{w}o] and [k^{j}e], which as demonstrated recently by Miyake, is not the case (2003: 221-27, 232-37).

I have introduced one very radical innovation into the romanization of Old Japanese (Vovin 2005, 2008a), which is also adopted here. The traditional transcription of Old Japanese /b/, /d/, /g/, and /z/ which is also employed in Yale Romanization, Mathias' romanization, and Frellesvig & Whitman's romanization is rewritten as /Np/, /Nt/, /Nk/, and /Ns/. There are two reasons for that. First, although /b/, /d/, /g/, and /z/ agree very well with the modern standard Japanese and with Kansai dialect pronounciation, it is well known that these voiced stops were actually pronounced in Old Japanese like they are pronounced today in modern Tōhoku (東北) dialects, namely as prenasalized voiced /^{m}b/, /^{n}d/, /^{ŋ}g/, and /^{n}z/. The traces of the prenasalized pronounciation of at least /^{ŋ}g/ either as /^{ŋ}g/, /ŋg/ or /ŋ/ survive in many places around Japan, especially along the sea coast of the Sea of Japan. Moreover, it is quite apparent that these prenasalized stops go to the Proto-Japonic clusters of *n+C$_{[-voice]}$ type, where C$_{[-voice]}$ is the notation for a voiceless consonant. Thus, /^{m}b/ < *np, /^{n}d/ < *nt, /^{ŋ}g/ < *nk, and /^{n}z/ < *ns. Second, the representation of these consonants as /Np/, /Nt/, /Nk/, and /Ns/ helps to provide the proper morphological analysis of Old Japanese texts. Thus, for example, traditional romanization of OJ *yama-gapa* 'mountain river' (as opposed to *yama kapa* 'mountains and rivers') tells us nothing about the morphological constituents of this compound. However, my transliteration as *yama-Nkapa* allows us to analyze it as *yama-N-kapa* 'mountain-GEN-river,' where the prenasalization *-N-* can be treated as a reduced form of the genitive case marker *-nö*.

Furthermore, in my romanization I draw a distinction between phonographically and semantographically written portions of *Man'yōshū* texts. The former are written with small

letters, and the latter are spelled with capital letters. Thus, for example, WOJ 京能比登 *MÎYAKÔ-nö pîtö* is transliterated so because *mîyakô* 'capital' is spelled semantographically in the original text, while genitive case marker *-nö* and *pîtö* 'person' are rendered phonographically.

Finally, I provide a chart below that summarizes major phonological differences between Western Old and Middle (Classical) Japanese. The plus sign (+) indicates the presence of the feature, and the minus sign (-) the absence of thereof.

Chart 2: Major phonological differences between Western Old and Middle Japanese

features	Western Old Japanese	Middle Japanese
vowel system	7 or 8 vowels: a, u, î, ï, ö[ə], ô, ê, ë[əy/ɛ?]	5 vowels: a, u, i, o, e
Anlaut vowels	a, u, i, o, e	a, i, u
vowel clusters	-	+
consonant palatalization	-	+

***Man'yōshū* and Western Old Japanese Grammar**

The purpose of this brief section is to highlight some important differences between the grammar of Western Old Japanese and Middle (Classical) Japanese. It is mostly oriented to the readers who have at least some familiarity with Classical Japanese. It also should not be confused with a full-scale presentation. Those who are interested in the more in-depth detail should consult my Western Old Japanese grammar (Vovin 2005, 2008a). Too often, scholars in humanities, especially in the West, assume that both are virtually the same, although nothing can be further from the truth: as a matter of fact the differences between Old and Middle Japanese are almost as deep as those between Old and Middle English. The following is the outline of the major differences in morphology:

(1) Plural marker *-na* appears in Western Old Japanese, but not in Middle Japanese except in fossilized compounds/

(2) Active case marker *-i* is attested in Western Old Japanese (very rare in the *Man'yōshū*), but not in Middle Japanese prose or poetry (although in appears in the language of commentaries on Buddhist texts).

(3) There is no dative-locative case marker *-ra* in Middle Japanese, although it does appear infrequently in Western Old Japanese.

(4) The genitive-locative case marker *-tu* is more productive in Western Old Japanese than in Middle Japanese where it occurs only in fossilized compounds.

(5) Case marker *-wo* plays a double function of an accusative-absolutive case marker in Western Old Japanese, while in Middle Japanese it is essentially reduced to the function of an accusative marker except in early poetry and some isolated examples in prose.

(6) Ablative case marker has four different forms in Western Old Japanese: *-yô ~ -yôri ~ -yu ~ -yuri* that are reduced to a single form *-yori* in Middle Japanese.

(7) Directive case marker *-Nkari* is attested in Western (and Eastern) Old Japanese, but not in Middle Japanese.

(8) Comparative case marker *-nö ~ -ni ~ -nasu ~ -nösu* appears in Western Old Japanese, but not in Middle Japanese, where it is replaced by the collocation *-no yau n-i* 'like,' the predecessor of *-no yō ni* in modern Japanese.

(9) Western Old Japanese has first person pronouns *a ~ are, marö, na*, and second person pronouns *na ~ nare* and *masi ~ mîmasi ~ imasi* are not attested in Middle Japanese (although the former appears in poetry and has some cognate reflexes in prose).

(10) Overall, Western Old Japanese differentiates between personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns, while in Middle Japanese two classes largely collapsed as one class of personal-reflexive pronouns.

(11) Western Old Japanese demonstrative pronouns unlike Middle Japanese and all later stages of standard Japanese have no connection to the 'speaker' -- 'addressee' axis, but indicate just general proximity or remoteness. In addition, while in Middle Japanese distant demonstrative pronouns have *a-* series like in modern Japanese, Old Japanese has *ka-* series, which is in spite of the paucity of examples is well supported by the comparative examples from Sakishima islands dialects in Ryukyus.

(12) Unlike Middle and Modern Japanese, the numeral system of Western Old Japanese was still unaffected by Chinese above the count to ten; so, for example, the numeral '32' is still spelled out as *mîsô-ti amar-i puta-tu* 'thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL (BS 2).

(13) In contrast to Middle Japanese where adjectives are essentially quality verbs with established system of conjugation, Western Old Japanese has both uninflected and inflected

adjectives. The uninflected adjectives behave exactly like adjectives in English or Turkish, with adjectival stem directly preceding the modified nominal. Even the inflected adjectives do not behave the same way as inflected adjectives in Middle Japanese, as there is no strict segregation between the final form in *-si* and the attributive form in *-kî*.

(14) The *kakari-musubi* rule is different for Old and Middle Japanese adjectives, as in Old Japanese inflected adjectival predicates after the particle kösö take not the evidential form as in Middle Japanese, but the attributive form.

(15) Unlike verbal prefixes in Middle Japanese, verbal prefixes in Western Old Japanese that can be found not only in one, but in two prefixal positions to the root, and what is more important, not all of them are derived from petrified verbal forms. There are also many more verbal prefixes in Western Old Japanese than in Middle Japanese.

(16) Not only the imperative and evidential forms of consonant class verbs (traditional quadrigrade conjugation) are different phonetically, the former ending in *-ê*, and the latter *-ë*, wqhich coalesced in Middle Japanese as *-e*, but also the imperatives of all vowel verbs are somewhat different: while they can end in *-yö* similarly to bigrade and irregular verbs ending in *-yo* in Middle Japanese, this is not the only possible form, as most Western Old Japanese vowel verbs irregular or not, can have their imperative forms just in the form of their stem.

(17) Although only one causative form is present in Middle Japanese, namely *-(s)ase-*, there are two different forms in Western Old Japanese: *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* and *-(a)simey-*.

(18) The same holds for the passive forms: only *-(r)are-* is attested in Middle Japanese, but Western Old Japanese has both *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-* and *-are-* forms.

(19) The iterative suffix *-ap-* ~ *-öp-* is productive in Western Old Japanese, but it is found only in the fossilized verb forms in Middle Japanese.

(20) The same holds true for the nominalizer *-aku*: it is productive in Western Old Japanese, but is found only in fossilized verb formations in Middle Japanese.

(21) Some verbal suffixes have the different phonetic shape as well as the different function in Western Old Japanese as compared to Middle Japanese. For example, Wesetern Old Japanese negative potential *-umasiNsi* becomes Middle Japanese negative debitive *-umazi*.

(22) Many Western Old Japanese auxiliaries became suffixes in Middle Japanese by blending with the preceding infinitive marker *-i*. For example, retrospective auxiliary *-kêr-* is a true auxiliary in Western Old Japanese, because it can follow both Western Old Japanese infinitives in *-î* or *-u*, but in Middle Japanese it is invariably attached to the ingfinitive *-i*, with which it is unseparable on synchronic level, forming therefore a new retrospective suffix *-iker-*.

(23) There are many verbal forms in Western Old Japanese that are not present at all, or are at least fossilized in Middle Japanese. For example, desiderative *-(a)na*, desiderative-imperative *-(a)n-e*, exclamative *-umö*, coordinative gerund *-katera*, etc.

(24) The phonetic shapes and/or functions of certain particles are different. For example, Middle Japanese emphatic particle *namu* appears as *namô* or *namö* (only one attestation in the *Man'yōshū*). There is also Western Old Japanese emphatic particle *ya* (in addition to the interrogative particle *ya* also attested in Middle Japanese) that does not appear in Middle Japanese.

(25) The Middle Japanese perfective-progressive form *-itar-* (a blend of the *-i* infinitive and the perfective-progressive *-tar-*, which is in its own turn is a contraction of the gerund in *-te* plus the verb *ar-* 'to exist') frequently appears as an uncontracted *(-i-)te ar-* in the *Man'yōshū*.

(26) Quite similarly to the perfective-progressive form *-itar-*, the examples of the contraction of the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* and the verb *ar-* 'to exist' to *-(a)zar-* that rules supreme in Middle Japanese, are rare in Western Old Japanese, where this form mostly appears uncontracted.

(27) The same is true about the Middle Japanese adjectival conjugation form *-kar-*, a contraction of the adjectival infinitive *-ku* and the verb *ar-* 'to exist,' which mostly appears in Western Old Japanese as an uncontracted form *-ku ar-*.

This is just a brief and non-exhaustive overview of the differences in Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese morphology, but I hope that it is sufficient enough to demonstrate that these two languages are not the same.

Citation of the *Man'yōshū* poems

As I mentioned before, I use various editions of the *Man'yōshū* in the process of preparing my translation and commentary. I indicate the book number, and the general number of a poem in the anthology, not the number in the individual book. Thus 5.800 refers to the book five of the *Man'yōshū*, poem number 800 from the beginning of the anthology. I follow the count and

the number of the poems adopted in NKBT, Omodaka, and *Man'yōshū zenchū* editions, not the one used in *Kokka taikan* (国歌大観).

Citation of Old Japanese and other premodern Japanese texts other than the *Man'yōshū*

Bussoku seki uta or *Bussoku seki ka* (仏足石歌) 'The poems about the Buddha footprint' is cited according to NKBT edition (Tsuchihashi 1957) with the indication of the poem number. Thus, BS 1 refers to the first poem in *Bussoku seki ka*.

Kojiki (古事記) 'The Records of Ancient Matters' is cited according to the *Kojiki taisei* edition (Takagi & Toyama 1974a & 1974b) with the indication of the volume, the leaf number + recto/verso, and the line number. Thus, KJK 1.13a.3 refers to volume one, leaf thirteen recto, line three.

Kojiki kayō (古事記歌謡) 'Poems of the *Kojiki*' is cited according to NKBT edition (Tsuchihashi 1957) with the indication of a poem number. Thus, KK 21 refers to the poem twenty one in the *Kojiki*.

Nihonshoki (日本書紀) 'The Annals of Japan' are cited according to *Kokushi taikei* edition (Kuroita & Matsuyama 1965-66), with the indication of the volume, page number, and line number. Thus, NS 1.10.6 refers to volume one, page ten, line six.

Nihonshoki kayō (日本書紀歌謡) 'Poems of the *Nihonshoki*' are cited according to NKBT edition (Tsuchihashi 1957) with the indication of a poem number. Thus, NK 68 refers to the poem sixty-eight in the *Nihonshoki*.

Fudoki (風土記) 'Gazeteers' are cited to according to the NKBT edition (Akimoto 1958) with the indication of the page number and the line number. Thus, FK 434.10 refers to page 434, line 10 in this edition.

Senmyō (宣命) 'Imperial Edicts' are cited according to the critical edition by Kitagawa Kazuhide (1982) with the indication of the edict number and line number. Thus, SM 1.2 refers to the first edict, line 2.

Early *Norito* (祝詞) 'Shintō Prayers' are cited according to the critical text produced by John Bentley (2001b).

Shoku Nihongi kayō (続日本紀歌謡) 'Poems of the *Shoku Nihongi*' are cited according to NKBT edition (Tsuchihashi 1957) with the indication of a poem number. Thus, SNK 8 refers to the poem eight in the *Shoku Nihongi*.

Man'yō Daishōki (萬葉代匠記) 'Artistic Notes on the *Man'yōshū*' is cited according to the edition: Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (1975), with the indication of book and leaf number. Thus, 15.39b refers to book fifteen, leaf thirty-nine verso.

Textual history of book fifteen

The textual history of book fifteen is marred by poor textual transmission. The poems from this book, with the exception of few poems preserved in the fragments of *Tenji-bon* (天治本) from the late Heian period are first found in seventh oldest manuscript of the *Man'yōshū*, *Ruiju koshū* (類聚古集) 'Old collection organized by categories' from the end of the Heian period, where they are scattered in various volumes of this book where the original *Man'yōshū* order was reorganized by categories. As a result, nineteen books of the *Ruiju koshū* and twenty books of the Man'yōshū do not match at all. In addition, several poems are missing. The first manuscript where book fifteen occurs in its entirety and in one place is only the *Nishi Honganji-bon* (西本願寺本) that dates from the late Kamakura period. Thus, later commentaries and modern editions of the book fifteen are predominantly based on the *Nishi Honganji-bon* (西本願寺本). As a result of this poor transmission history, there are multiple scribal mistakes that show rather high discrepancy with Western Old Japanese phonology, not so noticeable in other books of the *Man'yōshū*, which is surprising given that the poems in this book were composed between 736 and 741 AD. This is especially true of the rather frequent confusion between *kō* and *otsu* syllables /tô/ and /tö/ and *kō* and *otsu* syllables /yô/ and /yö/, which is not so rampant even in the later phonographic books in Western Old Japanese. The lack of older manuscripts also makes it difficult to reconstruct the *Ur-text* of book fifteenth.

Preface to the first collection (poems 15.3578-15.3722)
本文・Original text
天平八年丙子夏六月遣新羅國之時使人等悲各別贈答及海路之上慟旅陳思作歌并當所誦詠古歌一百四十五首

Translation
In the sixth month of the eighth year of the Tenpyō era (736 AD), when [the emperor Shōmu] sent [them] to Silla, [these are] the exchange [poems] by the envoys and others, the poems that they composed expressing their sorrowful feelings about the sea travel, as well as the old poems recited at the appropriate places. One hundred forty five poems.

Commentary
Most poems in this collection are anonymous, and only ten authors are known according to Omodaka (1984.15: 10). However, there are actually fourteen names mentioned in the text: ANpë-nö asömî[16] TuNkîmarö (Chief Ambassador, 大使), Opotömö-nö sukune Mînaka (Assistant Ambassador, 副使), MîNpu-nö omî UNtamarö (Senior Secretary, 大判官), Opokura-nö imîkî Marö (Junior Secretary, 小判官),[17] Opoisi-nö Mîmarö, Pata-nö Mamarö, Pata-nö Tamarö (may be the same person as Pata-nö Mamarö), TanaNpê-nö Akînipa, Tantipî-nö Mapêtukîmî, Pakuri (no given name is recorded), Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö, Puntiwi-nö muraNsi Kôoyu, Mu SaNpa, and Panisi-nö Inatari. In addition, from the postscript to 15.3659 we know also that the second son of ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö was also a member of the mission, and although we can guess that his family name was also Anpë, his given name is not recorded.

Pierson understood 當所 as 'destination' (1963: 1), but as Takagi et al. correctly indicate there are no poems in this collection that were composed in Silla,[18] as it mostly consists of poems composed before and at the departure and on a way to Silla, with very few poems recited on the return trip (1962: 16). Omodaka Hisataka mentions a point of view shared by several Japanese scholars that the anonymous part of this collection might have been composed by a single person, in particular the Assistant Ambassador Opotömö-nö sukune Mînaka, but he offers quite substantial arguments against it (1984.15: 10-11), and I believe that 使人等 'envoys and others' can be interpreted only as pointing to the multiplicity of authors.

Poems 15.3578-3588 are exchange poems between departing envoys and their wives.

15.3578
本文・Original text
(1) 武庫能浦乃 (2) 伊里江能渚鳥 (3) 羽具久毛流 (4) 伎美乎波奈礼弖 (5) 古非尓之奴倍之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) むこ$_1$の$_2$うらの$_2$ (2) いりえ$_2$のすど$_2$り (3) はぐくも$_1$る (4) き$_1$み$_1$をはなれて (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$にしぬべし

Romanization
(1) Mukô-nö ura-nö (2) iriye-nö SU-N-TÖRI (3) pa-N-kukumôr-u (4) kîmî-wo panare-te (5) kôpï-ni sin-uNpë-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Mukô-GEN bay-GEN (2) inlet-GEN shallow-GEN-bird (3) wing-LOC-be.covered-ATTR (4) lord-ACC separate(INF)-SUB (5) love(NML)-LOC die-DEB-FIN (1)

Translation

[16] *Asömî* is one of the *kabane* (姓), appellations of court offices and ranks. There were many of them during the Kofun and Asuka periods, the main being *omî* (臣), *muraNsi* (連), *mîyatukô* (造), *kîmî* (君), *atapî* (値), *puNpîtö* (史), *aNkatanusi* (県主), and *suNkuri* (村主). In 684 Emperor Tenmu reorganized *kabane* into eights types (*yakusa*, 八色). In descending order, these were: *mapîtö* (真人), *asömî* (朝臣), *sukune* (宿彌), *imîkî* (忌寸), *mitinösi* (道師), *omî* (臣), *muraNsi* (連), and *inaNkî* (稲置). The *kabane* rank was placed between the family name and the given name, as ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö and some other names of the mission members demonstrate.
[17] These first four names are mentioned in the *Shoku Nihongi* (Omodaka 1984.15: 10).
[18] An apparent reason for that might be that the mission was not admitted into Silla.

(5) [I] should die from love (4) parting with [my] lord, (3) who covered [me] with [his] wings (2) [as] birds from the shallows in the inlet (1) of the bay of Mukô [cover their chicks].

Commentary

This anonymous poem was apparently composed by a wife of an envoy sent to Silla.

The Mukô bay refers to the seashore located to the bay located around the estuary of the Muko river (武庫川) in the present-day Hyōgo prefecture (Omodaka 1983.3: 341). Nakanishi Susumu further indicates that included the seashore area to the west of the eastuary (Nakanishi 1985: 491). It is mentioned in the two other *Man'yōshū* poems: 3.358 and 15.3595 (Omodaka 1984.15: 12, 24), (Nakanishi 1985: 491).

pa-N-kukumôr- 'to be covered by wings' is a *hapax legomenon* generally believed to be an intransitive or passive form of *pa-N-kukum-* 'to cover by wings' (Takagi et al. 1962: 54), (Omodaka et al. 1967: 574), (Omodaka 1984.15: 12), (Kojima et al. 1975: 43), (Nakanishi 1981: 293), (Itō 1998: 36), (Satake et al. 2002: 391). The latter clearly includes the noun *pa* 'wing', a reduced form *-N-* of the dative-locative case marker *-ni*, and a verb *kukum-* that does not occur in Old Japanese anywhere else, but which is explained by *Man'yōshū* scholars quite differently. Thus, Omodaka et al. and Nakanishi Susumu treat *kukum-* as the synonym of the verb *tutum-* (包む) 'to wrap' (Omodaka et al. 1967: 574), (Nakanishi 1981: 293), but Kojima et al. prefer to analyze it is as a phonetic variant of *kurum-* 'to wrap' (1975: 43). While *kukum-* certainly can be interpreted as a synonym of either *tutum-* or *kurum-*, it is unlikely to be a phonetic variant of the latter, for two reasons. First, *kurum-* is not attested in Old Japanese, and second, there is no known shift of *-k-* > *-r-* in Old Japanese or vice versa. It is most likely that *kukum-* represents a variant of *pukum-* 'to contain, hold, to wrap in,' with expected regressive assimilation of *p-* to *-k-*. Cf. also WOJ *pupum-* 'id.' with progressive assimilation of *-k-* to *p-*. The formation of the intransitive form *kukumôr-* from the transitive *kukum-* is clearly irregular. The only possible explanation that I can think about is that *kukum-* was originally a vowel verb with the root *kukumu-, to which *ar-* 'to exist' was added. Then the *kō-rui* vowel /ô/ can be explained as a secondary vowel /ô/ representing a monophthongization of *u+a.

The meaning of WOJ *pa, pane* was ambivalent: like MdJ *hane* it could refer to both wings and feathers. I believe that given the metaphor of birds covering their offspring the 'wing' and not 'feather' is meant here. Cf. Pierson's inconsistent translation: he uses 'feathers' in 15.3578, but 'wing' in 15.3579, although being exchange poems, these two poems clearly indicate the same context.

The word *kîmî* with original meaning 'lord,' was frequently used by women to address their husbands and/or beloved. It could also be used by men to address their friends. Therefore, Pierson misunderstood the poem when he wrote in his *General Remarks* that "the messengers who set out on their journey from the bay of Muko, deplore the parting with their lord" (1963: 1).

15.3579

本文・Original text

(1) 大船尓 (2) 伊母能流母能尓 (3) 安良麻勢婆 (4) 羽具久美母知弖 (5) 由可麻之母能乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) おほぶねに (2) いも$_2$の$_2$るも$_2$の$_2$に (3) あらませば (4) はぐくみ$_1$も$_2$ちて (5) ゆかましも$_2$の$_2$を

Romanization

(1) OPO PUNE-ni (2) imö nör-u mönö n-i (3) ar-amas-eNpa (4) PA-N-kukum-yi möt-i-te (5) yuk-amasi mönöwo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) big boat-LOC (2) beloved board-ATTR thing DV-INF (3) exist-SUBJ-COND (4) wing-LOC-cover-INF hold-INF-SUB (5) go-SUBJ CONJ

Translation

(2/3) If [it] were the case that [my] beloved boarded (1) [my] big boat, (4/5) [I] would go holding [her] under [my] wings, but …

Commentary

The word *imô* (misspelled in this poem as *imö* (伊母))[19] has an original meaning 'younger sister' (cf. MdJ *imooto* 'id.'), but it was used frequently as a term of address or reference to one's wife or female beloved. This usage is paralleled by using *se* 'elder brother' as a term of address or reference to one's husband or male beloved.[20] I normally translate *imô* as 'beloved' to include both situations when the word refers to a wife and when it does not, although in most cases it probably does refer to wife. The second collection (poems 15.3723-15.3785) representing the poetic exchange between Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri and Sano-nö otöNkamî-nö wotömê included in this book is a clear case when *imô* is used as a term of address to one's unwed beloved.

15.3580
本文・Original text
(1) 君之由久 (2) 海邊乃夜杼尓 (3) 奇里多々婆 (4) 安我多知奈氣久 (5) 伊伎等之理麻勢

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) き$_1$み$_1$がゆく (2) うみ$_1$へ$_1$の$_2$やど$_2$に (3) き$_2$りたたば (4) あがたちなげ$_2$く (5) いき$_1$と$_2$しりませ

Romanization
(1) KÎMÎ-NKA yuk-u (2) UMÎ PÊ-nö yaNtö-ni (3) kïri tat-aNpa (4) a-Nka tat-i-naNkëk-u (5) ikî tö sir-i-[i]mas-e

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) lord-POSS go-ATTR (2) sea side-GEN lodging-LOC (3) fog rise-COND (4) I-POSS rise-INF-lament-ATTR (4) breath DV know-INF-HON-IMP

Translation
(3) If the fog rises (2) at the seaside lodging (1) where [my] lord is going, (4/5) know that [it is] my breath that rises lamenting [for you]

Commentary
This anonymous poem was apparently composed by a wife of an envoy sent to Silla. It is possible that it is the same person as the author of 15.3578. If this is the case, then poems 15.3578-3581 are representing a poetic mini-dialogue, and there is also a possibility that all the poems 15.3578-3588 actually are composed by two people only: a departing envoy and his wife.

The word *yaNtö* (夜杼) 'lodging, house, home' is misspelled: we should expect *yaNtô with a *kō-rui* /ô/, and not an *otsu-rui* /ö/ vowel. Unfortunately, book 15 contains many various misspellings not found in other phonetically written books of the *Man'yōshū*, but apart from these misspellings, it nevertheless represents the most important Western Old Japanese text for a linguist or for a beginning student, as it includes many grammatical forms and constructions not found anywhere else (Vovin 2008a: preface p. 1).

There was a belief in Ancient Japan that a person's breath may turn into a fog. Since lamenting is associated with the excessive breathing, there is also a connection between lamenting and fog in the Old Japanese poetry.

Cf. a similar poem by Yamanöupë-nö Okura (5.799). The word *okî* 'breath' (instead of the more frequent form *ikî*) used in the latter is also attested phonetically in 20.4458. Given the fact that the Japanese name of empress Jingū (神功) is traditionally read as *Okî naNka tarasi pîmê* (気長足姫) (NS 9), this alternation in spelling probably indicates that *okî* is the older form reflecting pre-WOJ *ekî > WOJ *ikî* due to the raising of *e > i.

15.3581
本文・Original text
(1) 秋佐良婆 (2) 安比見牟毛能乎 (3) 奈尓之可母 (4) 奇里尓多都倍久 (5) 奈氣伎之麻佐牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

[19] The misspelling of /mô/ as /mö/ is by no means unique to book 15. It permeates the whole Man'yōshū with exception of book 5, where such misspellings are statistically more rare than in other books and also tend to occur more in particles than in nouns or verbs (Bentley 1997, 2002). Our only absolutely reliable source for knowing whether a given word had /mô/ or /mö/ is the *Kojiki*, where there are no misspellings, but if a given noun or verb is absent from the *Kojiki*, book 5 of the *Man'yōshū* comes also handy as a next reliable source.
[20] Cf. modern Korean usage of girlfriends addressing their boyfriends as *oppa*, lit. 'elder brother (of a woman).'

(1) あき$_1$さらば (2) あひ$_1$み$_1$むも$_1$の$_2$を (3) なにしかも$_2$ (4) き$_2$りにたつべ$_2$く (5) なげ$_2$き$_1$しまさむ

Romanization
(1) AKÎ sar-aNpa (2) apî-MÎ-m-u mônöwo (3) nani si kamö (4) kïri-ni tat-uNpë-ku (5) naNkëk-î s-i-[i]mas-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn come-COND (2) REC-see-TENT-ATTR CONJ (3) what PT PT (4) fog-COMP rise-DEB-INF (5) lament-NML do-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(2) Although [we] will see each other (1) when the autumn comes, (3) [I] wonder, why (5) should [you] lament (4) so that [your breath] has to rise as a fog?

Commentary
This poem represents a response to 15.3580 above by an envoy going to Silla.

I disagree with Omodaka (1984.15: 14), Takagi et al. (1962: 55), and Itō (1998: 37) grammatical analysis of the last line, but agree with Kojima et al. (1975: 44) and Yoshii (1988: 32) analysis. The former scholars analyze this line as *naNkëk-î si mas-am-u* 'lament-INF PT HON-TENT-ATTR,' claiming that *si* is an emphatic particle, but the latter view it as *naNkëk-î s-i-[i]mas-am-u* 'lament-NML do-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR,' viewing *s-i-* as the infinitive form of the verb *se-* 'to do.' Since the above mentioned Japanese scholars do not explain the reasoning behind their analysis, nor they address the opposite point of view, I take the liberty to explain here why I think that the former analysis is untenable. The emphatic particle *si* tends to occur most frequently after nominals, nominalized form of verbs, adverbs, emphatic particle *ya*, and restrictive particle *nömï*. Although it does occur after infinitive *-î*, adjectival and subordinative gerund *-te*, and infinitive *-ku* (most frequently out of these three, but predominantly after the infinitive *ka-ku* of the defective adjective *ka* 'to be such, to be thus') its usage after the infinitive *-î* is limited to the infinitive *n-i* of the copula *n-* 'to be.' It is even more important that the only auxiliary verb found after *si* used with the preceding copula infinitive *n-i* is *ar-* 'to exist.' Thus, in no other case the emphatic particle *si* is found between an infinitive *-î* and honorific auxiliary *imas-*.[21] Consequently, since *si* occurs after nominalized verbs, the latter analysis spears to be much more appropriate as it does not violate Occam's razor.

15.3582
本文・Original text
(1) 大船乎 (2) 安流美尓伊大之 (3) 伊麻須君 (4) 都追牟許等奈久 (5) 波也可敝里麻勢

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほふねを (2) あるみ$_1$にいだし (3) いますき$_1$み$_1$ (4) つつむこ$_2$と$_2$なく (5) はやかへ$_1$りませ

Romanization
(1) OPO PUNE-wo (2) ar-umî-ni iNtas-i (3) imas-u KÎMÎ (4) tutum-u kötö na-ku (5) paya kapêr-i-[i]mas-e

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) big boats-ACC (2) rough-sea-LOC take.out-INF (3) exist(HON)-ATTR lord (4) impede-ATTR matter no-INF (5) quick return-INF-HON-IMP

Translation
(1/2/3) [My] lord who will take out [his] big boat to the rough sea, (5) please return quickly (4) with nothing standing in [your] way!

Commentary
This poem was apparently belongs to a wife of an envoy sent to Silla.
The compound *ar-umî* in the second line is a contraction from *ara* 'rough' and *umî* 'sea.' In Western Old Japanese, in contrast to Middle (Classical) Japanese and Modern Japanese,

[21] For the detailed description of the emphatic particle *si* please consult Vovin (2008a: 1239-46).

adjectives could still be used in their uninflected form (Vovin 2008a: 429-36). Cf. *ara* myi-tama '*rough* spirit' (NS 9.246).

The verb *tutum-* 'to impede, to stand in one's way, to prevent' is a unique Western Old Japanese verb, not attested either in Eastern Old Japanese, or in the later forms of Central Japanese.

15.3583
本文・Original text
(1) 真幸而 (2) 伊毛我伊波伴伐 (3) 於伎都奈美 (4) 知敞尓多都等母 (5) 佐波里安良米也母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) まさき$_1$くて (2) いも$_1$がいははば (3) おき$_1$つなみ$_1$ (4) ちへ$_1$にたつと$_2$も$_2$ (5) さはりあらめ$_2$やも$_2$

Romanization
(1) MA-SAKÎ-KU-TE (2) imô-Nka ipap-aNpa (3) okî-tu namî (4) ti-pê n-i tat-u tömö (5) sapar-i ar-am-ê ya mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) INT-safe-INF-SUB (2) beloved-POSS pray-COND (3) offing-GEN/LOC wave (4) thousand-CL DV-INF rise-FIN CONJ (5) impede-NML exist-TENT-EV PT PT

Translation
(2) If [my] beloved would pray (1) that [I return] safely, (3/4) even if the waves in the offing rise in thousand layers, (5) would be there any obstacles? -- [Certainly none!]

Commentary
This poem represents a response to 15.3582 above by an envoy going to Silla.

The first line presents some difficulty for interpretation. Nakanishi Susumu treats *te* in *ma-sakî-ku-te* not as a subordinative gerund, but as a defective verb *te* 'to say' (1981: 294). Although his analysis is attractive, there are obvious difficulties: first, the defective verb *te* 'to say' occurs only once in Eastern Old Japanese (20.4346), but it is not attested in Western Old Japanese; second, the Chinese character 而 used in the semantographic spelling functionally corresponds to the subordinative gerund *-te*, but not to the defective verb *tö* ~ *te* 'to say'. Since *ma-sakî-ku-te* is spelled completely ideographically as 真幸而, it is unlikely that 而 is used as a *kun-yomi* to convey the defective verb *te* which, in addition, does not occur in Western Old Japanese. Nevertheless, Nakanishi's interpretation has an important advantage of offering a smoother syntactic interpretation, because interpretation of *-te* as a subordinative gerund will then require an ellipsis of the defective verb *tö* 'to say,' (Kojima et al. 1975: 44) which is a possible but not very elegant explanation. Itō believes that the first line adverbially modifies the second, making it 'if my beloved would pray safely' (1998: 37), the analysis that can be found in some old commentaries, but as correctly pointed by Yoshii, it is untenable, because *ma-sakî-ku[-te]* always refers to an object of prayer for the safe return, but not to the act of prayer itself (1988: 36).

It might seem that the verb *ipap-* 'to pray' etymologically goes back to *ip-* 'to say' + iterative suffix *-ap-*, thus, the original meaning is 'to say repeatedly,' however, Martin raises a reasonable doubt, because while ipap- belongs to the low-register class B, while *ip-* is a high register class A (1987: 700). The accent information, of course, is available only for Middle Japanese, and we do not have any basis for judgement whether *ipap-* also had low register in Western Old Japanese. Since *ipap-* is not attested in Ryukyuan, it cannot be traced to Proto-Japonic. The Ryukyuan cognates of *ip-* 'to say' also belong to high-register class A.

15.3584
本文・Original text
(1) 和可礼奈波 (2) 宇良我奈之家武 (3) 安我許呂母 (4) 之多尓乎伎麻勢 (5) 多太尓安布麻弖尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わかれなば (2) うらがなしけ$_1$む (3) あがこ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$ (4) したにをき$_1$ませ (5) ただにあふまでに

Romanization

(1) wakare-n-aNpa (2) ura-N-kanasi-këm-u (3) a-Nka körömö (4) sita-ni wo kî-[i]mas-e (5) taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) part(INF)-PERF-COND (2) heart-LOC-sad-TENT-FIN (3) I-POSS garment (4) below-LOC PT wear(INF)-HON-IMP (5) direct DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

Translation
(1) If [we] part, (2) [I] would be sad in [my] heart. (3/4) Wear my garment beneath [your clothes] (5) until [we] meet directly.

Commentary
This poem was apparently belongs to a wife of an envoy sent to Silla.

The basic meaning of WOJ *ura* is 'inside,' but by the semantic shift it also acquired the meaning 'heart' (Omodaka et al. 1967: 133).

This poem has an unusual emphatic particle *wo* that appears only in four uncontroversial examples in the *Man'yōshū* after the locative case marker *-ni*. There might have been a reasonable suspicion that it really represents the accusative case marker *-wo* after the locative *-ni*, but this is unlikely, because in one case:

夜都与尓乎伊麻世和我勢故
ya-tu yö-ni **wo** imas-e wa-Nka se-kwo
eight-CL generation-LOC **PT** exist(HON)-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM
my dear beloved, live for eight generations**!** (MYS 20.4448)

wo clearly appears after an intransitive verb *imas-* 'to exist.' In addition to these two examples see also 5.807, 904.

The last line *taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni* 'until we meet directly' has irregular number of syllables: eight instead of seven. Omodaka indicates that the same line occurs in 11.2413 (1984.15: 16), but it also appears in the following poems: 4.550; 9.1789; 11.2413, 2452; 12.2846, 2959, 3056, 3189; 13.3289; 15.3751, 3778.

15.3585
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎母故我 (2) 之多尓毛伎余等 (3) 於久理多流 (4) 許呂母能比毛乎 (5) 安礼等可米也母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$もこ$_1$が (2) したにもき$_1$よ$_2$と$_2$ (3) おくりたる (4) こ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$の$_2$ひ$_1$も$_1$を (5) あれと$_2$かめ$_2$やも$_2$

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-Nka (2) sita-ni mô kî-yö tö (3) okur-i-tar-u (4) körömö-nö pîmô-wo (5) are tök-am-ë ya mö (5)

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (2) below-LOC PT wear-IMP DV (3) give-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR (4) garment-GEN cord-ACC (5) I untie-TENT-EV PT PT

Translation
(5) Would I untie (4) the cords of the garment (1) that my beloved (3) gave [to me] (2) and said: 'Wear [it] beneath your clothes!' (5) -- [Certainly I would not!]

Commentary
This poem represents a response to 15.3584 above by an envoy going to Silla.

There was a custom of tying and untying cords of garments between lovers. When lovers met, they reciprocally untied the cords of their garments, in other words, a man untied a woman's garment cords, and the woman untied the man's garment cords. When they parted, even for a while, they would again reciprocally tie the cords. These cords were not to be untied until the next meeting. It was believed that when a person would try to re-tie a cord that got loosen naturally, and could not do it properly, it was the proof that he or she was loved by his or her lover (Omodaka et al. 1967: 624).

WOJ *okur-* has different meanings: (a) ‘to see a person off’, (b) ‘to send someone on his last journey to the cemetery,’ (c) ‘to present, to give.’

As was mentioned in the commentary to the poem 15.3580, book 15 is full of misspellings. It seems, however, that the spelling of the word *pîmô* ‘cord’ as 比毛 rather than *pîmö 比母 in this poem is archaic, even if it is due to chance. Since *pîmô* ‘cord’ does not occur in *Kojiki*, Omodaka et al. treat this word as *pîmo* (1967: 624), namely with unknown quality of the final vowel. However, it is more than likely than likely that the final vowel was *kō-rui* /ô/: the vocalic sequence *î-ö* in the structure *[C]îCö* is quite rare, and *Cîmö, as far as I know, does not exist. On the other hand, *[C]îmô* and *[C]îCô* occurs frequently, e.g.: *imô* ‘beloved’ (< *îmô, see the first line of this poem, where *imô* appears as *-îmô* after /Nk/), *isô* ‘rock, rocky shore,’ *kîmô* ‘liver,’ *simô* ‘froast, etc.

WOJ constructions with tentative evidential forms in *-am-ë* ~ *-m-ë* and *-uram-ë* ~ *-ram-ë* accompanied by question particle *ya* express irony; namely, they ask a rhetorical question to which an opposite emphatic answer is expected. Thus, *tök-am-ë ya* ‘would [I] untie?’ in line five presumes an answer ‘Certainly [I] would not!’ For details see Vovin (2008a: 658-60).

15.3586
本文・Original text
(1) 和我由恵尓 (2) 於毛比奈夜勢曽 (3) 秋風能 (4) 布可武曽能都奇 (5) 安波牟母能由恵

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがゆゑに (2) おも$_1$ひ$_1$なやせそ$_2$ (3) あき$_1$かぜの$_2$ (4) ふかむそ$_2$の$_2$つき$_2$ (5) あはむも$_2$の$_2$ゆゑ

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka yuwe n-i (2) omôp-î na-yase-sö (3) AKÎ KANSE-nö (4) puk-am-u sönö tukiy (5) ap-am-u mönö yuwe

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS reason DV-INF (2) think-INF NEG-get.emaciated-do (3) autumn wind-GEN (4) blow-TENT-ATTR that month (5) meet-TENT-ATTR thing reason

Translation
(2) Do not get emaciated worrying (1) about me (5) because [we] will probably meet [again] (3/4) in the month when the autumn wind will blow.

Commentary
This is clearly an envoy’s poem, but it is not preceded by a woman’s poem lamenting separation. Nakanishi Susumu surmises that a woman poem could have been omitted (1981: 294).

Omodaka believes that *omôp-î na-yase-sö* should be understood in the sense of *na-omôp-î-yase-sö*, because as he claims, negative prefix *na-* is often inserted in the middle of a verbal compound (1984.15: 17), and he offers a lengthy discussion in support of his point of view (1983.2: 171-72). As a matter of fact, all the examples he cites are in the semantographic spelling, so they offer no evidence for his position. Moreover, I believe that there is no compound here, and *omôp-* and *yase-* are separate verbs. Therefore first two lines really have the syntactic break after *omôp-î* ‘think and:’ *wa-Nka yuwe n-i omôp-î // na-yase-sö* ‘do not get emaciated // worrying about me.’

Omôp- ‘to think’ is misspelled in this poem (etymological spelling is *omöp-*), but the confusion of *kō-rui* **mô** (毛) with *otsu-rui* **mö** (母) is typical overall for the Man’yōshū, with the exception of volume 5 where the distinction between these two syllables is still maintained, at least statistically (Bentley 1997, 2002).

15.3587
本文・Original text
(1) 多久夫須麻 (2) 新羅邊伊麻須 (3) 伎美我目乎 (4) 家布可安須可登 (5) 伊波比弖麻多牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たくぶすま (2) しらき$_2$へ$_1$います (3) き$_1$み$_1$がめ$_2$を (4) け$_1$ふかあすかと$_2$ (5) いはひ$_1$てまたむ

Romanization

(1) taku-N-pusuma (2) SIRAKÏ-pê imas-u (3) kîmî-Nka më-wo (4) kêpu ka asu ka tö (5) ipap-î-te mat-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) mulberry.tree-GEN-cover (2) Silla-DIR go(HON)-ATTR (3) lord-POSS eye-ACC (4) today PT tomorrow PT DV (5) pray-INF-SUB wait-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(5) [I] will wait praying (4) that [I will see] today or tomorrow (3) the eyes of [my] lord (2) who goes to Silla (1) [that is white like] covers [made] from the mulberry tree [bark cloth].

Commentary
This poem was apparently belongs to a wife of an envoy sent to Silla.

Taku-N-pusuma 'covers from the mulberry tree [bark cloth]' is used as a *makura-kotoba* for *Sirakï* 'Silla' because the mulberry bark cloth is white (cf. WOJ *sira* 'white') and this brings a phonetic association with /sira/ of *Sirakï*.

WOJ *taku* (栲) 'mulberry tree' is an old word for MdJ *kōzo* (楮). The word *taku* 'mulberry tree' is an apparent loanword from Old Korean, cf. MK *tak* L 'id.,' also surviving in the modern Korean as *tak-namu* 'mulberry-tree' (Nam 1997: 368). The low pitch of MK *tak* indicates that the word was probably once bisyllabic: *takV LH. The cloth made from the bark of *taku* was called *tapë* (also attested as *tapë* in Azuma poems, albeit in a poem without any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features (14.3449)). The resemblance to the Eastern Polynesian *tapa* (Tahitian *tapa*, Hawaiian *kapa*, etc.) 'cloth made from the bark of the mulberry tree' is striking, but may be coincidental, since the word is not attested in other Austronesian, and the direct contact between speakers of Old Japanese and Eastern Polynesians is unlikely. If, however, a borrowing took place it could have been only from Old Japanese to Eastern Polynesian, since the Old Japanese form of the word phonetically is [tapəy] < pre-Old Japanese *tapay. One, of course, may imagine some Japanese blown off their course to Polynesia, but let me reiterate once again that such a scenario is unlikely.

WOJ *pusuma* meant 'cover,' 'bedding,' so care must be taken not to confuse it with the meaning of MdJ (襖) *fusuma* 'sliding partition door.'

Sirakï 'Silla,' the Old Korean state, initially one of the three states[22] (三國), approximately fourth century – 676 AD), then United Silla (676 – 935 AD). I follow Omodaka et al. in transcribing it as *Sirakï* with the /kï/ in the last syllable, although since they cite only *SIRAKÏ WONÖ* (新羅斧) 'Silla ax' which is attested only in the semantographic spelling (1967: 371), it is necessary to make a clarification: *Sirakï* is also attested in the partial phonetic spelling as *SIRAkï* (新羅奇) in 15.3696. The Old Korean name for Silla was *Sïra-pïr (斯良火), where *-pïr represents the word 'fortress,' 'city-state.' Therefore, WOJ *Sira-kï* represents a partial calque from Old Korean, where *kï* is Western Old Japanese word for 'fortress' (城).

15.3588
本文・Original text
(1) 波呂波呂尓 (2) 於毛保由流可母 (3) 之可礼杼毛 (4) 異情乎 (5) 安我毛波奈久尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) はろ$_2$はろ$_2$に (2) おも$_1$ほゆるかも$_2$ (3) しかれど$_2$も$_1$ (4) け$_1$しきこ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$を (5) あがもはなくに

Romanization
(1) parö parö n-i (2) omôp-oy-uru kamö (3) sika-[a]r-e-Ntömô (3) KÊSI-KÎ KÖKÖRÖ-wo (5) a-Nka [o]môp-an-aku n-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) distant-distant DV-INF (2) think-PASS-ATTR PT (3) thus-exist-EV-CONC (4) unusual-ATTR heart-ACC (5) I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF

Translation
(2) [I] suddenly realized (1) [how] far away [I] will be [from you]. (3) However, (5) I do not think (4) that [I] will change [my] mind.

[22] The other two states are Koguryo (高句麗, WOJ *Kôma*) and Paekche (百済, WOJ *kuNtara*). There was also a fourth one – *Kara(k)* (WOJ *Mimana* 任那), which might be either a state or a tribal union but it was conquered by Silla in 562 AD).

Commentary
Scholars are divided regarding the gender of the author of this poem. Some believe that it is a woman's composition, (Nakanishi 1981: 295), (Itō 1998: 33), while others prefer to view it as a man's poem (Omodaka 1984.14: 19), (Takagi et al. 1962: 56), (Kojima et al. 1975: 45). Althoug, it is indeed difficult to pass the final judgement as there are no definite linguistic clues, it seems that this poem may be treated as a response to 15.3587 above. If it is so, then it is a poem by an envoy going to Silla. Possible additional evidence for the fact that this poem is composed by a man comes from the poem 15.3775, which is composed by a male (Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri), and which has identical lines four and five.

Parö-parö appears to be a misspelling of *parô-parô*. The latter form is attested in Early Western Old Japanese (NK 109, 5.866), while the latter appears in Late Western Old Japanese (besides this poem it is also attested in 20.4398 and 20.4408, both poems by Opotömö-nö Yakamöti). There is also linguistic evidence in favor of parô-parô as the original form. WOJ *paru-ka* 'distant' and MJ *faru-baru* are apparently related, but the vowel /u/ in these forms may be only from PJ *o (> WOJ /ô/ in the last syllable of disyllabic words, but /u/ elsewhere), since PJ *ö does not raise to /u/).

Postscript to the poems 15.3578-3588
本文・Original text
右十一首贈答

Translation
Eleven poems above are exchange poems.

15.3589
本文・Original text
(1) 由布佐礼婆 (2) 比具良之伎奈久 (3) 伊故麻山 (4) 古延弖曽安我久流 (5) 伊毛我目乎保里

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ゆふされば (2) ひ$_1$ぐらしき$_1$なく (3) いこ$_1$まやま (4) こ$_1$え$_2$てそ$_2$あがくる (5) いも$_1$がめ$_2$をほり

Romanization
(1) yupu sar-e-Npa (2) pîNkurasi k-î nak-u (3) Ikôma YAMA (4) kôye-te sö a-Nka k-uru (5) imô-Nka MË-wo por-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) evening come-EV-CON (2) evening.cicada come-INF sing-ATTR (3) Ikôma mountain (4) cross(INF)-SUB PT I-POSS come-ATTR (5) beloved-GEN eye-ACC want-FIN

Translation
(1) When the evening comes (4) [I] will come crossing (3) Ikôma mountain (2) where evening cicadas come and sing. (5) [I] want [to see] the eyes of my beloved (5)

Commentary
WOJ 比具良之 /pîNkurasi/ (MdJ *higurasi*) is a kind of a cicada with a high toned voice that sings at the dawn or in the evening. It appears from summer to autumn; is approximately 5 cm long, has dark redish brown color, frequently with green and black spots. The belly of male species is big and slightly transparent and serves as singing instrument. Symbolically the singing of *pîNkurasi* 'evening cicada' probably indicates the increasing sadness in one's heart.[23]

Mt. Ikôma (642 m) is located between the present Ikoma district of the Ikoma city of Nara prefecture and Eastern Ōsaka. In Ancient Japan, Ikôma crossing served as a shortcut between Yamatö and Kapati provinces compared to the easier but longer Tatuta crossing to the south. The name of the mountain is (as well as the city and district) is spelled today in Chinese characters as 生駒 'living stallion,' but this is apparently a late phonetic spelling since it is written as 胆駒in the Nihonshoki (XX), and Fudoki (FK 434.10).[24] In the *Man'yōshū* it is written phonetically in *on-yomi* spelling as 伊故麻 like in this poem and the next 15.3590, in *kun-yomi* spelling as 射駒 (6.1047, 10.2201), or in the mixed on-kun-yomi phonetic spelling

[23] I am grateful to Prof. Mitsuta Kazunobu for indicating to me the possibility of this symbolic interpretation.
[24] This place name is not attested in the *Kojiki, Shoku Nihongi*, and other minor Old Japanese texts, as far as I can tell.

as 伊駒 (12.3032). In the latter two cases 駒 /kôma/ ‘stallion’ is likely to be used as a *kun-yomi* character, but not as a semantogram. Even if it would be a semantogram, it still remains unclear what the first syllable /i/ would mean. Theoretically, it could be *i* ‘sacred,’ but ‘sacred stallion’ seems to be a strange name for a mountain. It is quite possible that this placename is non-Japanese in origin. One possibility might be Ainu *e-ko-oman* ‘INSTR-DIR-go’ or *e-ko-oma* ‘INSTR-DIR-enter’ ‘the place by which [one] passes toward’ that is ‘crossing’ that became ikoma after *e > i raising.

Contrary to the tradition that views *por-i* as ‘want-INF’ classifying it as a regular consonant verb, I analyze it as ‘want-FIN,’ namely as an irregular verb belonging to the *r*-irregular class like *ar-* ‘to exist.’ The main basis for this conclusion is that final form is *por-u is not attested in WOJ texts even in the syntactic positions like in this poem where the infinitive form does not make any sense grammatically. Thus, *por-i* is used as a final form, and therefore, the verb must belonfg to the *r*-iiregular class. For details see Vovin (2008a: 507, 767-70).

Yoshii conjectures that this poem may be a reply to 15.3587, but this might seems as a stretch, because the poem 15.3588 is located between 15.3587 and 15.3589. Certainly, there is a possibility that in the process of copying three poems in question were accidentally copied in the wrong order.

Postscript to the poem 15.3589
本文・Original text
右一首秦間満

Translation
The poem above is by Pata-nö Mamarö.

Commentary
Nothing is known about Pata-nö Mamarö’s biography except that he was one of the eleven envoys on 736 AD mission to Silla. The family name Pata may indicate that he belonged to a clan which was a former immigrant (帰化人, *kikajin*). Only this poem belongs to him for certain in the *Man’yōshū*, however, he might be the same person as 秦田麻呂 mentioned in the postscript to 15.3681 (Omodaka 1984.15: 20, 100). Takagi et al. mention the same possibility, but read this name as Pata-nö Tamarö (1962: 83), which looks like a better possibility. Omodaka also notes that his given name is also sometimes read as Pasimarö (1984.15: 20). This reading is also adopted by Yoshii (1998: 43), but without any explanations. I believe this probably depends on definition of WOJ *pasi* as ‘interval’ (間) (Omodaka et al. 1967: 576). However, Omodaka et al. logic escapes me here: as they mention WOJ *pasi* ‘interval’ is attested only in the forms *pasikîyasi*, *pasikêyasi*, and *pasikîyösi* derived from the Western Old Japanese adjective *pasi* that means ‘dear, beloved’ (1967: 576). I see no basis for the semantic derivation ‘beloved’ > ‘interval’ or vice versa. Moreover, *pasikîyasi*, *pasikêyasi*, and *pasikîyösi* in the *Man’yōshū* are either spelled phonetically (most often), or logographically with the character 愛 ‘love.’ Only the characters 端 *pasi* ‘edge’ and 早 *paya* ‘fast’ are used in the *kun-yomi* spellings.

15.3590
本文・Original text
(1) 伊毛尓安波受 (2) 安良婆須弊奈美 (3) 伊波祢布牟 (4) 伊故麻乃山乎 (5) 故延弖曽安我久流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いも$_1$にあはず (2) あらばすべ$_1$なみ$_1$ (3) いはねふむ (4) いこ$_1$まの$_2$やまを (5) こ$_1$え$_2$てそ$_2$あがくる

Romanization
(1) imô-ni ap-aNs-u (2) ar-aNpa suNpê na-mî (3) ipa ne pum-u (4) Ikôma-nö YAMA-wo (5) kôye-te sö a-Nka k-uru

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) beloved-DAT meet-NEG-INF (2) exist-COND way no-GER (3) rock root tread-ATTR (4) Ikôma-GEN mountain (5) cross(INF)-SUB PT I-POSS come-ATTR

Translation

(1/2) Because [I] cannot do anything if [I] do not meet [my] beloved (5) I will come crossing (4) Ikôma mountain (3) where [I] tread on the rocks [and] roots

Commentary
In spite of a personal-looking postscript, the author of this poem is not known; however, the context idicates that he is an envoy to Silla.

Japanese philologists explain *ipa ne* as *ipa* 'rock' + *ne*, suffix (Omodaka et al. 1967: 92) (Nakanishi 1981: 295), (Yoshii 1988: 47), or as solid rocks that look as if they have roots (Kojima et al. 1975: 46), (Itō 1998: 42). There is one serious problem with the interpretation of *ne* in *ipa ne* as a suffix: it turns out to be a unique one that occurs only with *ipa* 'rock.' Such a situation naturally invites other explanations that treat *ipa ne* as a compound rather than as a noun + suffix. *Ne* in this context could be either 'root' or 'summit.' In a number of poems in the *Man'yōshū ne* is spelt with the character 根 'root,' and in addition the context in many poems prevents from analyzing *ne* as a 'summit' rather than a 'root,' e.g., *ipa ne sakum-î-te* 'treading through rocks and roots' (2.210, 2.213, 20.4466), where the verb *sakum-* specifically means 'to tread through the rocks and trees.' Finally, line three of this poem metaphorically speaks about the difficulty of going through the Ikôma crossing as opposed to the easier Tatuta crossing to the south (Nakanishi 1981: 295), therefore the image of walking on stones and roots seems to be an appropriate metaphor for a difficult way. The interpretation treating *ipa ne* as 'solid rocks with roots' also faces a difficulty: it contradicts the SOV word order of Japonic syntax, where modifiers precede modified words. Therefore, under the rules of SOV syntax we would expect *ne ipa*, and not *ipa ne*. Yet, it is possible that once Japonic had an SVO syntax that mutated into SOV under the influence of Old Korean and other 'Altaic' languages. There are some other indications that it might have been the case, such as the existence of the prefixation system in Old Japanese: prefixes normally do not occur in SOV languages. It is also possible to understand *ipa ne* as 'roots of rocks,' the interpretation supported by the construction *ipa-Nka ne* 'roots of the rocks,' which contains the possessive case marker *-Nka* (1.45, 3.301, 7.1332, 13.3274, 13.3329, 15.3688). It is interesting that *ipa* 'rock' is marked by the possessive case marker *-Nka*, and not the genitive case marker *-nö*. Although WOJ *-Nka* is not used exclusively after animate nouns, it might well be the case in pre-Old Japanese and Proto-Japonic, since Ryukyuan still predominantly uses *-ga* (< *-Nka) after animate nouns, and *-nu* (< *-nö) after inanimate (Vovin 2005: 117, 123-25). Therefore, this usage supports Yoshii's observation that *ne* 'root' (although he calls it a suffix) could be attached to names of growing things that have roots (1988: 47).[25]

Postscript to the poem 15.3590
本文・Original text
右一首覆還私家陳思

Translation
[In] the poem above [I] narrated [my] thoughts when [I] had returned to [my] private home after a while.

15.3591
本文・Original text
(1) 妹等安里之 (2) 時者安礼杼毛 (3) 和可礼弖波 (4) 許呂母弖佐牟伎 (5) 母能尓曽安里家流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いも$_1$と$_2$ありし (2) と$_2$き$_1$はあれど$_2$も$_1$ (3) わかれては (4) こ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$でさむき$_1$ (5) も$_2$の$_2$にそ$_2$ありけ$_1$る

Romanization
(1) IMÔ-tö ar-i-si (2) TÖKÎ PA ar-e-Ntömô (3) wakare-te pa (4) körömöNte samu-kî (5) mönö n-i sö ar-i-kêr-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

[25] As a further philological evidence for this observation consider *opïsi* (意斐志) (KK 13), *opï isi* (於費異之) (NK 8) that is normally interpreted as 'big stone,' with the 於費異之 read as /opo isi/, see, e.g. (Tsuchihashi 1957: 47, 129). Cf., however, Omodaka et al.'s interpretation of *opïsi* ~ *opï isi* as a 'growing stone' (1967: 154). Although the usage of the character 費 as a *man'yōgana* sign is unique in NK 8, since it belongs to the Middle Chinese rhyme-*ij*, it could stand only for WOJ /pï/, but not /po/. Thus, Omodaka et al.'s interpretation involving WOJ opï- 'to grow' and not opo 'big' is to be preferred in this case, and it directly supports Yoshii's observation.

(1) beloved-COM exist-INF-PAST/ATTR (2) time TOP exist-EV-CONC (3) separate(INF)-SUB TOP (4) sleeve cold-ATTR (5) thing DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Translation
(2) Although there was a time (1) when [I] was with [my] beloved, (3) after [we] separated, (4/5) [my] sleeves turned out to be cold.

Commentary
Since lovers used both their garments as bedding when sleeping together, the sleeves becoming cold could be used as a metaphor for the sadness of parting. The mission was leaving during the summer, therefore the traditional explanation is that the lines four and five could be understood only in this metaphorical sense here (Kojima et al. 1975: 46), (Omodaka 1984.15: 22). Yoshii disagrees with this explanation, and gives rather long list of examples illustrating that the expression *körömöNte samu-* 'sleeves are cold' is used in the *Man'yōshū* poems associated with the period from starting early fall and ending with winter and concludes that this is 'a manipulation of the literature [produced on one's] desk which is completely divorced with the feeling of reality' (1988: 48-9). Itō suggests that this poem is composed in anticipation of feeling cold sleeves without having one's wife around in the coming fall (1998: 44). One can, of course, attempt an explanation along the lines that either Yoshii or Itō suggested. However, it remains an undeniable fact (if one is to trust the text), that according to the postscript to the poems 15.3591-3593, this poem was composed before the departure, which certainly places it right into the summer, and not into any other season.

One of the functions of the retrospective auxiliary *-kêr-* is a sudden realization of a fact, which I tried to transmit here by using 'turned out,' since English does not have a corresponding grammatical category.

15.3592
本文・Original text
(1) 海原尓 (2) 宇伎祢世武夜者 (3) 於伎都風 (4) 伊多久奈布吉曽 (5) 妹毛安良奈久尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) うなはらに (2) うき$_1$ねせむよ$_1$は(3) おき$_1$つかぜ (4) いたくなふき$_1$そ$_2$ (5) いも$_1$も$_1$あらなくに

Romanization
(1) una-para-ni (2) uk-î-ne se-m-u YÔ PA (3) okî-tu KANSE (4) ita-ku na-puk-î-sö (5) IMÔ mô ar-an-aku n-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) sea-plain-LOC (2) float-INF-sleep(NML) do-TENT-ATTR (3) offing-GEN/LOC wind (3) painful-INF NEG-blow-INF-do (5) beloved PT exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

Translation
(5) Because [my] beloved is not [here], (3) wind of the offing, (4) do not blow strongly (2) [on] the night that [I] sleep floating (1) on the [broad] sea plain

Commentary
Uk-î-ne se- 'to do floating sleep' does not, of course, imply sleeping on the waves, but indicates that the author will be sleeping on a boat.

Western Old Japanese had three different words for 'sea': *umî*, *wata*, and *una-*. The first of them is found throughout the Japonic, including Ryukyuan and Eastern Old Japanese, and appears to be an original Japonic word. The Ryukyuan reflexes such as Shuri *'umi* indicate that the Proto-Japonic form was *omi.[26] WOJ *wata* 'sea' may be an early loanword from Korean: cf. MK *patah* LH, *parʌr* LH 'sea.'[27] WOJ *una-* 'sea' is quite a mysterious word: the only possible cognate for it may be Hateruma *inaa* 'sea' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 371). In Western Old Japanese it appears only in compounds: *una-para* 'plain of the sea,' *una-kuNtar-* 'to go down by the sea,' and *una-saka* 'the horizon on the sea.'[28]

[26] If Proto-Japonic would have *umi, we would expect the reflex *'Nmi in Shuri.
[27] Whether it is really so depends on the final solution of the controversy whether WOJ /w/ goes back to PJ *b or *w: the Korean etymology would certainly be only possible under the *b scenario.
[28] WOJ *una-saka* is attested only in the semantographic spelling as 海界 that can be theoretically read as *umî-saka* as well. Omodaka et al. also mention another compound *una-Ntu* 'sea water' (1967: 125) (< *una-mîNtu), but in

The genitive-locative marker *-tu* in all probability represents a loan from OK genitive marker *tsï (written as 叱). See Vovin (2005: 152-58) for details.

15.3593
本文・Original text
(1) 大伴能 (2) 美津尓布奈能里 (3) 許藝出而者 (4) 伊都礼乃思麻尓 (5) 伊保里世武和礼

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほと$_2$も$_2$の$_2$ (2) み$_1$つにふなの$_2$り (3) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$でては (4) いづれの$_2$しまに (5) いほりせむわれ

Romanization
(1) OPOTÖMÖ-nö (2) MîTU-ni puna-nör-i (3) köNk-î-[I]NTE-TE PA (4) iNture n-ö sima-ni (5) ipor-i se-m-u ware

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Opotömö-GEN (2) Mîtu-LOC boats-board-INF (3) row-INF-exit(INF)-SUB (4) which DV-ATTR island-LOC (5) stay.temporarily-NML do-TENT-FIN I

Translation
(1/2/3) When [we] board the boatss in Mîtu of Opotömö and row out, (4) on which island (5) will I stay for a night?

Commentary
Opotömö – the seashore area facing the Ōsaka bay that was governed by Opotömö clan (Nakanishi 1985: 432). There is also a possibility that it represents a pillow word (makura-kotoba, 枕詞) in this case (Itō et al. 1981: 305).

Mîtu – the harbor in the present day Ōsaka area. The exact location is not known (Nakanishi 1985: 487). Itō et al. consider the possibility that it indicates the ShinXbashi (心意橋) area in the Southern Ward of Ōsaka (1981: 371). Yoshii lists several other hypotheses concerning the location of this harbor (1988: 50), but it seems like that there is really no evidence for pinpointing its exact location.

Puna-nör- 'to board the boats' is a compound including the bound form *puna-* of the word *pune* 'boats.' A few Western Old Japanese nouns alternate free and bound forms, e.g. *tukï ~ tuku-* 'moon,' *kï ~ kö-* 'tree,' *sakë ~ saka-* 'rice wine,' *amë ~ ama-* 'heaven,' *më ~ ma-* 'eye,' etc. This alternation indicates that in pre-Old Japanese these nouns in their free form ended in *-y, thus *punay 'boats,' *tukuy 'moon,' *köy 'tree,' *sakay 'rice wine,' *amay 'heaven,' and *may 'eye.' When they were followed by a word starting with a consonant in compounds, the final *-y of the root was automatically lost due to the constraint that pre-Old Japanese as well as Western Old Japanese did not allow consonant clusters.

Postscript to the poems 15.3591-3593
本文・Original text
右三首臨發之時作歌

Translation
Three poems above were composed right before (lit.: facing) the departure.

15.3594
本文・Original text
(1) 之保麻都等 (2) 安里家流布祢乎 (3) 思良受志弖 (4) 久夜之久妹乎 (5) 和可礼伎尓家利

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contrast to other three compounds they have no separate entry for it in the body of the dictionary, and I was unable to confirm it existence checking both the *Man'yōshū* and other Old Japanese texts.

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しほまつと$_2$ (2) ありけ$_1$るふねを (3) しらずして (4) くやしくいも$_1$を (5) わかれき$_1$にけ$_1$り

Romanization
(1) sipo mat-u tö (2) ar-i-kêr-u pune-wo (3) sir-aNs-u s-i-te (4) kuyasi-ku IMÔ-wo (5) wakare k-î-kêr-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) tide wait-FIN DV (2) exist-INF-RETR-ATTR boats-ACC (3) know-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB (4) regrettable-INF beloved-ACC (5) part(INF) come-INF-RETR-FIN

Translation
(4/5) [I] realized regretfully that [I] came parting [too early] with [my] beloved, (3) as [I] did not know (1/2) that [our] boats were waiting there for the [full] tide.

Commentary
Sipo mat- 'to wait for a tide' indicates waiting for a big tide that was necessary to take the large boatss used for travelling overseas out of the harbor (Takagi et al. 1962: 57). Since the 'big tide' takes place between the new and full moon stages, while 'small tide' occurs between the full moon and the new moon stages, Omodaka's lengthy objection to this issue which centers on the word usage 大潮 'big tide' vs. 満潮 'full tide' by Takagi et al. (Omodaka 1982.1: 106-07, 1984.15: 23) seems to be crucial. Yoshii echoes Omodaka objections observing that the difference between full tide during 大潮 'big tide' and the 小潮 'small tide' in the Ōsaka bay area is different by only about 40 cm (1988: 51). The relatively high-sitting ancient Japanese boatss probably would not require a big full tide during the first part of a lunar month to get out of the harbor.

On the function of the retrospective *-kêr-* as the verbal marker of the sudden realization see 15.3591 above.

15.3595
本文・Original text
(1) 安佐妣良伎 (2) 許藝弖天久礼婆 (3) 牟故能宇良能 (4) 之保非能可多尓 (5) 多豆我許恵須毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あさび$_1$らき$_1$ (2) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$でてくれば (3) むこ$_1$の$_2$うらの$_2$ (4) しほひ$_2$の$_2$かたに (5) たづがこ$_2$ゑすも

Romanization
(1) asa-N-pîrak-î (2) köNk-î-[i]Nte-te k-ure-Npa (3) Mukô-nö ura-nö (4) sipo pï-nö kata-ni (5) taNtu-Nka köwe s-umô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) morning-GEN-open-INF (2) row-INF-exit(INF)-SUB (3) Mukô-GEN bay-GEN (4) tide dry(NML)-GEN sea.shore-LOC (5) crane-POSS voice do-EXCL

Translation
(2) When [we] rowed out (1) at the dawn, (4) at the sea bed left by the [low] tide (3) in the bay of Mukô (5) the cranes were crying!

Commentary
WOJ *kata* – the part of the sea shore that is covered by water during the high tide and left exposed during the low tide.

Mukô – see the commentary to 15.3578.

WOJ *taNtu* 'crane' is a doublet of WOJ *turu* 'crane,' with no apparent difference in meaning. Omodaka et al. note that *taNtu* is a word used in the Old Japanese poetry, while *turu* does not appear in the poetry (1967: 428, 480). Since most Old Japanese texts are poetic, *turu* as a separate word is not attested, but we nevertheless have the evidence that it was present in the language, since the character 鶴 'crane' is used in the *Man'yōshū* on multiple occasions to write attributive form *-t-uru* of the perfective auxiliary *-te-* (e.g., 1.81, 2.188, 3.248, etc.). The cognates of WOJ *turu* are well attested throughout Japanic, including Ryukyuan: Shuri *ciru* (OGJ 163), Nakijin *ciruu* (Nakasone 1983: 286), Miyako *cïru*, Iriomote *curu*, Kurojima *śiru*,

Takebu *čiru* (Nakamatsu 1987: 117, 165, 207). MJ *turu* LF and Modern Kyōto *turu* LF belong to the accent class 2.5 that reflects Proto-Japanese (and in many cases Proto-Japonic) final *-m; therefore WOJ *turu* < PJ *turum. The striking similarity of this word to MK *turumi* HHH was noted long ago. The existence of doublets in Western Old Japanese would indicate that WOJ *turu* is a loan from Korean, but this is unlikely due to the widespread attestation of *turu* in Japonic. Possibly, MK *turumi* HHH represents a substratum Japonic word. WOJ *taNtu* 'crane,' is on the other hand, a perfect candidate for being a loanword, since its attestation is limted to Western Old Japanese, Middle Japanese, and possibly Eastern Old Japanese.[29] Unfortunately, there seems to be no external etymology for this word. Certainly, one can speculate that it came from a language that was once spoken in Western Honshū, but then disappeared without a trace, but there can be no proof for such a speculation.

-umö ~ *-mö* (misspelled as *-umô* in this poem) is an Old Japanese verbal exclamative form not attested in Classical (Middle) Japanese or any other later forms of Japanese. The Japanese linguistic tradition treats this suffix as a combination of final predication form *-u* plus a final particle (終助詞, *shūjoshi*) *mö*, but this analysis is untenable for several reasons, see Vovin (2008a: 693-98) for details.

15.3596
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎母故我 (2) 可多美尓見牟乎 (3) 印南都麻 (4) 之良奈美多加弥 (5) 与曽尓可母美牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$も$_2$こ$_1$が (2) かたみ$_1$にみ$_1$むを (3) いなみ$_1$つま (4) しらなみ$_1$たかみ$_1$ (5) よ$_2$そ$_2$にかも$_2$み$_1$む

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmö-kô-Nka (2) katamî n-i MÎ-m-u-wo (3) Inamîtuma (4) sira namî taka-mî (5) yösö n-i kamö mî-m-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (2) keepsake DV-INF see-TENT-ATTR-ACC (3) Inamîtuma (4) white wave high-GER (5) outside DV-INF PT see-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(1/2/3) Although [I] wanted to see Inamîtuma as the keepsake of my beloved, (4) because the white waves are high, (5) [I] will see it [only] from afar!

Commentary
Wa-Nk-îmö-kô 'my beloved' is a contraction from *wa-Nka imô-kô*, with the misspelling of *imô* as *imö*. Since there is no contrast between *kō-rui* and *otsu-rui* {i} preserved in the initial position, this contraction is actually very helpful in clarifying that the word *imô* 'beloved' was originally *îmô with a *kō-rui* /î/.

Katamî 'keepsake' is a derived from *kata* 'shape' + *mî* 'seeing': thus, *kata-mî* is 'seeing the image of the deceased person or person with whom one has parted.'

The place name Inamîtuma refers to the estuary of the Kakogawa river in the present-day Takasago city in Hyōgo prefecture (Takagi et al. 1962: 58), (Omodaka 1984: 25), (Yoshii 1988: 55). Both Omodaka and Yoshii indicate that this is the same place as NaNpîtuma (南毗都麻) mentioned in the Harima Fudoki (260.6) where Inamî-nö Wakï-nö Ira-tu mê (印南別嬢) hid herself after refusing marriage with emperor Keikō (景行).[30] The *-tuma* part of the place name Inamî-tuma refers to the edge or the protruding part of the estuary, but it also implies the play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) with WOJ *tuma* 'spouse.'

15.3597
本文・Original text
(1) 和多都美能 (2) 於伎津之良奈美 (3) 多知久良思 (4) 安麻乎等女等母 (5) 思麻我久流見由

[29] *TaNtu* is attested in two Azuma poems (14.3522 and 14.3523) that have no typical Eastern Old Japanese features, being written in Western Old Japanese. This is not very good evidence for claiming that the word was attested in Eastern Old Japanese.
[30] According to the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*, third son of the emperor Suinin (垂仁) and the father of the prince Yamatö Takêru, who is famous for subjugating the Emîsi people in the Eastern Japan.

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わたつみ$_1$の$_2$ (2) おき$_1$つしらなみ$_1$ (3) たちくらし (4) あまをと$_2$め$_2$ど$_2$も$_2$ (5) しまがくるみ$_1$ゆ

Romanization
(1) wata-tu mî-nö (2) okî-tu sira namî (3) tat-i-k-urasi (4) ama wotöMÊ-Ntömö (5) sima-N-kakur-u MÎ-y-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN (2) offing-GEN/LOC white wave (3) rise-INF-come-SUP (4)fisher maiden-PLUR (5) island-LOC-hide-ATTR see-PASS-FIN

Translation
(2) The white waves in the offing (1) of the sea dragon (3) seem to rise. (4/5) [I] see fisher maidens hiding in [the shadow of] the island.

Commentary
On WOJ *wata* 'sea' and *-tu* GEN/LOC see the commentary to 15.3592. WOJ *wata-tu mî* according to the tradition has two meanings: 'sea deity' and 'sea' (Omodaka et al. 1967: 820). At the first glance this seems to be confirmed by such semantographic and half semantographic spellings of *wata-tu mî* that include 神 'deity' as the final component on one side 海神: (7.1301, 7.1302, 7.1303, 12.3080) and 海 'sea' on the other: 渡津海 (1.15), 方便海 (7.1216), and 綿津海 (3.366). It is believed that in this poem and in some others *wata-tu mî* means 'sea,' but nothing prevents us from reading it as the 'sea deity' in this case as the translation demonstrates. Linguistically it would be strange to analyze *wata-tu mî* as *wata-tu-[u]mî*, where *mî* is a truncated form of WOJ *umî* 'sea': this would leave us with a very strange analysis of *wata-tu-[u]mî* as sea-GEN/LOC 'sea of the sea,' which hardly makes any sense at all. In addition, I do not really see any uncontroversial examples, where the context could be indicating that we deal with just a 'sea' and not the 'sea deity.' Finally, the character海'sea' as the final component in the examples above can be taken as phonetic *kun-yomi* character, and not as a semantogram. The 'sea deity' is, of course, a dragon. Thus, the word *mî* is likely to mean originally 'dragon.'[31] Since there is a native and much less restricted word for a 'dragon' – WOJ *tatu*, we are again facing the situation with doublets discussed in the commentary to 15.3592. The distribution of *mî* 'dragon' in Japonic is extremely limited: it occurs only in Western Old Japanese, and this makes it a perfect candidate for being a borrowing. As I pointed in the commentary to 15.3592, both *wata* 'sea' and *-tu* GEN/LOC probably have Korean origin, we might expect that *mî* 'dragon' could also be traced to Korean. Indeed it can: there is MK *mirï* LH 'dragon.' The etymology is not perfect, because we have to explain the loss of the final syllable *-rï* in Western Old Japanese (one would expect WOJ *miri or *miru). However, we should not forget that our knowledge of Old Korean dialects is extremely limited, and one cannot rule out a possibility that there was an Old Korean dialect form like *mi or *miï 'dragon.'

15.3598
本文・Original text
(1) 奴波多麻能 (2) 欲波安氣奴良之 (3) 多麻能宇良尓 (4) 安佐里須流多豆 (5) 奈伎和多流奈里

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ぬばたまの$_2$ (2) よ$_1$はあけ$_2$ぬらし (3) たまの$_2$うらに (4) あさりするたづ (5) なき$_1$わたるなり

Romanization
(1) nuNpa tama-nö (2) yô pa akê-n-urasi (3) Tama-nö ura-ni (4) asar-i s-uru taNtu (5) nak-î-watar-u-nar-i

[31] Besides *wata-tu mî* 'sea deity, sea dragon' attested in twenty-one poems in the *Man'yōshū*, there is also *yama-tu mî* 'mountain deity' attested just once in semantographic spelling as 山神 (1.38), but the existence of this expression is confirmed by *yama-tu mi* 'mountain deity' attested phonetically in Middle Japanese (WMS XX). Nothing is really known about *yama-tu mî* except that it is mountain deity, and since dragons do not live in mountains this may seem as contradictory to the interpretation of *mî* as 'dragon.' However, dragons can live in ponds and lakes besides the sea, and both can be found in the mountains. Cf. the legend about Otöpîmê found in the description of Matura district in the *Hizen Fudoki*, where a serpent (who has a human body and a snake's head) that seduces and then consequently kills Otöpîmê lives in the lake lives in the lake at the top of the mountain (Akimoto 1958: 399).

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) pitch-black jade-COMP (2) night TOP brighten(INF)-PERF-SUP (3) Tama-GEN bay-LOC (4) search.for.food-NML do-ATTR crane (5) cry-INF-cross-FIN-RA-FIN

Translation
(1/2) It seems that the night [dark] like the pitch-black jade has dawned. (3/4/5) [I] hear that cranes that were searching for food in the bay of Tama are crying and flying away.

Commentary
WOJ *nuNpa tama* is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) that is applied to pitch-black things like nights and hair. There are two usual explanations of this expression, which is not really clear, because the real meaning of *nuNpa* is unknown: it is believed that *nuNpa tama* either means a black jade (the one I adopt here), or a fruit of a blackberry lily (MdJ *hiōgi*, 檜扇), a perennial grass plant (*Iris setosa*) from the irises family (Omodaka et al. 1967: 554-55).

The location of Tama-nö ura 'the bay of Tama' is unknown (Nakanishi 1985: 461), (Itō et al. 1981: 341). This place name also appears in 15.3627-28.

On WOJ *taNtu* 'crane' see the commentary to 15.3595.

Omodaka incorrectly interprets *nak-î-watar-u-nar-i* in *taNtu nak-î-watar-u-nar-i* '[I] hear that cranes are crying and flying away' as an assertive form, translating this line into modern Japanese as 鶴が鳴き渡ることよ 'it is the fact that cranes are crying and flying away' (1983.15: 26). This is not possible, because in contrast to Middle Japanese, there was no assertive marker *nar-* in Western Old Japanese, so the whole phrase can be interpreted only as including the reported action marker *-nar-*.[32] Cf. the correct interpretation in Takagi et al. (1962: 59), Kojima et al. (1975: 48), (Nakanishi 1981: 297), Yoshii (1988: 57), (Itō 1998: 54).

15.3599
本文・Original text
(1) 月余美能 (2) 比可里乎伎欲美 (3) 神嶋乃 (4) 伊素末乃宇良由 (5) 船出須和礼波

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) つくよ$_2$み$_1$の$_2$ (2) ひ$_1$かりをき$_1$よ$_1$み$_1$ (3) かみ$_2$しまの$_2$ (4) いそ$_1$まの$_2$うらゆ (5)ふなですわれは

Romanization
(1) TUKU-yömî-nö (2) pîkari-wo kîyô-mî (3) KAMÏ-SIMA-nö (4) isô mï-nö ura-yu (5) puna-[i]Nte s-u ware pa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Moon-deity-GEN (2) light-ABS clear-GER (3) Kamï-sima-GEN (4) rock go.around(NML) DV-ATTR bay-ABL (5) boats-exit(NML) do-FIN I TOP

Translation
(1/2) Because the light of the moon is bright, (5) I will take the boat out (4) from the bay surrounded by rocks (3) on the Kamï-sima island.

Commentary
Tuku-yömî means either 'deity of the moon' or 'moon' itself. In this context it appears to indicate the moon. The *yömî* part is unclear: it occurs only in this compound, and certainly should not be confused with *Yömï* 'Hades' that has a different vowel in the second syllable. Omodaka et al. indicate that it is not clear whether the vowel in the first syllable was *kō-rui* /ô/ or *otsu-rui* /ö/ (1967: 466). This is indeed a difficult case, where the philological data are contradictory. The main bulk of the philological evidence seems to indicate *otsu-rui* /ö/: *Tuku-yömî* is spelled as 月読 in the *Kojiki* (KJK 1.13b.3, 1.14a.4), and the verb 'to count, to read' (読) is certainly *yöm-* and not *yôm-*. In addition, all cases of phonetic spelling in the *Man'yōshū* except one (in 13.3245) also indicate /ö/ and not /ô/. However, in the *Nihonshoki*, the evidence is more contradictory, since the name of the deity is spelled as *Tuku-yumî* (月弓), *Tuku-yômî* (月夜見), and *Tuku-yömî* (月読) (NS 1.10.6). While the last spelling points to /ö/, the first two seem to indicate original /ô/, since PJ *ö in contrast to *o does not raise to /u/. I am inclined to see the evidence for /ö/ to be more compelling in this case: it is difficult to imagine a misspelling of /yô/ as /yö/ in the *Kojiki*, because there is no evidence for the

[32] See Vovin (2003: 299-301, 368-370) and Vovin (2008a: 1069-74) for details.

confusion of these two syllables in this text in other examples. Besides, the evidence for /ö/ comes combined from three different texts: the *Kojiki*, the *Nihonshoki*, and the *Man'yōshū*, while the evidence for /ô/ is confined to the Nihonshoki. Finally, the spelling *Tuku-yômî* (月夜見) may indicate an attempt at folk etymology of the name as 'seeing the moon[lit] night,' once the meaning of *yömî* became obscure.

Pîkari-wo kîyô-mî 'because the light is bright': in Western Old Japanese the subject of the non-active predicate (in this instance an inflected adjective *kîyô-* 'to be clear') could be marked by the absolutive case marker (formally identical to the accusative case marker *-wo*). For the details see Vovin (2005: 163-67).

There are three hypotheses concerning the location of the place name Kamï-sima (lit.: 'deity island'): (1) Kōnoshima island (神島) near the city of Kasaoka in the present-day Okayama prefecture, (2) Takashima island (高島) to the south of Kōnoshima, (3) Nishi Kashima town (西神島) in the Fukuyama city of the present day Hiroshima prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 311-12), (Nakanishi 1985: 437-38).

Isô mï-nö ura (伊素未乃宇良) is attested in most major manuscripts of the *Man'yōshū* except the *Hosoi-bon* (細井本) as (伊素末乃宇良), and three minor manuscripts where it appears as *isô mï-nö ura* (伊素未乃宇良). The characters 末 and 未 are very easy to confuse. I am inclined to follow *isô mï-nö ura* reading supported by Takagi et al. (1962: 59), Yoshii (1988: 58-59), and Itō (1998: 54-55) against the *isô ma-nö ura* interpretation of Kojima et al. (1975: 48), Omodaka (1983.15: 28) and Nakanishi (1981: 297). Neither *isô mï-nö ura* or *isô ma-nö ura* are placenames, but *isô mï* 'area around rocks' is attested eight times in the Man'yōshū, but the tentative *isô ma 'space between rocks' does not appear even once. Moreover, *isô mï n-ö ura* 'bay surrounded by rocks' makes sense, while *isô ma-nö ur*a 'bay between rocks' is hardly imnaginable at all: nobody would like to anchor a boats in the bay full of rocks. Finally, this analysis is supported by the overall context of the poem: I will take out the boats, because I can see the surrounding rocks in the bright moonlight.

On *puna-* 'boats' and bound form of nouns see the commentary to 15.3593.

15.3600

本文・Original text

(1) 波奈礼蘇尓 (2) 多弖流牟漏能木 (3) 宇多我多毛 (4) 比佐之伎時乎 (5) 須疑尓家流香母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) はなれそ$_1$に (2) たてるむろ$_1$の$_2$き$_2$ (3) うたがたも$_1$ (4) ひ$_1$さしき$_1$と$_2$き$_1$を (5) すぎ$_2$にけ$_1$るかも$_2$

Romanization

(1) panare-[i]sô-ni (2) tat-er-u murô n-ö KÏ (3) utaNkatamô (4) pîsasi-kî tökî-wo (5) suNkï-n-i-kêr-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) be.separated(INF)-rock-LOC (2) stand-PROG-ATTR needle.juniper DV-ATTR tree (3) really (4) / long-ATTR time-ACC (5) pass(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

Translation

(2) A juniper standing (1) on the solitary rock (3/4/5) has really passed a long time time [there]!

Commentary

WOJ *panare-[i]sô* means a solitary rock in the middle of the sea (Omodaka et al. 1967: 587). *Panare-sô* is contracted form of *panare-isô* 'be separated (INF) + *isô* 'rock.' Pierson mistranslated *panare-sô* as 'solitary beach' (1963: 17). Since WOJ isô has both meanings 'rock' and 'rocky shore,' that might be a possible interpretation, but panare- means 'to be separated from to be detached,' and it is difficult to imagine a beach detached from the rest of the land.

WOJ *murô* is usually explained as 'needle juniper' (MdJ *nezu*, from the cypress family) (Takagi et al. 1962: 59), (Kojima et al. 1975: 48), (Nakanishi 1981: 297), (Omodaka 1984.15: 28), (Itō 1998: 55). It is an endemic tree growing in Western Japan and other regions of North-East Asia. Omodaka believes that this poem was composed in the bay of Tömö (*Tömö-nö ura*) that was famous for its needle junipers (1983.15: 28), see also 3.446-48. The bay of Tömö is the present day Taiami bay in the Hiroshima prefecture. Yoshii believes that WOJ

murô is not a 'needle juniper,' but another kind of juniper (MdJ *ibuki*, endemic for Western Japan and Korea), since needle juniper does not like to grow on rocks (1988: 64).

WOJ *utaNkatamô* 'really': Omodaka et al. treat the vowel in the last syllable as of unknown quality: *utaNkamo* (1967: 117), however with the exception of one example in 17.3968, where the *otsu-rui* vowel /ö/ appears, this adverb is consistently spelled in the three remaining examples with the *kō-rui* vowel /ô/. Since all known examples are confined to the *Man'yōshū*, this stastistical observation, of course, can mean nothing, although it may also imply an archaic spelling.

15.3601
本文・Original text
(1) 之麻思久母 (2) 比等利安里宇流 (3) 毛能尓安礼也 (4) 之麻能牟漏能木 (5) 波奈礼弖安流良武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しましくも$_2$ (2) ひ$_1$と$_2$りありうる (3) も$_1$の$_2$にあれや (4) しまの$_2$むろ$_1$の$_2$き$_2$ (5) はなれてあるらむ

Romanization
(1) simasi-ku mö (2) pîtö-ri ar-i-uru (3) mônö n-i ar-e ya (4) sima-nö murô n-ö KÏ (5) panare-te ar-uram-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) be.for.a.little.while-INF PT (2) one-CL exist-INF-get(ATTR) (3) person DV-INF exist-EV PT (4) island-GEN needle.juniper DV-ATTR tree (5) be.separated(INF)-SUB exist-TENT2-FIN

Translation
(3) Am [I] person (2) who could be alone (1) even for a little while? (3) -- [Certainly not!] (4/5) It looks like that the needle juniper tree on the island is so lonely.

Commentary
WOJ *e-* 'to get, to receive' is a verb that loses its stem *e-* before the final form in *-u*, the attributive form in *-uru*, and the evidential form *-ure*, resulting in the forms *u* (*e-u), *uru* (< *e-uru), and *ure* (< *e-ure).

Ar-i-uru is a potential attributive form of the verb ar- 'to exist.'

Ar-e ya 'exist-EV PT' is to be understood as an irony (反語), a question that requires an opposite answer.

Postscript to the poems 15.3594-3601
本文・Original text
右八首乗船入海路上作歌

Translation
Eight poems above were composed during the sea trip when when [we] boarded the boatss and entered the sea.

Preface to the poems 3602-3611
本文・Original text
當所誦詠古歌

Translation
[Ten] old poems composed at the [different] locations [during travels].

Commentary
This sub-cycle is interesting because it includes several poems that include up to four lines of the original poems by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö (15.3606 -- 15.3610). This technique is known as *honkadori* (本歌取り) 'taking the original poem.' One poem (15.3611) is a poem of Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö himself, although it is quite apparent that he could not be a member of the mission to Silla.

15.3602

本文・Original text
(1) 安乎尓余志 (2) 奈良能美夜古尓 (3) 多奈妣家流 (4) 安麻能之良久毛 (5) 見礼杼安可奴加毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あをによ$_2$し (2) ならの$_2$み$_1$やこ$_1$に (3) たなび$_1$け$_1$る (4) あまの$_2$しらくも (5) み$_1$れど$_2$あかぬかも$_1$

Romanization
(1) awo ni yö-si (2) Nara-nö mîyakô-ni (3) tanaNp-î-kêr-u (4) ama-nö sira kumô (5) MÎ-re-Ntö ak-an-u kamô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) green earth good-FIN (2) Nara-GEN capital-LOC (3) trail-INF-RETR-ATTR (4) heaven-GEN white cloud (4) see-EV-CONC get.enough-NEG-ATTR PT

Translation
(5) [I] would not get enough even if [I] see (4) heavenly white clouds (3) that trail over (2) the capital of Nara, (1) where the green earth is good.

Commentary
Awo ni yösi ‘green earth is good’ is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba,* 枕詞) mostly applied for the capital Nara, although it occurs once in the *Man’yōshū* with the compound *kun-uti* (< *kuni-uti* ‘land-inside’) ‘inside of the land’ (5.797). Most Japanese scholars treat *yösi* as an exclamation (Omodaka et al. 1967: 63), (Yoshii 1988: 67), (Itō 1998: 86), but since in Western Old Japanese the final form of inflected adjevctives *-si* and the attributive form of inflected adjectives *-kî* are not yet strictly differentiated in their functions as they become later in Classical Japanese, I believe that Martin’s explanation of *yö-si* as ‘good-FIN’ used in the attributive function (1987: 809) is less odd syntactically than the treatment of yösi as an exclamation. Cf. also (Nakanishi 1981: 298).

WOJ *ni* ‘earth, soil, clay’ may be etymologically related to WOJ *nita* ‘wet ground’ as well as to PR *mita ‘earth, ground, soil’ and Hachijōjima dialect *nja* (< *mita). Cf. *m* ~ *n* alternation before /i/ in such forms as WOJ *mîna* ~ MJ *nina* ‘snail’ etc. *-ta* in *nita* may be the same suffix as found in *sita* ‘bottom’ (cf. *simô* ‘lower part,’ apparently consisting from *si-* ‘bottom’ and *mô* ‘side, direction’). Since WOJ *ni* ~ *nita* is well supported by cognates from Hachijō and Ryukyus, it might well have been the original Japonic word for ‘earth, ground.’ On the other hand, WOJ *tuti* ‘earth, ground’ has cognates only in Central Japanese, and this limited distribution makes me believe that we deal here with an early loan from Korean, cf. MK *twùtén, twùtúlk* (MdK *twuteng, twutek, twuleng*) ‘bank, levee’ and *twùtícwúy, twutecwuy* ‘mole’ < *twùté* + *cwúy* ‘rat’ (i.e., ‘earth rat’), for more detailed discussion see Vovin (2008b: 142).

Placename Nara is believed to be etymologically connected with MK *narah* LH ‘country.’ Such a spelling in the *man’yōgana* as 寧樂 (found in 1.80, 3.300, 3.328, 3.331, 8.1549, and 8.1604) instead of more usual 奈良, may well provide an additional support for this theory, since EMC reading of the character 樂 is *lak, possibly indicating a final velar in the 寧樂 spelling, which becomes then even more compatible with MK *narah* LH ‘country.’

Ama- is a bound form of WOJ *amë* ‘heaven.’ On bound form of nouns see the commentary to 15.3593.

WOJ *sira* ‘white’ is an uniflected adjective in constrast to WOJ *sirô* that is mostly inflected, although there are examples of it as an uninflected adjective as well, e.g. 之路髮 **sirwo** KAMYI ‘grey [lit.: **white]** hair’ (17.3922).

Postscript to the poem 15.3602
本文・Original text
右一首詠雲

Translation
The poem above is a hymn on clouds.

15.3603
本文・Original text
(1) 安乎楊疑能 (2) 延太伎里於呂之 (3) 湯種蒔 (4) 忌忌伎美尓 (5) 故非和多流香母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あをやぎ$_2$の$_2$ (2) え$_2$だき$_1$りおろ$_2$し (3) ゆだねまき$_1$ (4) ゆゆしき$_1$き$_1$み$_1$に (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$わたるかも$_2$

Romanization
(1) awo yaNkï-nö (2) yeNta kîr-i-orös-i (3) YU-N-TANE MAK-Î (4) YUYUSI-KÎ kîmî-ni (5) kôpï-watar-u kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) green willow-GEN (1) branch cut-INF-put.down-INF (3) sacred-DV(ATTR)-seed sow-INF (4) awesome-ATTR lord-DAT (5) long.for(INF)-cross-ATTR PT

Translation
(5) [I] will continue to long for (4) [my] lord, who is as awesome (3) as sowing of sacred seeds (2) when [they] cut down the branches (1) of green willows!

Commentary
This poem apparently composed by a woman is difficult to understand. Quite possible, we are dealing here with an obscure agricultural ritual, where the branches of green willows were cut down before the sowing of rice plants for some ritualistic purposes. There are multiple theories concerning what is exactly meant here. Thus, Nakanishi supposes that willow branches were stuck near the aqueduct opening that led to paddies (Nakanishi 1981: 298). Omodaka suggests that well sweeps were made from willow branches (1983.15: 31), and wells certainly were important for irrigation of paddies.

It is tempting to see WOJ *yaNkï* 'willow' as a loan from EMC *yaŋ* (楊) 'id.' following Yoshii suggestion (1988: 68), however it is more likely that it represents a Chinese-Japanese hybrid compound. First, contrary to Yoshii, WOJ *yaNkï* phonetically certainly was [yaŋgï], and not [yaŋï]. Second, we have to take into consideration the doublet form *yanaNkï* 'willow,' and again contrary to Yoshii, the development *yaNkï* > *yanaNkï* contradicts everything we know today about Old Japanese phonology. I know of know cases when EMC -ŋ is represented by WOJ /n/ even in early loans, as it is normally reflected as *-i, -u*, or zero. Therefore, these doublets are likely to have the following explanation: WOJ *yaNkï* < *ya* 'willow' (<EMC *yaŋ* (楊) 'id.') + *-N-*, a contracted form of the attributive form *n-ö* of the copula *n-* + WOJ *kï* 'tree.' WOJ *yanaNkï* < *ya-na-n-ö-kï* includes the same elements plus the plural marker *-na*, on which see Vovin (2005: 102-07).

15.3604
本文・Original text
(1) 妹我素弖 (2) 和可礼弖比左尓 (3) 奈里奴礼杼 (4) 比登比母伊毛乎 (5) 和須礼弖於毛倍也

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いも$_1$がそ$_1$で (2) わかれてひ$_1$さに (3) なりぬれど$_2$ (4) ひ$_1$と$_2$ひ$_1$も$_2$いも$_1$を (5) わすれておも$_1$へ$_2$や

Romanization
(1) IMÔ-Nka sôNte (2) wakare-te pîsa n-i (3) nar-i-n-ure-Ntö (4) pîtö pî mö imô-wo (5) wasure-te omôp-ë ya

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) beloved-POSS sleeve (1) part(INF)-SUB long DV-INF (3) become-INF-PERF-EV-CONC (4) one day PT beloved-ACC (5) forget(INF)-SUB think-EV PT

Translation
(2/3) Although [it] has been long since [I] parted (1) with the sleeves of [my] beloved, (5) would [I] think of forgetting (4) my beloved even for one day?

Commentary
On the function of the sleeves of one's beloved garment see the commentary to 15.3591. The traditional etymology of WOJ *sôNte* 'sleeve' derives it from *sö* 'garment,' *-N-* < *-nö, genitive case marker, and *te* 'hand, arm,' but it is problematic because WOJ *sôNte* 'sleeve' has *kō-rui* vowel /ô/, while WOJ *sö* 'garment' has *otsu-rui* vowel /ö/ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 402). WOJ *sôNte* 'sleeve' appears to be a loan from Korean (cf. its native doublet WOJ

körömöNte ‘sleeve’ < *körömö* ‘garment,’ *-N-* < *-nö, genitive case marker, *te* ‘hand, arm’ appearing in 15.3591). The first part *sôN-* seems to be connected with MK *son* H ‘hand,’ while the second part *-te* is likely to be the bound noun *-te* ‘place,’ also of Korean origin (cf. MK *tʌy* H ‘place,’ historically consisting of *tʌ* ‘place’ + nominative *-i*).[33] Certainly, one cannot rule out completely the contamination with *te* ‘hand, arm’ in WOJ *körömöNte*. If this is the case, then WOJ *sôNte* is a hybrid Koreo-Japanese compound.

The adjective *pîsa* ‘long (of time)’ appears here as an uninflected adjective (cf. inflected adjective *pîsasi* ‘to be long’ that has a *-si* augment).

15.3605
本文・Original text
(1) 和多都美乃 (2) 宇美尓伊弖多流 (3) 思可麻河泊 (4) 多延無日尓許曽 (5) 安我故非夜麻米

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わたつみ$_1$の$_2$ (2) うみ$_1$にいでたる (3) しかまがは (4) たえ$_2$むひ$_1$にこ$_2$そ$_2$ (5) あがこ$_1$ひ$_2$やまめ$_2$

Romanization
(1) wata-tu mî-nö (2) umî-ni iNte-tar-u (3) Sikama-N-kapa (4) taye-m-u pî-ni kösö (5) a-Nka kôpï yam-am-ë

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN (2) sea-LOC exit(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR (3) Sikama-GEN-river (4) end-TENT-ATTR day-LOC PT (5) I-POSS love(NML) stop-TENT-EV

Translation
(5) My love [for you] will stop (4) [only] on the day (3) when Sikama river (2) that flows into the sea (1) of the sea dragon (4) will dry up.

Commentary
On *wata-tu mî* see the commentary to 15.3597.

There seems to be a near-consensus that Sikama river is the Funabakawa river (船場川) that flows through Himeji city in the present-day Hyōgo prefecture Omodaka 1984.15: 33), (Nakanishi 1985: 451), (Itō et al. 1981: 328); although Yoshii disagrees and believes that Sikama refers to the old Nota river (Yoshii 1988: 71).

Postscript to the poems 15.3603-3605
本文・Original text
右三首戀歌

Translation
Three poems above are love poems.

15.3606
本文・Original text
(1) 多麻藻可流 (2) 乎等女乎須疑弖 (3) 奈都久佐能 (4) 野嶋我左吉尓 (5) 伊保里須和礼波

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たまもかる (2) をと$_2$め$_1$をすぎ$_2$て (3) なつくさの$_2$ (4) の$_1$しまがさき$_1$に (5) いほりすわれは

Romanization
(1) tama MO kar-u (2) wotöMÊ-wo suNkï-te (3) natu kusa-nö (4) NÔSIMA-Nka sakî-ni (5) ipor-i s-u ware pa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) jewel seaweed cut-ATTR (2) Maiden [bay]-ACC pass(INF)-SUB (3) summer grass-GEN (4) Nôsima-POSS cape-LOC (5) stay.temporarily-NML do-FIN I TOP

[33] For the detailed discussion of the Korean origin of WOJ *-te* also appearing in such compounds as *omö-te* ‘front side’ and *usirö-N-te* ‘back side’ see Vovin (2008b: 123-24).

Translation
(2) After [I] pass the Maiden bay, where maidens (1) cut the pearly seaweed, (5) I will stay for a night (4) at the cape of Nôsima, (3) [overgrown] with summer grass.

Commentary
This poem includes the play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): WOJ *wotömê* means 'maiden,' but here it is also used as the name of the bay – Wotömê. Wotömê bay is located in the present-day Hyōgo prefecture in the east of the Kōbe city (Nakanishi 1985: 500). Yoshii considers that Wotömê is the same place as Mînumê (1988: 73) that is mentioned in the original poem (本歌) by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö in the postscript below. Mînumê is located in the present-day Kōbe city near Minume shrine (Nakanishi 1985: 488), (Yoshii 1988: 73).

Nôsima cape is located on the Western side of Awaji island, approximately 4 km from its northern tip (Nakanishi 1985: 474).

Cf. the last line with *ipor-i se-m-u ware* in 15.3593.

Postscript to the poem 15.3606
本文・Original text
柿本朝臣人麻呂歌曰敏馬乎須疑弖又曰布祢知可豆伎奴

Translation
The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö asömî Pîtömarö says: *Mînumê-wo suNkï-te* 'after [I] passed Mîmune;' and [it] also says: *pune tikaNtuk-î-n-u* '[my] boats approached.'

Commentary
The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö that includes these two lines is 3.250. Since 3.250 is written almost completely semantographically, this postrcript which provides two lines out of five in mostly phonographic spelling is a key to its correct reading. The existence of the phonographic versions of lines 2 and 5 in this postscript and of the lines 1 and 3-4 in 15.3606 makes it possible to reconstruct the phonographic script of the original text as given below under the original text:

本文・Original text
(1) 珠藻苅 (2) 敏馬乎過 (3) 夏草之 (4) 野嶋之埼尓 (5) 舟近著奴

本文の復元・Reconstruction of the original text
(1) 多麻藻可流 (2) 敏馬乎須疑弖 (3) 奈都久佐能 (4) 野嶋我 [34]左吉尓 (5) 布祢知可豆伎奴

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たまもかる (2) み$_1$ぬめ$_1$をすぎ$_2$て (3) なつくさの$_2$ (4) の$_1$しまがさき$_1$に (5) ふねちかづき$_1$ぬ

Romanization of the original text
(1) TAMA MO KAR-U (2) Mînumê-wo SUNKÏ-TE (3) NATU KUSA-NÖ (4) NÔSIMA-NKA SAKÎ-ni (5) PUNE TIKANTUK-Î-n-u

Romanization of the reconstructed text
(1) tama mo kar-u (2) Mînumê-wo sunkï-te (3) natu kusa-nö (4) NÔSIMA-nka sakî-ni (5) pune tikaNtuk-î-n-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) jewel seaweed cut-ATTR (2) Mînumê-ACC pass(INF)-SUB (3) summer grass-GEN (4) Nôsima-POSS cape-LOC (5) boats approach-INF-PERF-FIN

Translation

[34] The reconstruction of 我 *-Nka* in the original text may be dubious, because *sima* 'island' is normally followed by genitive *-nö*, not by the possessive *-Nka*. The only exceptions are found in M 15.3606 above and in FK 19, written in Hizen Old Japanese. Certainly, this may be the case because *Nôsima* is actually not an island, but a cape, as stated in the commentary above. I have a suspicion that this placename may be a Japanese adaptation of and original Ainu placenames *not suma* 'cape stone(s)', or possibly 'stone cape' if the Ainu language once was not SOV as today, but SVO, as I suspect.

(2) After [I] passed Mînumê, where [maidens] (1) cut the pearly seaweed, (5) [my] boat approached (4) the cape of Nôsima, (3) [overgrown] with summer grass.

15.3607
本文・Original text
(1) 之路多倍能 (2) 藤江能宇良尓 (3) 伊射里須流 (4) 安麻等也見良武 (5) 多妣由久和礼乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しろ$_1$たへ$_2$の$_2$ (2) ふぢえ$_2$の$_2$うらに (3) いざりする (4) あまと$_2$やみ$_1$らむ (5) たび$_1$ゆくわれを

Romanization
(1) sirô tapë-nö (2) PUNTIYE-nö ura-ni (3) iNsar-i s-uru (4) ama tö ya mî-ram-u (5) taNpî yuk-u ware-wo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-COMP (2) PuNtiye-GEN bay-LOC (3) fish-NML do-ATTR (4) fisherman DV PT see-TENT2-ATTR (5) journey go-ATTR I-ACC

Translation
(4/5) Would [they] perceive me, who goes on a [sea] journey, as a fisherman (3) who is fishing (2) in the PuNtiye bay (1) that is like the white cloth from the mulberry tree?

Commentary
Sirô tape-nö '[made] from the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark, like the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark' is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba,* 枕詞) mostly applied for garments and sleeves. It is used for a placename only once in this poem. Omodaka believes that it is a replacement of *ara tapë-nö* 'like the rough cloth' that appears in the original poem by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö (1983.15: 35) that sounded not as good as *sirô tapë-nö* (see the postscript and the commentary to it below). Yoshii further notes that the clothes of fishermen who produced salt were made from the fibers of wisteria (*puNti*, 藤), and were of the rough quality (1988: 74). It is possible, however, to imagine that PuNtiye bay might have had white sand, and therefore was compared to the 'white cloth.' On the uninflected adjective *sirô* 'white' see the commentary to 15.3602. On *tapë* 'cloth made from the mulberry tree bark' see the commentary to 15.3587.

PuNtiye bay is located in the city of Akashi in the present-day Hyōgo prefecture (Nakanishi 1985: 481), (Yoshii 1988: 74).

Postscript to the poem 15.3607
本文・Original text
柿本朝臣人麻呂歌曰安良多倍乃又曰須受吉都流安麻登香見良武

Translation
The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö asömî Pîtömarö says: *ara tapë-nö* 'like the rough cloth;' and [it] also says: *suNsukî tur-u ama tö ka mî-ram-u* 'will [they] perceive [me] as a fisherman who is angling sea bass?'

Commentary
The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö that includes these three lines is 3.252. Since 3.252 is written almost completely semantographically, this postrcript which provides three lines out of five in mostly phonographic spelling is a key to its correct reading. The existence of the phonographic versions of lines 1 and 3-4 in this postscript and of the lines 2 and 5 in 15.3607 makes it possible to reconstruct the phonographic script of the original text as given below under the original text. There is also a slight difference in the fourth line where the interrogative particle *ya* is used instead of the interrogative particle *ka* in the original poem.

本文・Original text
(1) 荒栲 (2) 藤江之浦尓 (3) 鈴寸釣 (4) 白水郎跡香将見 (5) 旅去吾乎

本文の復元・Reconstruction of the original text
(1) 安良多倍乃 (2) 藤江能宇良尓 (3) 須受吉都流 (4) 安麻等香見良武 (5) 多妣由久和礼乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あらたへ$_2$の$_2$ (2) ふぢえ$_2$の$_2$うらに (3) すずき$_1$つる (4) あまと$_2$かみ$_1$らむ (5) たび$_1$ゆくわれを

Romanization of the original text
(1) ARA TAPË-NÖ (2) PUNTIYE-NÖ URA-ni (3) suNsukî TUR-U (4) AMA tö ka MÎ-RAM-U (5) TANPÎ YUK-U WARE-wo

Romanization of the reconstructed text
(1) ara tapë-nö (2) PUNTIYE-nö ura-ni (3) suNsukî tur-u (4) ama tö ka MÎ-ram-u (5) tanpî yuk-u ware-wo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) rough mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-COMP (2) PuNtiye-GEN bay-LOC (3) sea.bass angle-ATTR (4) fisherman DV PT see-TENT2-ATTR (4) journey go-ATTR I-ACC

Translation
(4/5) Would [they] perceive me, who goes on a [sea] journey, as a fisherman (3) who is angling sea bass (2) in the PuNtiye bay (1) that is like the rough cloth [made from the wisteria tree]?

15.3608
本文・Original text
(1) 安麻射可流 (2) 比奈乃奈我道乎 (3) 孤悲久礼婆 (4) 安可思能門欲里 (5) 伊敝乃安多里見由

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あまざかる (2) ひ$_1$なの$_2$ながちを (3) こ$_1$ひ$_2$くれば (4) あかしの$_2$と$_1$よ$_1$り (5) いへ$_1$の$_2$あたりみ$_1$ゆ

Romanization
(1) ama-N-sakar-u (2) pîna-nö naNka TI-wo (3) kôpï k-ure-Npa (4) Akasi-nö TÔ-yôri (5) ipê-nö atari MÎ-y-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven-COMP-be.far.away-ATTR (2) countryside-GEN long road-ACC (3) long.for(INF) come-EV-CON (4) Akasi-GEN strait-ABL (5) home-GEN vicinity see-PASS-FIN

Translation
(3) When [I] come, longing [for you], (2) along the long road in the countryside (1) that is far away from [the capital] as Heaven, (5) [I] suddenly see the vicinity of [my] home (4) from the strait of Akasi.

Commentary
This poem presents a poetic hyperbola, since one, of course cannot see either Nara or Yamatö from the strait of Akasi. What is probably meant here is that the force of love makes such a vision possible.

WOJ *ama-N-sakar-u* 'heaven-COMP-be.far.away-ATTR' is permanent epithet (*makura-kotoba*, 枕詞) to the word *pîna* 'countryside.' It involves a rare case of reduction of the comparative case marker *-nö* to *-N-* that occurs between a noun and a verb, which I previously failed to notice, cf. Vovin (2005: 204).

Ama- is a bound form of WOJ *amë* 'heaven.' On bound form of nouns see the commentary to 15.3593.

WOJ *naNka* 'long' is used as an uninflected adjective here.

WOJ *ti* is the original word for 'road' in Japanese. WOJ *mîti* and MJ *miti* apparently consists of the honorific prefix *mî* and *ti* 'road.' WOJ *ti* 'road' also occurs in compounds as such, cf. *ti-mata* 'road fork,' *yama-N-ti* 'mountain road,' etc.

The strait of Akasi is between the northern tip of Awaji island and the city of Akashi in the present-day Hyōgo prefecture.

Postscript to the poem 15.3608
本文・Original text

柿本朝臣人麻呂歌曰夜麻等思麻見由

Translation
The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö asömî Pîtömarö says: *Yamatö sima mî-y-u* 'I suddenly see the islands of Yamatö'

Commentary
The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö that includes this line is 3.255. Since 3.255 is written completely semantographically, the existence of the phonographic versions of line 5 in this postscript and of lines 1-4 in 15.3608 makes it possible to reconstruct the phonographic script of the original text as given below under the original text. There is also a slight difference in the second line where the ablative case marker *-yu* is used instead of the accusative *-wo*, if we are to trust the semantographic spelling of the ablative *-yu* as 従:

本文・Original text
(1) 天離 (2) 夷之長道従 (3) 戀来者 (4) 自明門 (5) 倭嶋所見

本文の復元・Reconstruction of the original text
(1) 安麻射可流 (2) 比奈乃奈我道乎 (3) 孤悲久礼婆 (4) 安可思能門欲里 (5) 夜麻等思麻見由

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration of the original text
(1) あまざかる (2) ひ$_1$なの$_2$ながちゆ (3) こ$_1$ひ$_2$くれば (4) あかしの$_2$と$_1$よ$_1$り (5) やまと$_2$しまみ$_1$ゆ

Romanization of the original text
(1) AMA-N-SAKAR-U (2) PÎNA-NÖ NANKA TI-YU (3) KÔPÏ K-URE-NPA (4) AKASI-NÖ TÔ-YÔRI (5) YAMATÖ SIMA MÎ-Y-U

Romanization of the reconstructed text
(1) ama-n-sakar-u (2) pîna-nö nanka ti-wo (3) kôpï k-ure-npa (4) akasi-nö TÔ-yôri (5) yamatö sima MÎ-y-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven-LOC-be.far-ATTR (2) countryside-GEN long road-ABL (3) long.for(INF) come-EV-CON (4) Akasi-GEN strait-ABL (5) Yamatö island see-PASS-FIN

Translation
(3) When [I] come, longing [for you], (2) along the long road in the countryside (1) that is far from Heaven, (5) [I] suddenly see Yamatö island (4) from the strait of Akasi.

15.3609
本文・Original text
(1) 武庫能宇美能 (2) 尓波余久安良之 (3) 伊射里須流 (4) 安麻能都里船 (5) 奈美能宇倍由見由

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) むこ$_1$の$_2$うみ$_1$の$_2$ (2) にはよ$_2$くあらし (3) いざりする (4) あまの$_2$つりぶね (5) なみ$_1$の$_2$うへ$_2$ゆみ$_1$ゆ

Romanization
(1) Mukô-nö umî-nö (2) nipa yö-ku ar-asi (3) iNsar-i s-uru (4) ama-nö tur-i-N-PUNE (5) namî-nö upë-yu MÎ-y-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Mukô-GEN sea-GEN (2) sea.surface good-INF exist-SUP (3) fish-NML do-ATTR (4) fisherman-GEN angle-NML-GEN-boats (5) wave-GEN top-ABL see-PASS-FIN

Translation
(1/2) The sea surface at Mukô looks calm. (4) The angling boats of fishermen (3) who are doing fishing (5) are visible from the top of waves.

Commentary

Mukô – see the commentary to 15.3578.

WOJ *nipa* ‘sea surface, open water surface.’ Omodaka et al. assign to WOJ *nipa* two additional meanings: a) ‘a place for conducting matters,’ b) ‘open space in front or behind a house, garden,’ but at the same time they express reservation whether gardens during the Nara period were really called *nipa* besides *sönö* (1967: 546). I believe that this reservation is unfounded: the sequence of locative case marker *-ni* and topic marker *pa* is written in 1.2 with the character 庭 ‘garden’: 山常庭 *Yamatö-ni pa* ‘in Yamatö,’ so it is quite clear that *nipa* meant garden in the Nara period. It is, however, a different matter whether *nipa* ‘sea surface’ and nipa ‘garden, space’ are one and the same word. Most probably they are just homonyms.

The presence of the ablative case marker *-yu* might constitute a slight problem at the first glance. Omodaka believes that *-yu* is used here in the function of locative *-ni* (1983.15: 37). However, since it is clear from the text that the sea was calm, ‘on the top of waves’ would imply that boatss are seen only when they come on the top of waves, but not visible otherwise. This picture certainly implies rough and not calm sea. Itabashi has suggested before that ablative *-yu* might have a prolative function 19XX: XX).[35] The same interpretation is adopted by Nakanishi and Yoshii who interpret lines 4-5 as boatss seen passing through the top of the waves (Nakanishi 1981: 300), (Yoshii 1988: 77). But again passing through the top of waves is likely to imply rough sea. I think that ablative function of *-yu* is actually perfectly justified here: the author sees the boatss from his ship that is on the top of the waves.

Postscript to the poem 15.3609

本文・Original text

柿本朝臣人麻呂歌曰氣比乃宇美能又曰可里許毛能美太礼弖出見由安麻能都里船

Translation

The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö asömî Pîtömarö says: *Këpî-nö umî-nö* ‘of the sea of Këpî;’ and [it] also says: *kar-i-kömô-nö mîNtare-te INT-U MÎ-y-u ama-nö tur-i-N-pune* ‘angling boatss of fishermen are seen going out in disorder like reaped [stalks] of wild rice.’

Commentary

Kar-i-kömô-nö ‘like reaped stalks of wild rice’ is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) applied to verb *mîNtare-* ‘to be in disorder.’ *Kömô* is a misspelling of etymologically correct *kömö*.

Këpî indicates the area on the western shore of Awaji island (Nakanishi 1985: 445), (Yoshii 1988: 78). The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö that includes these lines is 3.256. Since 3.256 is written almost completely semantographically, this postrcript which provides four lines out of five in mostly phonographic spelling is a key to its correct reading. As Omodaka noted that previously he himself and other scholars were reading *mîNtare-te INT-U* incorrectly as *mîNtare INT-U*, but the existence of the phonographic versions of lines 1, 3-5 in this postscript and of the line 2 in 15.3609 made it possible to correct the reading (Omodaka 1984.15: 38). The combined phonographic data also allow a reconstruction of the original text to a certain degree as given below under the original text:

本文・Original text

(1) 飼飯海乃 (2) 庭好有之 (3) 苅薦乃 (4) 乱出所見 (5) 海人釣船

本文の復元・Reconstruction of the original text

(1) 氣比乃宇美乃 (2) 尓波余久安良之 (3) 可里許毛能 (4) 美太礼弖出見由 (5) 安麻能都里船

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) け$_2$ひ$_1$の$_2$うみ$_1$の$_2$ (2) にはよ$_2$くあらし (3) かりこ$_2$も$_2$の$_2$ (4) み$_1$だれていづみ$_1$ゆ (5) あまの$_2$つりぶね

Romanization of the original text

(1) Këpî-NÖ UMÎ-nö (2) NIPA YÖ-KU AR-Asi (3) KAR-I-KÖMÔ-nö (4) MÎNTARE-TE INT-U MÎ-Y-U (5) AMA-NÖ TUR-I-N-PUNE

Romanization of the reconstructed text

(1) Këpî-nö umî-nö (2) nipa yö-ku ar-asi (3) kar-i-kömô-nö (4) mîNtare-te INT-U MÎ-y-u (5) ama-nö tur-i-N-pune

[35] Cf. the possible usage of *-yu* as a prolative in 15.3608 above, where it indeed may be appropriate.

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Këpî-GEN sea-GEN (2) sea.surface good-INF exist-SUP (3) reap-INF-wild.rice-COMP (4) be.in.disorder(INF)-SUB exit-FIN see-PASS-FIN (5) fisherman-GEN angle-NML-GEN-boats

Translation
(1/2) The sea surface at Këpî looks calm. (5) Angling boatss of fishermen (4) are seen going out in disorder (3) like reaped [stalks] of wild rice.

15.3610
本文・Original text
(1) 安胡乃宇良尓 (2) 布奈能里須良牟 (3) 乎等女良我 (4) 安可毛能須素尓 (5) 之保美都良武賀

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あご$_1$の$_2$うらに (2) ふなの$_2$りすらむ (3) をと$_2$め$_1$らが (4) あかも$_1$の$_2$すそ$_1$に (5) しほみ$_1$つらむか

Romanization
(1) ANkô-nö ura-ni (2) puna-nör-i s-uram-u (3) wotöMÊ-ra-Nka (4) aka mô-nö susô-ni (5) sipo mît-uram-u ka

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) ANkô-GEN bay-LOC (2) boats-board-NML do-TENT2-ATTR (2) maiden-PLUR-POSS (4) red skirt-GEN hem-LOC (4) tide rise-TENT2-ATTR

Translation
(5) Will the tide rise (4) to the hems of red skirts (3) of maidens (2) who are going to board the boats (1) in the bay of ANkô?

Commentary
The location of ANkô bay is believed to be in the present-day Mie prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 284), (Nakanishi 1985: 414), but the shore of Mie prefecture certainly could not be on the travel path of the mission sent to Silla.

WOJ *mo* ‘skirt’ has an unknown vowel value: it could be either *mô or *mö. In this poem it is spelled as /mô/, but in the original poem by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö given in the postscript it is spelled as /mö/. Since there are no phonographic attestations of this word in either *Kojiki kayō* or vol. 5 of the *Man’yōshū* the exact phonetic shape of this word in pre-Old Japanese is likely to remain a mystery forever. WOJ *mo* ‘skirt’ did not look like modern European skirts, but rather reminded skirts worn even today in South-East Asia. It was a rectangular piece of cloth that had strings to be tied on the top and in the middle.

The verbal form *mît-uram-u* ‘will rise’ is the attributive form since interrogative particle *ka* triggers the change of the final verbal form into attributive whether it is found before or after the verb (Vovin 2008a: 1219).

Postscript to the poem 15.3610
本文・Original text
柿本朝臣人麻呂歌曰安美能宇良又曰多麻母能須蘇尓

Translation
The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö asömî Pîtömarö says: *Amî-nö ura* ‘the bay of Amî;’ and [it] also says: *tama mö-nö suswo-ni* ‘to the hems of jewel skirts.’

Commentary
The location of Amî bay is not clear (Itō et al. 1981: 290), (Nakanishi 1985: 420). There is a hypothesis that Amî bay and ANkô bay represent the same placename (Itō et al. 1981: 284). The original poem by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö that includes these two lines is 1.40. Since the considerable part of 1.40 is written semantographically, this postrcript which provides two lines out of five in phonographic spelling is a key to its correct reading. The existence of the phonographic versions of lines 1 and 4 in this postscript and of the lines 2-3 and 5 in 15.3607 makes it possible to reconstruct the phonographic script of the original text as given below under the original text.

本文・Original text
(1) 嗚呼見乃浦尓 (2) 船乗為良武 (3) 呎嬬等之 (4) 珠裳乃須十二 (5) 四寶三都良武香

本文の復元・Reconstruction of the original text
(1) 安美能宇良尓 (2) 布奈能里須良武 (3) 乎等女良我 (4) 多麻母乃須十二 (5) 四寶三都良武香

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あみ$_1$の$_2$うらに (2) ふなの$_2$りすらむ (3) をと$_2$め$_1$らが (4) たまも$_2$の$_2$すそ$_1$に (5) しほみ$_1$つらむか

Romanization of the original text
(1) Amî-nö URA-ni (2) PUNA-NÖR-I S-Uram-u (3) wotöMÊ-RA-NKA (4) TAMA MÖ-nö susô-ni (5) sipo mît-uram-u ka

Romanization of the reconstructed text
(1) Amî-nö ura-ni (2) puna-nör-i s-uram-u (3) wotöMÊ-ra-Nka (4) tama mö-nö susô-ni (5) sipo mît-uram-u ka

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Amî-GEN bay-LOC (2) boats-board-NML do-TENT2-ATTR (2) maiden-PLUR-POSS (4) jewel skirt-GEN hem-LOC (5) tide rise-TENT2-ATTR

Translation
(5) Will the tide rise (4) to the hems of jewel skirts (3) of maidens (2) who are going to board the boats (1) in the bay of Amî?

15.3611
Preface to the poem 3611
本文・Original text
七夕歌一首

Translation
[This is] a TanaNpata poem.

Commentary
TanaNpata (MdJ *Tanabata*) is the Festival of the Weaver Star and the Cow-herder Star (Vega and Altair) held on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month. According to the old Chinese legend, Weaver and Cow-herder (WOJ Pîkôposi) were lovers who were allowed to marry after multiple entreaties that Cow-herder made to the Weaver's father. However, because the Weaver neglected her weaving duties because of her passion for her husband, Weaver's father turned them into stars that are placed on the opposite sides of the Heavenly River (WOJ *Ama-nö [N]kapa*, MdJ *Ama no gawa*[36]) that corresponds to the Milky Way in European astronomy and, consequently they could meet only once a year on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month when the Cow-herder takes the quarter moon that serves as his boats across the Heavenly River. The etymology of TanaNpata is probably *ta-na-nö pata *hand-PLUR-GEN loom* 'manual loom,' that is a loom that is driven without the foot pedal. By the metonymy the name for this kind of loom was transferred to the Weaver. Cf. Omodaka et al. (1967: 576-77). The etymology of Pîkôposi certainly involves WOJ *posi* 'star.' The first element *pîkô* is obscure, but I suspect that it is the old attributive form (*rentaikei*, 連体形) *pîk-ô* of the verb *pîk-* 'to pull.' Thus, Pîk-ô posi probably means 'the star that pulls [the herd].' In Western Old Japanese PJ *u and *o merged as /u/ except in the second syllable of most bisyllabic nouns, where original *o was retained as *kō-rui* /ô/ (Hayata 1998). Under this scenario we would expect *pikuposi, but it is possible that the compound became obscure by the time of the shift *o > u, and, therefore it was blocked in the frozen formation. This etymology can be probably also supported by the semantographic spelling of Pîkôposi as 牽牛, where the first character 牽 means 'to pull, to lead.' This semantographic spelling is certainly old, as it is present in the *Man'yōshū*. In addition, out of the sixteen attestations of Pîkôposi in the *Man'yōshū*, it is attested in the spelling 牽牛 nine times (8.1520, 1527, 1544; 10.2040, 2044, 2047, 2075-76, 2086).

[36] See Vance (2007: 164-65) for the detailed discussion of the irregular voicing in this phrase.

本文・Original text
(1) 於保夫祢尓 (2) 麻可治之自奴伎 (3) 宇奈波良乎 (4) 許藝弖天和多流 (5) 月人乎登古

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほぶねに (2) まかぢしじぬき$_1$ (3) うなはらを (4) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$でてわたる (5) つき$_2$ひ$_1$と$_2$をと$_2$こ$_1$

Romanization
(1) opo-N-pune-ni (2) ma-kaNti siNsi nuk-i (3) una-para-wo (4) köNk-î-[i]Nde-te watar-u (5) TUKÏ PÎTÖ wotökô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) big-DV(ATTR)-boat-LOC (2) INT-rudder constantly pierce-INF (3) sea-plain-ACC (4) row-INF-exit(INF)-SUB cross-ATTR (5) moon person man

Translation
(5) [Oh,] the celestial man (4) who rows across (3) the sea plain (1) in the big boat (2) constantly piercing [the waves with his] great rudder!

Commentary
For WOJ *una-* 'sea' see the commentary to 15.3592. Although this is a *TanaNpata* poem it is interesting that in the poem the boats goes across the *una-para* 'sea plain' and not the Heavenly River. This agrees with the sea travel that the members of the mission to Silla are on, but it is necessary to note that the direction of travel is different: while the Cow-herder goes *towards* his wife on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, the members of the the mission to Silla at this point are going *away* from their beloved. This discrepancy, however, is easily explained by the fact that this poem is actually by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö (see the postscript below), and not by any actual mission member.

I translate here *TUKÏ PÎTÖ wotökô* 'moon person man' as 'celestial man,' because in the context of a *TanaNpata* song the reference is to the Cow-herder Star (WOJ *Pîkôposi*), and not to the man from the moon. The association with the moon is due to the fact that quarter moon serves as a boats for the Cow-herder Star to take him across the Heavenly River. Both Omodaka and Yoshii express the opinion that *TUKÏ PÎTÖ wotökô* 'moon person man' is a personification of the moon (Omodaka 1984.15: 40), (Yoshii 1988: 84). However, given the fact that the quarter moon serves as a boats for the Cow-herder and that the first line is *opo-N-pune-ni* 'in the big boats,' where the boats is already mentioned, 'moon [boats] in the big boats' would make no sense. To give both Omodaka and Yoshii their credit, I must mention that in their translation into modern Japanese both translate *TUKÏ PÎTÖ wotökô* as 'oh, moon man' (月の男よ) (Omodaka 1984.15: 40), (Yoshii 1988: 83).

There are poems with the similar contents, see 7.1068, 10.2010, and 10.2223. The first of them is also by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö.

Postscript to the poem 15.3611
本文・Original text
右柿本朝臣人麻呂歌

Translation
The above [poem] is a poem by Kakînömötö-nö asömî Pîtömarö.

Commentary
As Omodaka notes, the original text of this poem is not found in other volumes of the *Man'yōshū* or elsewhere, so we have to accept 15.3611 as the original text by Kakînömötö-nö Pîtömarö (1983.15: 41).

Preface to the poems 3612-3614
本文・Original text
備後國水調郡長井浦舶泊之夜作歌三首

Translation
Three poems composed during the night when the boatss was anchored in NaNkawi bay in the Mîtukî district of the NpïnNkô province.

Commentary
NpïnNkô province (MJ Bingo) comprised the eastern part of the former KîNpï province that was divided into three provinces after Taika reforms: NpïnNsen (MJ Bizen, former western KîNpï), Npïntyu(ŋ) (MJ Bintyuu, former central KîNpï), and NpïnNkô (MJ Bingo, former eastern KîNpï). It roughly corresponds to the present day eastern part of Hiroshima prefecture.

Mîtukî district corresponds to the present-day Mitsuki county and a part of Mihara city in Hiroshima prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 371), (Nakanishi 1985: 488).

NaNkawi bay is identified as the present-day harbor located in the Itosaki town of Mihara city in Hiroshima prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 351), (Nakanishi 1985: 469).

15.3612
本文・Original text with a comment
(1) 安乎尓与之 (2) 奈良能美也故尓 (3) 由久比等毛我母 (4) 久左麻久良 (5) 多妣由久布祢能 (6) 登麻利都導武仁　旋頭歌也

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration of the original text
(1) あをによ$_2$し (2) ならの$_2$み$_1$やこ$_1$に (3) ゆくひ$_1$と$_2$も$_1$がも$_2$ (4) くさまくら (5) たび$_1$ゆくふねの$_2$ (6) と$_2$まりつげ$_2$むに

Romanization of the original text
(1) awo ni yö-si (2) Nara-nö mîyakô-ni (3) yuk-u pîtö môNkamö (4) kusa makura (5) taNpî yuk-u pune-nö (6) tömar-i tuNkë-m-u-ni

Glossing of the original text with the morphemic analysis
(1) green earth good-FIN (2) Nara-GEN capital-LOC (3) go-ATTR person PT (4) grass pillow (5) journey go-ATTR boats-GEN (6) stop-NML report-TENT-ATTR-LOC

Translation of the original text and the comment
(3) [I] wish [there were] people who go (2) to the capital of Nara, (1) where the green earth is good, (6) since [I] would tell [them] about the stopping-place (5) of the boat on which [I] go for a journey, (4) [where I use] grass [for my] pillow. [This] is a sedōka.

Commentary
As the comment informs us, this poem is a *sedōka*, a rather rare poetic form representing a poem consisting of six lines with 5-7-7-5-7-7 syllabic count. *Sedōka* occur very infrequently even in the *Man'yōshū*, and they disappear completely after the *Kokin wakashū* (921 AD), completely yielding to the *tanka* form (a five line poem with 5-7-5-7-7 syllabic count) that becomes a dominant poetic form from the *Man'yōshū* and rules supreme throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods.

The overall meaning of the poem is that the author would like to inform his wife or other relatives at home about his boats stopping place through the people (certainly imaginary) who would go to Nara.

On the permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) *awo ni yö-si*, WOJ *ni* 'earth, soil, clay' and the placename Nara see the commentary to 15.3602.

Kusa makura 'grass pillow' is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) that is normally applied to the journey on the land (implying that a traveler has hardships on his journey such as sleeping in the open using grass as his pillow), but here it is used for the journey on the sea that is considered to be as difficult as a journey on the land.

Postscript to the poem 15.3612
本文・Original text
右一首大判官

Translation
The poem above is by the Senior secretary.

Commentary
The Senior Secretary is MîNpu-nö omî UNtamarö (see the commentary to the preface to the first collection in this volume). Not much is known about his biography. He is mentioned several times in the *Shoku Nihongi*: first time as the Senior Secretary bearing the Junior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade on the mission to Silla in 736 AD, then as being promoted from the Senior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade to Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade in 747 AD, with appointment as the Assistant of the Capital Right district (右京亮). In 751 AD he was

appointed the governor of TaNsima province. In 755 AD he was made the Chief Overseer of Monks' Affairs Bureau (玄蕃頭) bearing the same Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade.

15.3613
本文・Original text
(1) 海原乎 (2) 夜蘇之麻我久里 (3) 伎奴礼杼母 (4) 奈良能美也故波 (5) 和須礼可祢都母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) うなはらを (2) やそ$_1$しまがくり (3) き$_1$ぬれど$_2$も$_2$ (4) ならの$_2$み$_1$やこ$_1$は (5) わすれかねつも$_2$

Romanization
(1) UNA-PARA-wo (2) yasô sima-N-kakur-i (3) k-î-n-ure-Ntömö (4) Nara-nö mîyakô pa (5) wasure-kane-t-umö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) sea-plain-ACC (2) eighty island-LOC-hide-INF (3) come-INF-PERF-EV-CONC (4) Nara-GEN capital TOP (5) forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-EXCL

Translation
(3) Although [I] came (1) across the sea plain (2) hiding [between] many islands, (5) [I[could not forget (4) the capital of Nara!

Commentary
On WOJ *una-* 'sea' see the commentary to 15.3592.

Yasô means literally 'eighty' (*ya* 'eight' + *-sô* 'ten') but in this (and other cases) it might just mean 'many,' since *ya* 'eight' as a combination of the number 'five' (WOJ *itu*) associated with male and number 'three' (WOJ *mî*) associated with female indicates the completeness. Cf. one of the old names for Japan: *Ya sima kuni* 'the land of many (lit. eight) islands.'

On the placename Nara see the commentary to 15.3602.

On *-umö* ~ *-mö* as a special Old Japanese exclamative form see the commentary to 15.3595.

15.3614
本文・Original text
(1) 可敝流散尓 (2) 伊母尓見勢武尓 (3) 和多都美乃 (4) 於伎都白玉 (5) 比利比弖由賀奈

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かへ$_1$るさに (2) いも$_2$にみ$_1$せむに (3) わたつみ$_1$の$_2$ (4) おき$_1$つしらたま (5) ひ$_1$りひ$_1$てゆかな

Romanization
(1) kapêr-usa-ni (2) imö-ni MÎ-se-m-u-ni (3) wata-tu mî-nö (4) okî-tu SIRA TAMA (5) pîrip-î-te yuk-ana

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) return-NML-LOC (2) beloved-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC (3) sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN (4) offing-GEN/LOC white pearl (5) pick.up-INF-SUB go-DES

Translation
(1) When [I] return, (5) [I] want to go picking up (4) [some] white pearls from the offing (3) of the sea dragon (2) in order to show [them] to [my] beloved.

Commentary
On the special Western Old Japanese nominalizer *-usa* with temporal meaning: 'when,' 'at the time when,' which is traditionally analyzed as a suffix added to final forms of verbs see Vovin (2008a: 805-08).

On *wata-tu mî* see the commentary to 15.3597.

Only WOJ *pîrip-* 'to pick up' is attested in Western Old Japanese in phonographic spelling, contrasting with EOJ *pîröp-*, attested only once (14.3400).

Desiderative form in *-ana* (*-na* after vowel verbs) is a special Western Old Japanese form that is attested in Middle (Classical) Japanese except in rudimentary forms (Vovin 2008a: 682-90).

Preface to the poems 3615-3616
本文・Original text
風速浦舶泊之夜作歌二首

Translation
Two poems composed during the night when the boatss were anchored in KaNsapaya bay.

Commentary
KaNsapaya bay is identified as the Kazahaya bay in the Tomita county of the present-day Hiroshima prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 307), (Nakanishi 1985: 434).

15.3615
本文・Original text
(1) 和我由恵仁 (2) 妹奈氣久良之 (3) 風早能 (4) 宇良能於伎敝尓 (5) 奇里多奈妣家利

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがゆゑに (2) いも$_1$なげ$_2$くらし (3) かざはやの$_2$ (4) うらの$_2$おき$_1$へ$_1$に (5) き$_2$りたなび$_1$け$_1$り

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka yuwe n-i (2) IMÔ naNkëk-urasi (3) KaNsapaya-nö (4) ura-nö okî pê-ni (5) kïri tanaNpîk-êr-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS reason DV-INF (2) beloved lament-SUP (3) KaNsapaya-GEN (4) bay-GEN offing side-LOC (5) fog trail-PROG-FIN

Translation
(2) [My] beloved probably laments (1) because of me. (4) In the offing of the bay (3) of KaNsapaya (5) the fog is trailing.

Commentary
On the connection between lamenting and fog see the commentary to 15.3580.

15.3616
本文・Original text
(1) 於伎都加是 (2) 伊多久布伎勢婆 (3) 和伎毛故我 (4) 奈氣伎能奇里尓 (5) 安可麻之母能乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おき$_1$つかぜ (2) いたくふき$_1$せば (3) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$が (4) なげ$_2$き$_1$の$_2$き$_2$りに (5) あかましも$_2$の$_2$を

Romanization
(1) okî-tu kaNse (2) ita-ku puk-î-s-eNpa (3) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-Nka (4) naNkëk-î kïri-ni (5) ak-amasi mönöwo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) offing-GEN/LOC wind (2) be.intense-INF blow-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND (3) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (4) lament-INF fog-LOC (4) be.satisfied-SUBJ PT

Translation
(1/2) If the wind from the offing blows severely (5) [I] would be content (4) with the fog [that arises] from the lamenting (3) of my beloved (5), but…

Commentary
On the connection between lamenting and fog see the commentary to 15.3580. Omodaka believes that this poem might have been composed by the same author as the preseding 15.3615.

Preface to the poems 3617-3621
本文・Original text
安藝國長門嶋船泊礒邊作歌五首

Translation
Five poems composed when the boatss were anchored near the rocky shore at NaNkatô island in Akî province.

Commentary
Akî province corresponds to the western part of the present-day Hiroshima prefecture. NaNkatô island corresponds to the present-day Kurahashi island in the Aki county of Hiroshima prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 350), (Nakanishi 1985: 468).

15.3617
本文・Original text
(1) 伊波婆之流 (2) 多伎毛登杼呂尓 (3) 鳴蝉乃 (4) 許恵乎之伎氣婆 (5) 京師之於毛保由

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いはばしる (2) たき$_1$も$_1$と$_2$ど$_2$ろ$_2$に (3) なくせみ$_1$の$_2$ (4) こ$_2$ゑをしき$_1$け$_2$ば (5) み$_1$やこ$_1$しおも$_1$ほゆ

Romanization
(1) ipa-N-pasir-u (2) takî mô töNtörö n-i (3) NAK-U SEMÎ-nö (4) köwe-wo si kîk-ë-Npa (5) mîyakô si omôp-oy-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) rock-LOC-run-ATTR (2) waterfall PT rumbling DV-INF (3) sing-ATTR cicada-GEN (4) voice-ACC PT hear-EV-CON (5) capital PT think-PASS-FIN

Translation
(4) When [I] hear voices (3) of singing cicadas (2) and rumbling waterfall (1) running through the rocks (5) [I] suddenly remember the capital.

Commentary
As for WOJ *semî* ‘cicada,’ Omodaka notes that in the *Man’yōshū* this insect singing in the summer is mostly called *pîNkurasi* ‘evening cicada’ (see the commentary to 15.3589 on *pîNkurasi*), although *semî* is also attested as *utu semî* ‘ephemeral cicada’ and just as *semî* ‘cicada’ in 8.1479 (Omodaka 1984.15: 46). The last attestation is in the semantographic spelling as well as the attestation in 8.1568 that Omodaka does not mention. There is is also EOJ *utu semî* ‘ephemeral cicada’ phonographically attested in 14.3456 in a poem that has one Eastern Old Japanese feature (*pê* ‘leaf’ instead of WOJ *pa* ‘id.’). Therefore, the word *semî* is certainly can be reconstructed on PJN level.

Postscript to the poem 15.3617
本文・Original text
右一首大石茨麻呂

Translation
The poem above is by Opoisi-nö Mînömarö.

Commentary
This is the only poem by this author in the *Man’yōshū*. He is mentioned as serving in the sutra copying office of the Tōdaiji temple in 747 AD (Omodaka 1984.15: 46-7), but nothing else is known of his biography.

15.3618
本文・Original text
(1) 夜麻河泊能 (2) 伎欲吉可波世尓 (3) 安蘇倍杼母 (4) 奈良能美夜故波 (5) 和須礼可祢都母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) やまがはの$_2$ (2) き$_1$よ$_1$き$_1$かはせに (3) あそ$_1$べ$_2$ど$_2$も$_2$ (4) ならの$_2$み$_1$やこ$_1$は (5) わすれかねつも$_2$

Romanization

(1) yama-N-kapa-nö (2) kîyô-kî KApa se-ni (3) asôNp-ë-Ntömö (4) Nara-nö mîyakô pa (5) wasure-kane-t-umö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) mountain-GEN-river-GEN (2) clear-ATTR river rapids-LOC (3) enjoy.oneself-EV-CONC (4) Nara-GEN capital TOP (5) forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL

Translation
(3) Although [I] enjoying [bathing] myself (2) in the clear rapids (1) of a mountain river (5) [I] am not able to forget (4) the capital of Nara!

Commentary
On *-umö ~ -mö* as a special Old Japanese exclamative form see the commentary to 15.3595.

15.3619
本文・Original text
(1) 伊蘇乃麻由 (2) 多藝都山河 (3) 多延受安良婆 (4) 麻多母安比見牟 (5) 秋加多麻氣弖

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いそ$_1$の$_2$まゆ (2) たぎ$_1$つやまがは (3) たえ$_2$ずあらば (4) またも$_2$あひ$_1$み$_1$む (5) あき$_1$かたまけ$_2$て

Romanization
(1) isô-nö ma-yu (2) taNkît-u YAMA-N-KAPA (3) taye-Ns-u ar-aNpa (4) mata mö apyi-MYI-m-u (5) AKÎ katamakë-te

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) rock-GEN space-ABL (2) gush-ATTR mountain-GEN-river (3) dry.up-NEG-INF exist-COND (4) again PT REC-see-TENT-FIN (5) autumn come.near(INF)-SUB

Translation
(1/2/3)Unless the mountain river that gushes from the rocks would dry up, (4) [we] will see each other again (5) when the autumn comes.

Commentary
The forth line of this poem is interpreted differently by the *Man'yōshū* scholars, ranging from the interpretation as 'let us see together [this scenery]' to '[I] will meet [with this scenery again and look at it' to the present interpretation as 'we will see each other again' advanced by both Omodaka (1983.15: 47) and Yoshii (1988: 94).[37] I accept the Omodaka and Yoshii interpretation here.

15.3620
本文・Original text
(1) 故悲思氣美 (2) 奈具左米可祢弖 (3) 比具良之能 (4) 奈久之麻可氣尓 (5) 伊保利須流可母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) こ$_1$ひ$_2$しげ$_2$み$_1$ (2) なぐさめ$_2$かねて (3) ひ$_1$ぐらしの$_2$ (4) なくしまかげ$_2$に (5) いほりするかも$_2$

Romanization
(1) kôpï siNkë-mî (2) naNkusamë-kane-te (3) pîNkurasi-nö (4) nak-u sima kaNkë-ni (5) ipor-i s-uru kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) long.for(NML) be.dense-GER (2) console(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB (3) evening.cicada-GEN (3) cry-ATTR island shadow-LOC (5) stay.temporarily-NML do-ATTR PT

Translation
(2) [I] cannot console [myself], (1) because [my] longing [for you] is intense, so (5) [I] will stay for a night (3/4) in the shadow of the island where evening cicadas are singing!

[37] Yoshii lists all major interpretations with references (1988: 94).

Commentary
On *pîNkurasi* ‘evening cicada’ see the commentary to 15.3589.

15.3621
本文・Original text
(1) 和我伊能知乎 (2) 奈我刀能之麻能 (3) 小松原 (4) 伊久与乎倍弖加 (5) 可武佐備和多流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがいの$_2$ちを (2) ながと$_1$の$_2$しまの$_2$ (3) こ$_1$まつばら (4) いくよ$_2$をへ$_2$てか (5) かむさび$_2$わたる

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka inöti-wo (2) NaNkatô-nö sima-nö (3) KÔ-MATU-N-PARA (4) iku yö-wo pë-te ka (5) kamu-saNpï-watar-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS life-ABS (2) NaNkatô-GEN island-GEN (3) DIM-pine-GEN-plain (4) how.many generation-ACC pass(INF)-SUB (5) deity-be.like(INF)-cross-ATTR

Translation
(3) Small pines in a grove (2) on the island of NaNkatö -- (4) for how many generations (5) did you continue to be deity-like? (1/2) [I pray that] my life [would be as] long [as yours] …

Commentary
On WOJ *-wo* as an absolutive case marker see the commentary to 15.3599.
On the location of the NaNkatô island see the commentary to the preface to poems 3617-3621. There is a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) in this poem: NaNkatô (長門) literally means ‘long door/gateway, long strait.’ Therefore the line one and the beginning of the line two could be read as *wa-Nka inöti-wo naNka* ‘[praying that] my life [is] long.’

Preface to the poems 3622-3624
本文・Original text
従長門浦舶出之夜仰觀月光作歌三首

Translation
Three poems composed when [we] took the boatss out of the NaNkatô bay looking at the moon light.

15.3622
本文・Original text
(1) 月余美乃 (2) 比可里乎伎欲美 (3) 由布奈藝尓 (4) 加古能己恵欲妣 (5) 宇良未許具可聞

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) つくよ$_2$み$_1$の$_2$ (2) ひ$_1$かりをき$_1$よ$_1$み$_1$ (3) ゆふなぎ$_1$に (4) かこ$_1$の$_2$こ$_2$ゑよ$_1$び$_1$ (5) うらみ$_2$こ$_2$ぐかも

Romanization
(1) TUKU-yömî-nö (2) pîkari-wo kîyô-mî (3) yupu naNkî-ni (4) kakô-nö köwe yôNp-î (5) ura mï-köNk-u kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Moon-deity-GEN (2) light-ABS clear-GER (3) evening calm-LOC (4) seaman-GEN voice call-INF (5) bay go.around(INF)-row-ATTR PT

Translation
(1/2) Because the light of the moon is bright, (4) seamen are calling [each other] (3) in the evening calm (5) rowing around the bay!

Commentary
On *tuku-yömî* see the commentary to 15.3599.

On WOJ *-wo* as an absolutive case marker and *pîkari-wo kîyô-mî* ‘because the light is bright’ see the commentary to 15.3599.

The line four of this poem might be an indication that there was more than one boat carrying the mission to Silla, otherwise why seamen need to call each other? For the final confirmation of the fact that there were at least two boats carrying the mission see the commentary on *nipo-N-töri* ‘grebes’ for 15.3627.

Note the reverse order of verbal compounding in Western Old Japanese: *mï-köNk-* ‘to row around’: in an SOV language we would expect *köNk-î-mï-, cf. MdJ *kog-i-mawar-* ‘to row around.’ This word order might point to the fact that Proto-Japonic might have had an original SVO word order.

15.3623

本文・Original text

(1) 山乃波尓 (2) 月可多夫氣婆 (3) 伊射里須流 (4) 安麻能等毛之備 (5) 於伎尓奈都佐布

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) やまの$_2$はに (2) つき$_2$かたぶけ$_2$ば (3) いざりする (4) あまの$_2$と$_2$も$_1$しび (5) おき$_1$になづさふ

Romanization

(1) YAMA-nö pa-ni (2) TUKÏ kataNpuk-ë-Npa (3) iNsar-i s-uru (4) ama-nö tömôs-i-N-pï (5) okî-ni naNtusap-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) mountain-GEN edge-LOC (2) moon decline-EV-CON (3) fish-NML do-ATTR (3) fisherman-GEN burn-NML-DV(ATTR)-light (5) offing-LOC float-FIN

Translation

(2) When the moon declines (1) towards the mountain ridge, (4) the burning fires of fishermen (3) who are fishing (5) are floating in the offing.

Commentary

The boats of fishermen who fished in the night time used to have fires.

15.3624

本文・Original text

(1) 和礼乃未夜 (2) 欲布祢波許具登 (3) 於毛敝礼婆 (4) 於伎敝能可多尓 (5) 可治能於等須奈里

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) われの$_2$み$_2$や (2) よ$_1$ふねはこ$_2$ぐと$_2$ (3) おも$_1$へ$_1$れば (4) おき$_1$へ$_1$の$_2$かたに (5) かぢの$_2$おと$_2$すなり

Romanization

(1) ware nömï ya (2) yô pune pa köNk-u tö (3) omôp-êr-e-Npa (4) okî pê-nö kata-ni (5) kaNti-nö otö s-u-nar-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) I only PT (2) night boats TOP row-FIN DV (3) think-PROG-EV-CON (4) offing side-GEN side-LOC (5) rudder-GEN sound do-FIN-RA-FIN

Translation

(3) When [I] was thinking: (1) ‘[Is it] only me (2) rowing [in] the night boat?’ (5) [I] heard the rudder making noise (4) at the offing.

Commentary

I agree here with interpretation of WOJ *kaNti* as ‘rudder’ (Kojima et al. 1975: 55), (Nakanishi 1981: 304), (Itō 1998: 91), (Yoshii 1988: 100), and not as ‘oar’ (Omodaka 1984.15: 52). Omodaka et al. note that the difference between WOJ *kayi* ‘oar’ and *kaNti* ‘rudder’ is not clear (1967: 197), but surely these are two different words. The rudder at these times was certainly a big oar, and was unlike a rudder on modern boats. Although such a rudder does not splash water like an oar, it still can make a significant screaching noise.

Preface to the poems 3625-3626
本文・Original text
古挽歌一首并短歌

Translation
One old elegy (*banka*, 挽歌)[38] together with tanka (短歌) [as an envoy].

15.3625
本文・Original text
(1) 由布左礼婆 (2) 安之敝尓佐和伎 (3) 安氣久礼婆 (4) 於伎尓奈都佐布(5) 可母須良母 (6) 都麻等多具比弖 (7) 和我尾尓波 (8) 之毛奈布里曽等 (9) 之路多倍乃 (10) 波祢左之可倍弖 (11) 宇知波良比 (12) 左宿等布毛能乎 (13) 由久美都能 (14) 可敝良奴其等久 (15) 布久可是能 (16) 美延奴我其登久 (17) 安刀毛奈吉 (18) 与能比登尓之弖 (19) 和可礼尓之 (20) 伊毛我伎世弖思 (21) 奈礼其呂母 (22) 蘇弖加多思吉弖 (23) 比登里可母祢牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ゆふされば (2) あしべ$_1$にさわき$_1$ (3) あけ$_2$くれば (4) おき$_1$になづさふ (5) かも$_2$すらも$_2$ (6) つまと$_2$たぐひ$_1$て (7) わがをには (8) しも$_2$なふりそ$_2$と$_2$ (9) しろ$_1$たへ$_2$の$_2$ (10) はねさしかへ$_2$て (11) うちはらひ$_1$ (12) さぬと$_2$ふも$_1$の$_2$を (13) ゆくみ$_1$づの$_2$ (14) かへ$_1$らぬご$_2$と$_2$く (15) ふくかぜの$_2$ (16) み$_1$え$_2$ぬがご$_2$と$_2$く (17) あと$_1$も$_1$なき$_1$ (18) よ$_2$の$_2$ひ$_1$と$_2$にして (19) わかれにし (20) いも$_1$がき$_1$せてし (21) なれご$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$ (22) そ$_1$でかたしき$_1$て (23) ひ$_1$と$_2$りかも$_2$ねむ

Romanization
(1) yupu sar-e-Npa (2) asi-N-pê-ni sawak-î (3) akë-k-ure-Npa (4) okî-ni naNtusap-u (5) kamö sura mö (6) tuma-tö taNkup-î-te (7) wa-Nka WO-ni pa (8) simô na-pur-i-sö tö (9) sirô tapë-nö (10) pane sas-i-kapë-te (11) uti-parap-î (12) sa-N-U tö [i]p-u mônöwo (13) yuk-u mîNtu-nö (14) kapêr-an-u Nkötö-ku (15) puk-u kaNse-nö (16) mî-ye-n-u-Nka Nkötö-ku (17) atô mô na-kî (18) yö-nö pîtö n-i s-i-te (19) wakare-n-i-si (20) imô-Nka kî-se-te-si (21) nare-N-körömö (22) sôNte kata-sik-î-te (23) pîtö-ri kamö ne-m-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) evening come-EV-CON (2) reed-GEN-side-LOC make.noise-INF (3) dawn(INF)-come-EV-CON (4) offing-LOC float-ATTR (5) drake PT PT (6) spouse-COM be.together-INF-SUB (7) I-POSS tail-LOC TOP (8) frost NEG-fall-INF-do DV (9) white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-COMP (10) feather insert-INF-cross.over(INF)-SUB (11) PREF-clean-INF (12) PREF-sleep-FIN DV say-ATTR PT (13) go-ATTR water-GEN (14) return-NEG-ATTR like-INF (15) blow-ATTR wind-GEN (16) see-PASS-NEG-ATTR-POSS like-INF (17) trace PT no-ATTR (18) world-GEN person DV-INF do-INF-SUB (19) separate(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR (20) beloved-POSS wear-CAUS(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR (21) be.used.to(NML)-DV(ATTR)-garment (22) sleeve one-spread-INF-SUB (23) one-CL PT sleep-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(12) Although [it] is said that (5) even drakes, (2) who make noise in the reeds (1) when the evening comes (4) and are floating in the offing (3) when [it] dawns, (6) stay together with [their] spouses (10) mingling their feathers (9) that are like white cloth from the mulberry tree bark, (11) and cleaning [frost from them, (8) as if] saying: '[Oh,] frost, do not fall (7) on our tails,' (12) and so [they] sleep [together]; (18) [I], being a person from [this] world (17) who will leave no trace (13) like the flowing water (14) that does not return, (15) [or] like the blowing wind (16) that [one] cannot see; (23) will sleep alone (22) using for the bedding only the sleeves (19/20/21) [of] the garment that my beloved with whom [I] parted made [me] wear and that [I] accustomed for!

Commentary
This is the first long poem (*chōka*, 長歌) in the volume fifteen. In the translation I followed the flow of the text: this poem consists of one single gigantic sentence, and although English syntax calls for several shorter sentences, I opted to leave it as one sentence in order the reader could get the flavor of the Old Japanese poetry.

On *sirô tapë-nö* '[made] from the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark, like the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark' see the commentary to 15.3607.

[38] On poetic forms and genres in the *Man'yōshū* see the introduction.

On WOJ *sôNte* ‘sleeve’ see the commentary to 15.3604.

WOJ *kata-sik-* ‘to use only one’s own garment for bedding,’ lit. ‘one-spread.’ Since lovers used both their garments as bedding when sleeping together (see the commentary to 15.3591), spreading only one’s own garment for bedding indicates separation from one’s beloved. While the second element *sik-* ‘to spread’ in the WOJ compound *kata-sik-* is certainly native by origin, the first element *kata-* ‘one’ is a loan from Old Korean: OK *Hʌtʌŋ* (一等), EMK *hatʌn* (河屯) ‘one’ (cf. native WOJ *pîtö* ‘one’). The Korean loan *kata-* ‘one’ still survives in a number of compounds even in modern Japanese, such as *kata-miti* ‘one way,’ *kata-asi* “one foot,” *kata-ude* “one arm,” *kata-omoi* “unreciprocated love,” *kata-oya* “one parent,” *kata-gawa* “one side”, *kata-toki* “single moment,” etc.

Preface to the poem 3626
本文・Original text
反歌一首

Translation
An envoy.

15.3626
本文・Original text
(1) 多都我奈伎 (2) 安之敝乎左之弖 (3) 等妣和多類 (4) 安奈多頭多頭志 (5) 比等里佐奴礼婆

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たづがなき$_1$ (2) あしべ$_1$をさして (3) と$_2$び$_1$わたる (4) あなたづたづし (5) ひ$_1$と$_2$りさぬれば

Romanization
(1) taNtu-Nka nak-î (2) asi-N-pê-wo sas-i-te (3) töNp-î-watar-u (4) ana taNtutaNtusi (5) pîtö-ri sa-n-ure-Npa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) crane-POSS cry-INF (2) reed-GEN-side-ACC point-INF-SUB (3) fly-INF-cross-FIN (4) EXCL be.lonely(FIN) (5) one-CL PREF-sleep-EV-CON

Translation
(1/3) Cranes fly over crying (2) towards the reeds. (4) Oh, how lonely [I] am, (5) when [I] sleep alone.

Commentary
This poem involves the play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) *taNtu* ‘crane’ and *taNtutaNtusi* ‘to be lonely’ that looks like a reduplication of *taNtu*. On WOJ *taNtu* ‘crane’ see the commentary to 15.3595.

Postscript to the poem 15.3626
本文・Original text
右丹比大夫悽愴亡妻歌

Translation
The poem above is by TaNtipî-nö mapêtukîmî who laments his dead wife.

Commentary
The author of this poem is mentioned only by his family name TatiNpî and his title *mapêtukîmî* ‘minister,’ without his given name. This constitutes a puzzle, since ministers are were always of either the first or second rank, obviously too high to be dispatched on a mission to Silla. It is possible that TaNtipî rose to this high position later in his life, but the problem remains, because he is not mentioned anywhere in other historical sources. Nakanishi speculates that this might be the same person as TaNtipî-nö mapîtö Kasamarö, who is also the author of 3.285 and 4.509-10 (Nakanishi 1985: 249-50).

Preface to the poems 3627-3629
本文・Original text
属物發思歌一首并短歌

Translation
A poem expressing [my] thoughts about various things with two envoys.

15.3627
本文・Original text
(1) 安佐散礼婆 (2) 伊毛我手尓麻久 (3) 可我美奈須 (4) 美津能波麻備尓 (5) 於保夫祢尓 (6) 真可治之自奴伎 (7) 可良久尓々 (8) 和多理由加武等 (9) 多太牟可布 (10) 美奴面乎左指天 (11) 之保麻知弖 (12) 美乎妣伎由氣婆 (13) 於伎敝尓波 (14) 之良奈美多可美 (15) 宇良未欲理 (16) 許藝弖和多礼婆 (17) 和伎毛故尓 (18) 安波治乃之麻波 (19) 由布左礼婆 (20) 久毛為可久里奴 (21) 左欲布氣弖 (22) 由久敝乎之良尓 (23) 安我己許呂 (24) 安可志能宇良尓 (25) 布祢等米弖 (26) 宇伎祢乎詞都追 (27) 和多都美能 (28) 於枳敝乎見礼婆 (29) 伊射理須流 (30) 安麻能乎等女波 (31) 小船乗 (32) 都良々尓宇家里 (33) 安香等吉能 (34) 之保美知久礼婆 (35) 安之辨尓波 (36) 多豆奈伎和多流 (37) 安左奈藝尓 (38) 布奈弖乎世牟等 (39) 船人毛 (40) 鹿子毛許恵欲妣 (41) 柔保等里能 (42) 奈豆左比由氣婆 (43) 伊敝之麻婆 (44) 久毛為尓美延奴 (45) 安我毛敝流 (46) 許己呂奈具也等 (47) 波夜久伎弖 (48) 美牟等於毛比弖 (49) 於保夫祢乎 (50) 許藝和我由氣婆 (51) 於伎都奈美 (52) 多可久多知伎奴 (53) 与曽能未尓 (54) 見都追須疑由伎 (55) 多麻能宇良尓 (56) 布祢乎等杼米弖 (57) 波麻備欲里 (58) 宇良伊蘇乎見都追 (59) 奈久古奈須 (60) 祢能未之奈可由 (61) 和多都美能 (62) 多麻伎能多麻乎 (63) 伊敝都刀尓 (64) 伊毛尓也良牟等 (65) 比里比登里 (66) 素弖尓波伊礼弖 (67) 可敝之也流 (68) 都可比奈家礼婆 (69) 毛弖礼杼毛 (70) 之留思乎奈美等 (71) 麻多於伎都流可毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あさされば (2) いも$_1$がてにまく (3) かがみ$_1$なす (4) み$_1$つの$_2$はまび$_2$に (5) おほぶねに (6) まかぢしじぬき$_1$ (7) からくにに (8) わたりゆかむと$_2$ (9) ただむかふ (10) み$_1$ぬめ$_1$をさして (11) しほまちて (12) み$_1$をび$_1$き$_1$ゆけ$_2$ば (13) おき$_1$へ$_1$には (14) しらなみ$_1$たかみ$_1$ (15) うらみ$_2$よ$_1$り (16) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$てわたれば (17) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$に (18) あはぢの$_2$しまは (19) ゆふされば (20) くも$_1$ゐかくりぬ (21) さよ$_1$ふけ$_2$て (22) ゆくへ$_1$をしらに (23) あがこ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$ (24) あかしの$_2$うらに (25) ふねと$_2$め$_2$て (26) うき$_1$ねをしつつ (27) わたつみ$_1$の$_2$ (28) おき$_1$へ$_1$をみ$_1$れば (29) いざりする (30) あまの$_2$をと$_2$め$_1$は (31) をぶねの$_2$り (32) つららにうけ$_1$り (33) あかと$_2$き$_1$の$_2$ (34) しほみ$_1$ちくれば (35) あしべ$_1$には (36) たづなき$_1$わたる (37) あさなぎ$_1$に (38) ふなでをせむと$_2$ (39) ふなび$_1$と$_2$も$_1$ (40) かこ$_1$も$_1$こ$_2$ゑよ$_1$び$_1$ (41) にほど$_2$りの$_2$ (42) なづさひ$_1$ゆけ$_2$ば (43) いへ$_1$しまは (44) くも$_1$ゐにみ$_1$え$_2$ぬ (45) あがも$_1$へ$_1$る (46) こ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$なぐやと$_2$ (47) はやくき$_1$て (48) み$_1$むと$_2$おも$_1$ひ$_1$て (49) おほぶねを (50) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$わがゆけ$_2$ば (51) おき$_1$つなみ$_1$ (52) たかくたちき$_1$ぬ (53) よ$_2$そ$_2$の$_2$み$_2$に (54) み$_1$つつすぎ$_2$ゆき$_1$ (55) たまの$_2$うらに (56) ふねをと$_2$ど$_2$めて (57) はまび$_2$よ$_1$り (58) うらいそ$_1$をみ$_1$つつ (59) なくこ$_1$なす (60) ねの$_2$み$_2$しなかゆ (61) わたつみ$_1$の$_2$ (62) たまき$_1$の$_2$たまを (63) いへ$_1$づと$_1$に (64) いも$_1$にやらむと$_2$ (65) ひ$_1$りひ$_1$と$_2$り (66) そ$_1$でにはいれて (67) かへ$_1$しやる (68) つかひ$_1$なけ$_1$れば (69) も$_1$てれど$_2$も$_2$ (70) しるしをなみ$_1$と$_2$ (71) またおき$_1$つるかも$_1$

Romanization
(1) asa sar-e-Npa (2) imô-Nka TE-ni mak-u (3) kaNkamî-nasu (4) Mîtu-nö pama-N-pï-ni (5) opo-N-pune-ni (6) ma-kaNti siNsi nuk-î (7) Kara kuni-ni (8) watar-i-yuk-am-u tö (9) taNta mukap-u (10) Mînumê-wo sas-i-te (11) sipo mat-i-te (12) mîwoNpîk-î-yuk-ë-Npa (13) okî pê-ni pa (14) sira namî taka-mî (15) ura mï-yôri (16) köNk-î-te watar-e-Npa (17) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-ni (18) ApaNti-nö sima pa (19) yupu sar-e-Npa (20) kumôwi kakur-i-n-u (21) sa-yô pukë-te (22) yuk-u pê-wo sir-an-i (23) a-Nka kökörö (24) Akasi-nö ura-ni (25) pune tömë-te (26) uk-î-ne s-i-tutu (27) wata-tu mî-nö (28) okî pê-wo MÎ-re-Npa (29) iNsar-i s-uru (30) ama n-ö wotöMÊ pa (31) WON-PUNE NÖR-I (32) turara n-i uk-êr-i (33) akatökî-nö (34) sipo mit-i-k-ure-Npa (35) asi-N-pê-ni pa (36) taNtu nak-î watar-u (37) asa naNkî-ni (38) puna-[i]Nte-wo se-m-u tö (39) PUNA-N-PÎTÖ mô (40) kakô mô köwe yôNp-î (41) nipo-N-töri-nö (42) naNtusap-î-yuk-ë-Npa (43) Ipêsima pa (44) kumôwi-ni mî-ye-n-u (45) a-Nka [o]môp-êr-u (46) kökörö naNk-u ya tö (47) paya-ku k-î-te (48) mî-m-u tö omôp-î-te (49) opo-N-pune-wo (50) köNk-î wa-Nka yuk-ë-Npa (51) okî-tu namî (52) taka-ku tat-i-k-în-u (53) yösö-nömï-ni (54) MÎ-tutu suNkï-yuk-î (55) Tama-nö ura-ni (56) pune-wo töNtömë-te (57) pama-N-pï-yôri (58) ura isô-wo MÎ-tutu (59) nak-u kô-nasu (60) ne nömï si nak-ay-u (61) wata-tu mî-nö (62) ta-mak-î-nö tama-wo (63) ipê-N-tutô n-i (64) imô-ni yar-am-u tö (65) pîrip-î-tör-i (66) sôNte-ni pa ire-te (67) kapês-i-yar-u (68) tukapî na-kêre-Npa (69) môt-er-e-Ntömô (70) sirusi-wo na-mî tö (71) mata ok-î-t-uru kamô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) morning come-EV-CON (2) beloved-POSS hand-LOC embrace-ATTR (3) mirror-COMP (4) Mîtu-GEN shore-GEN-side-LOC (5) big-DV(ATTR)-boats-LOC (6) INT-rudder constantly pierce-INF (7) Korea land-LOC (8) cross-INF-go-TENT-FIN DV (9) directly face-ATTR (10) Mînumê-ACC point-INF-SUB (11) tide wait-INF-SUB (12) row.along.channel-INF-go-EV-CON (13) offing side-LOC TOP (14) white wave high-GER (15) bay turn.around(NML)-ABL (16) row-INF-SUB cross-EV-CON (17) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT (18) ApaNti-GEN island TOP (19) evening come-EV-CON (20) cloud hide-INF-PERF-FIN (21) PREF-night deepen(INF)-SUB (22) go-ATTR side-ACC know-NEG-INF (23) I-POSS heart (24) Akasi-GEN bay-LOC (25) boats stop(INF)-SUB (26) float-INF-sleep(NML) do-INF-COOR (27) sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN (28) offing side-ACC see-EV-CON (29) fish-NML do-ATTR (30) fisherwoman DV-ATTR maiden (31) DIM-boats board-INF (32) line DV-INF float-PROG-FIN (33) dawn-GEN (34) tide become.full-INF-come-EV-CON (35) reed-GEN-side-LOC TOP (36) crane cry-INF cross-FIN (37) morning calm-LOC (38) boats-exit(NML)-ACC do-TENT-FIN DV (39) boats-GEN-person PT (40) seaman PT voice call-INF (41) grebe-DV(ATTR)-bird-COMP (42) float-INF-GO-EV-CON (43) Ipêsima TOP (44) distance-LOC see-PASS(INF)-PERF-FIN (45) I-POSS long.for-PROG-ATTR (46) heart console-FIN PT DV (47) quick-INF come-INF-SUB (48) see-TENT-FIN DV think-INF-SUB (49) big-DV(ATTR)-boat-ACC (50) row-INF we-POSS go-EV-CON (51) offing-GEN/LOC wave (52) high-INF rise-INF-come-INF-PERF-FIN (53) distance-PT-LOC (54) see(INF)-COOR pass(INF)-go-INF (55) Tama-GEN bay-LOC (56) boat-ACC stop(INF)-SUB (57) shore-GEN-side-ABL (58) bay rock-ACC see(INF)-COOR (59) cry-ATTR child-COMP (60) voice only PT cry-PASS-FIN (61) sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN (62) arm-wrap-NML-GEN pearl-ACC (63) home-GEN-present DV-INF (64) beloved-DAT give-TENT-FIN DV (65) pick.ip-INF-take-INF (66) sleeve-LOC TOP insert(INF)-SUB (67) return-INF-send-ATTR (68) messenger no-EV-CON (69) hold-PROG-EV-CONC (70) use-ABS no-GER DV (71) again leave-INF-PERF-ATTR PT

Translation

(1) When the morning comes (4) near the shore of Mîtu (3) that [is] like a mirror (2) that my beloved embraces in [her] hands, (6) constantly piercing [the waves with our] great rudders (5) in [our] big boats (8) and thinking that we will cross over (7) to the land of Korea, (11) after [we] have waited for the tide, (12) [we] row along the channel (10) towards Mînumê (9) that faces [us] directly. (14) Because the white wives are high (13) in the offing, (16) we row across (15) from the circumference of the bay. (18) The island of ApaNti (17) where [I] will not meet my beloved (20) hides in the clouds (19 when evening comes. (21) When the night deepened (22) nor knowing where to go, (25) [we] anchored [our] boats (23/24) in the bay of Akasi, where [my] heart brightened, and (26) while [we] stayed [there] for a night-rest floating on the waves (28) when [we] looked towards the offing (27) of the sea dragon (30) fishermaidens (29) who were going fishing (31) boarded [their] small boatss, and (32) were floating in lines. (33/34) When the tide at dawn becomes full, (36) cranes cross over, crying, towards the reeds. (38) When [we] were going to take out [our boats] (37) in the morning calm (39/40) both passengers and seamen were calling [loudly] in [their] voices, and (42) as [we] were floating away [on the waves] (41) like grebes, (43) Ipêsima island (44) appeared in the distance. (45/46) Thinking: 'Will [it] console my longing heart?' (47/48) [I] thought that [I] want to come quickly and see [it], (50) as we were rowing (49) in the big boats, (51) the waves in the offing (52) rose high. (54) [So we] passed [this island], seeing [it] (53) only in the distance, and (56) after we anchored [our] boats (55) in the bay of Tama, (60) [I] am crying loudly (59) like a crying baby (58) looking at the bay rocks (57) from the shore. (65) [I] picked up (61/62) the pearls that the sea dragon wraps around his arms, (64) intending to give [them] to [my] beloved as a souvenir, and (66) put [them] into my sleeve, (67/68) because there is no messenger to send [them] back, (69) although [I] hold [them in my hands], (70) thinking that [it] was no use (71) [I] have left [them there] again, alas!

Commentary

In geographical terms this poem takes us way back on the rout of the embassy, almost to its starting point.

The first three lines represent a poetic introduction (*jo*, 序) for the placename Mîtu, on which see the commentary to 15.3593. The placename Mîtu in this poem also involves the play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): *mî-t-u*, a perfective final form of the verb *mî-* 'to see.'

WOJ *mak-* (line 2) has several meanings: 'to wrap, to roll up, to wind, to embrace.' Here certainly only 'to embrace' would fit.

WOJ *pï* ‘side’ in *pama-N-pï* ‘shore side’ (lines 4 and 57) is traditionally analyzed as a suffix ‘meaning ‘side, vicinity’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 603), (Yoshii 1988: 115). Actually, it is of course, not a ‘suffix’, but a bound noun that always appears as a second element of a compound, cf. also *woka-N-pï* ‘hill side’ (5.838, 17.3946), *yama-N-pï* ‘mountain side’ (17.3973), *kapa-N-pï* ‘river side’ (20.4309). It is clearly a phonetic variant of the much more frequent *pê* ‘side’ that appears both as free and as bound noun. The vowel alternation between /ê/ and /ï/ in Western Old Japanese is puzzling. In Eastern Old Japanese corpus there is also *yama-N-pï* ‘mountain side’ (attested in 14.3357 that has no distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features) and *osu-pî* ‘rocky shore side’ (14.3385). The last EOJ form *-pî* in *osu-pî* may be taken as a contraction of the original diphthong *ia (that contracted into /ê/ in WOJ), if we take EOJ /î/ at the face value. Thus, WOJ pê, EOJ î < PJN *pia. This still leaves WOJ *-pï* stranded and difficult to explain.

The placename Kara ‘Korea’ here of course means United Silla. Originally Kara referred to the state (or tribal union?) of Karak (WOJ *Mîmana* 任那), which was sandwiched between Paekche and Silla. It was conquered by Silla in 562 AD. Later on the name Kara was applied to China as well, so there are texts where it is difficult to decide which country is meant exactly.

On the placename Mînumê see the commentary to 15.3606

Opo-N-pune-ni ma-kaNti siNsi nuk-î ‘constantly piercing [the waves with our] great rudders in [our] big boats’ (lines 5 and 6) cf. the identical lines in 15.3611 and 15.3679.

There is a controversy about the reading and interpretation of the line 15, due to the same confusion of the *man’yōgana* signs 未 /mï/ and 末 /ma/ in different manuscripts of the *Man’yōshū* that we have already seen in the case of *isô mï-nö ura* in 15.3599 (see the commentary to this poem). I follow the reading *ura mï-yôri* ‘from the circumference of the bay,’ adopted by the majority of scholars (Takagi et al. 1962: 67), (Kojima et al. 1975: 57), (Yoshii 1988: 112), (Itō 1998: 105), althouth others prefer the reading *ura ma-yôri* ‘from the space of the bay’ (Omodaka 1984.15: 57), (Nakanishi 1981: 306). Rowing from the bay straight into the offing would be dangerous, especially that the text mentions the high waves in the offing. Thus, it was much safe to take the boat out, following its circumference. Therefore, the reading *ura mï-yôri* ‘from the circumference of the bay’ makes more sense to me. See also the commentary to 15.3702 for additional evidence.

ApaNti island here involves the play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): cf. a near-homophone *ap-aNsi* ‘probably will not meet,’ a negative tentative form of the verb *ap-* ‘to meet.’

WOJ *kumôwi* (lit. ‘cloud seat’) may mean either ‘clouds,’ ‘place where clouds gather,’ or due to the fact that clouds are far away in the sky, ‘distance’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 271). Note that in this poem in the line twenty it means ‘clouds’, while in the line forty-four it refers to ‘distance.’ In both cases I follow here Yoshii’s interpretation (1988: 112-13).

On the place name Akasi see the commentary to 15.3607. Here it involves the play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): inflected adjective *akasi* means ‘to be bright.’

On *uk-î-ne se-* ‘to do floating sleep’ see the commentary to 15.3592. Here it is probably should be taken not as a literal sleep, but staying on the boats for the night, since when one sleeps, one cannot look around.

WOJ *puna-N-pîtö* may indicate either boatsmen or passengers. Here it probably refers to the passengers, i.e. the members of the mission (Nakanishi 1981: 306), because *puna-N-pîtö* are constrasted with *kakô* ‘seamen, sailors’ in the next line. Omodaka, however, believes that *puna-N-pîtö* are the members of the crew while *kakô* are the rowers (1983.15: 60). I follow Nakanishi’s interpretation here, because *kakô* are also members of the crew.

A comparison with *nipo-N-töri* ‘grebes’ gives us final confirmation that there were at least two boatss on the mission.

Ipêsima literally means ‘home island’ (*ipê* ‘home + *sima* ‘island’). This is important for understanding of the following lines where the author metaphorically expresses his desire for seeing his home again. Ipêsima (MdJ Iesima) is the main island in the Iesima archipelago, located eighteen kilometers south-west from Himeji city in present day Hyōgo prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 298), (Nakanishi 1985: 427).

WOJ *kumôwi* (lit. ‘cloud seat’) may mean either ‘clouds,’ ‘place where clouds gather,’ or due to the fact that clouds are far away in the sky, ‘distance’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 271).

On *wata-tu mî* see the commentary to 15.3597.

On the placename Tama-nö ura ‘the bay of Tama’ see the commentary to 15.3598.

On WOJ *pîrip-* ‘to pick up’ see the commentary to 15.3614.

Preface to the poems 3628-3629
本文・Original text
反歌二首

Translation
Two envoys.

15.3628
本文・Original text
(1) 多麻能宇良能 (2) 於伎都之良多麻 (3) 比利敝礼杼 (4) 麻多曽於伎都流 (5) 見流比等乎奈美

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たまの$_2$うらの$_2$ (2) おき$_1$つしらたま (3) ひ$_1$りへ$_1$れど$_2$ (4) またそ$_2$おき$_1$つる (5) み$_1$るひ$_1$と$_2$をなみ$_1$

Romanization
(1) Tama-nö ura-nö (2) okî-tu sira tama (3) pîrip-êr-e-Ntö (4) mata sö ok-î-t-uru (5) MÎ-ru pîtö na-mî

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Tama-GEN bay-GEN (2) offing-GEN/LOC white pearl (3) pick.up-PROG-EV-CONC (4) again PT leave-INF-PERF-ATTR (5) see-ATTR person-ABS no-GER

Translation
(3) Although [I] picked up (2) white pearls in the offing (2) of the bay of Tama, (4) because there is nobody to look [at them], (5) [I] have left [them there] again.

Commentary
On Tama-nö ura ‘the bay of Tama’ see the commentary to 15.3598.

MÎ-ru pîtö-wo na-mî ‘because there is no person to [look at them]’: ‘person’ here certainly indicates the beloved of the author of 15.3627. See the lines 65-71 of 15.3627.

On WOJ *pîrip-* ‘to pick up’ see the commentary to 15.3614.

15.3629
本文・Original text
(1) 安伎左良婆 (2) 和我布祢波弖牟 (3) 和須礼我比 (4) 与世伎弖於家礼 (5) 於伎都之良奈美

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あき$_1$さらば (2) わがふねはてむ (3) わすれがひ$_1$ (4) よ$_2$せき$_1$ておけ$_1$れ (5) おき$_1$つしらなみ$_1$

Romanization
(1) akî sar-aNpa (2) wa-Nka pune pate-m-u (3) wasure-N-kapî (4) yöse-k-î-te ok-êr-e (5) okî-tu sira namî

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn come-COND (2) I-POSS boat anchor-TENT-FIN (3) forget(NML)-GEN-shell (4) bring(INF)-come-INF-SUB put-PROG-IMP (5) offing-GEN/LOC white wave

Translation
(1) When the autumn comes (2) [I] will again anchor my boat [here]. (5) White waves of the offing, (4) bring [to me] (3) the shell of forgetfulness (5) -- [but I] will leave [it here].

Commentary
The conditional verbal gerund *-aNpa* normally introduces either irrealis or realis conditional clause in Western Old Japanese, but when used in conjunction with tentative verbal forms in *-(a)m-* or *-(u)ram-*, it may also introduce a temporal connection clause meaning ‘when.’ For details see Vovin (2008a: 758-59).

The WOJ resultative auxiliary *ok-* ‘to put, to place’ indicates that an action is done for future use, functioning exactly like MD\dJ auxiliary *ok-*. Thus, *yöse-k-î-te ok-êr-e* (line 4) ‘bring [the shelf of forgetfulness to me] for the future use.’ The shell of forgetfulness (WOJ *wasure-N-kapî*) is a magic shell that makes one to forget love or longing. But here the author imagines that he will be back in the fall on his way to the capital, where he will see his beloved again. Thus, he actually will no longer need it, or at least he is uncertain that he will

need it, and this lack of the future need is expressed by the play of words involving *okî-tu* ‘of the offing’ (line 5), which also can be read as *ok-î-t-u* put-INF-PERF-FIN ‘[I] will leave [the shell of forgetfulness there].

Preface to the poems 3630-3637
本文・Original text
周防國玖河郡麻里布浦行之時作歌八首

Translation
Eight poems composed when [we] went through the bay of Maripu in the district of Kuka of the province of Supa.

Commentary
Supa province corresponds to the eastern part of the present-day Yamaguchi prefecture. The district of Kuka in the time of the mission corresponded to the present-day Kuka county, Iwakuni city, and Yanai city of Yamaguchi prefecture (Nakanishi 1985: 442).[39] Maripu bay is identified variously as being located in the vicinity of the Marifu town of Iwakuni city (Nakanishi 1985: 485), or in the vicinity of the estuary of Imazugawa river in the eastern part of Iwakuni city (Itō et al. 1981: 369).

15.3630
本文・Original text
(1) 真可治奴伎 (2) 布祢之由加受波 (3) 見礼杼安可奴 (4) 麻里布能宇良尓 (5) 也杼里世麻之乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) まかぢぬき$_1$ (2) ふねしゆかずは (3) み$_1$れど$_2$あかぬ (4) まりふの$_2$うらに (5) やど$_2$りせましを

Romanization
(1) ma-kaNti nuk-î (2) pune si yuk-aNs-u pa (3) MÎ-re-Ntö ak-an-u (4) Maripu-nö ura-ni (5) yaNtör-i se-masi-wo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) INT-rudder pierce-INF (2) boat PT go-NEG-INF TOP (3) look-EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR (4) Maripu-GEN bay-LOC (5) stay.for.the.night-NML do-SUBJ-ACC

Translation
(2) If [our] boat does not move (1) [with seamen] piercing [the waves] with the great rudder, (5) [I] would stay for the night (4) in Maripu bay (3) that [I] look at, but cannot get enough of [it], (5) but …

Commentary
On the placename Maripu see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3630-3637.

15.3631
本文・Original text
(1) 伊都之可母 (2) 見牟等於毛比師 (3) 安波之麻乎 (4) 与曽尓也故非無 (5) 由久与思乎奈美

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いつしかも$_2$ (2) み$_1$むと$_2$おも$_1$ひ$_1$し (3) あはしまを (4) よ$_2$そ$_2$にやこ$_1$ひ$_2$む (5) ゆくよ$_2$しをなみ$_1$

Romanization
(1) itu si kamö (2) MÎ-m-u tö omôp-î-si (3) Apasima-wo (4) yösö-ni ya kôpî-m-u (5) yuk-u yösi-wo na-mî

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) when PT PT (2) see-TENT-ATTR DV think-INF-PAST/ATTR (3) Apasima-ACC (4) distant.place-LOC PT long.for-TENT-ATTR (5) go-ATTR chance-ABS no-GER

[39] Itō et al. indicate that the ancient Kuka district included only Kuka county and Iwakuni city (1981: 317).

Translation
(5) Because there is no chance to go [there], (4) will [I just] long from a distance for (3) the island of Apasima (2) that [I] dreamed to see (1) sometimes?

Commentary
The exact location of Apasima island is unknown. As Omodaka notes, it is certainly not to be confused with Apasima island located somewhere near the old Apa province on the western end of Sikoku island (present-day Tokusima prefecture) (1983.15: 64). Nakanishi suggests two other possibilities, such Yashirosima (otherwise known as Ōsima), or Daijisagajiatatajima, both in the present-day Yamaguchi prefecture (1985: 418), but both possibilities are uncertain.

Apasima like ApaNti (MdJ Awaji) island in 15.3627 involves a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) with the near-homophone negative tentative form *ap-aNsi* 'probably will not meet' of the verb *ap-* 'to meet.' See the commentary to 15.3627 and compare also 15.3633.

15.3632
本文・Original text
(1) 大船尓 (2) 可之布里多弖天 (3) 波麻藝欲伎 (4) 麻里布能宇良尓 (5) 也杼里可世麻之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほぶねに (2) かしふりたてて (3) はまぎ$_1$よ$_1$き$_1$ (4) まりふの$_2$うらに (5) やど$_2$りかせまし

Romanization
(1) OPO-N-PUNE-ni (2) kasi pur-i-tate-te (3) pama-N-kîyô-kî (4) Maripu-nö ura-ni (5) yaNtör-i ka se-masi

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) big-DV(ATTR)-boat-LOC (2) boat.pole throw.in-INF-place(INF)-SUB (3) shore-GEN-clean-ATTR (4) Maripu-GEN bay-LOC (5) stay.for.the.night-NML PT do-SUBJ

Translation
(5) Would [I] stay for night (4) in the bay of Maripu, (3) where the beach is clean (2) casting [into the sea] the boat pole (1) for [our] big boat [to anchor]? [certainly, but this unlikely to happen]

Commentary
WOJ *kasi* is a pole to which boats were anchored.

On the placename Maripu see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3630-3637.

15.3633
本文・Original text
(1) 安波思麻能 (2) 安波自等於毛布 (3) 伊毛尓安礼也 (4) 夜須伊毛祢受弖 (5) 安我故非和多流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あはしまの$_2$ (2) あはじと$_2$おも$_1$ふ (3) いも$_1$にあれや (4) やすいも$_1$ねずて (5) あがこ$_1$ひ$_2$わたる

Romanization
(1) Apasima-nö (2) ap-aNsi tö omôp-u (3) imô n-i ar-e ya (4) yasu i mô ne-Ns-u-te (5) a-Nka kôpï-watar-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Apasima-COMP (2) meet-NEG/TENT DV think-ATTR (3) beloved DV-INF exist-EV PT (4) easy sleep PT sleep-NEG-INF-SUB (5) I-POSS long.for(INF)-cross-FIN

Translation
(3) Is [she] a beloved (2) that [I] think that [I] would probably not meet again (1) like Apasima island? (3) -- [Certainly not, but nevertheless] (5) I continue to long [for her] (4) without [being able] to sleep easily.

Commentary

The *Man'yōshū* scholars are split regarding the interptretation of the second line: some believe that *ap-aNsi tö omôp-u* meet-NEG/TENT DV think-ATTR indicates that the beloved of the author does not intend to meet him again (Pierson 1963: 48), (Yoshii 1988: 127), but the majority think that it is the the author himself who thinks that he might not meet his beloved again (Takagi 1962: 71), (Kojima et al. 1975: 59), (Nakanishi 1981: 309), (Omodaka 1984.15: 66), (Itō 1998: 118). I agree with the latter interpretation, which is further supported by the fact that *omöp-* 'to think' (misspelled as *omôp-* in this poem) does not have any tentative mood marking on it that indicates that its subject is the author himseld and not somebody else.

Apasima island involves a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) with the near-homophone negative tentative form *ap-aNsi* 'probably will not meet' of the verb *ap-* 'to meet.' See the commentary to 15.3631 and compare also 15. 3627.

15.3634

本文・Original text

(1) 筑紫道能 (2) 可太能於保之麻 (3) 思末志久母 (4) 見祢婆古非思吉 (5) 伊毛乎於伎弖伎奴

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) つくしぢの$_2$ (2) かだの$_2$おほしま (3) しましくも$_2$ (4) み$_1$ねばこ$_1$ひ$_2$しき (5) いも$_1$をおき$_1$てき$_1$ぬ

Romanization

(1) Tukusi-N-ti-nö (2) KaNta-nö Oposima (3) simasi-ku mö (4) MÎ-n-e-Npa kôpïsi-kî (5) imô-wo ok-î-te k-î-n-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) Tukusi-GEN-road-GEN (2) Oposima island of KaNta (3) be.for.a.little.while-INF PT (4) see-NEG-EV-CON miss-ATTR (5) beloved-ACC leave-INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-FIN

Translation

(5) [I] have come to Oposima island of KaNta (1) that is on the road to Tukusi, (5) leaving behind [my] beloved (4) whom [I] miss when [I] don't see [her] (3) even for a little while.

Commentary

Tukusi is the old name for Kyūshū island.

Oposima island of KaNta corresponds to the present-day Yashirojima island in the county of Ōshima in Yamaguchi prefecture (Omodaka 1984.15: 66), (Nakanishi 1985: 435).

The first two lines seem to be a poetic introduction (*jo*, 序) for the rest of the poem with a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) of *sima* 'island' in the placename Oposima and the inflected adjective simasi- 'to be for a little while' (Omodaka 1984.15: 67).

15.3635

本文・Original text

(1) 伊毛我伊敝治 (2) 知可久安里世婆 (3) 見礼杼安可奴 (4) 麻里布能宇良乎 (5) 見世麻思毛能乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) いも$_1$がいへ$_1$ぢ (2) ちかくありせば (3) み$_1$れど$_2$あかぬ (4) まりふの$_2$うらを (5) み$_1$せましも$_1$の$_2$を

Romanization

(1) imô-Nka ipê-N-ti (2) tika-ku ar-i-s-eNpa (3) MÎ-re-Ntö ak-an-u (4) Maripu-nö ura-wo (5) MÎ-se-masi mônöwo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) beloved-POSS home-GEN-road (2) close-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND (3) look-EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR (4) Maripu-GEN bay-ACC (5) see-CAUS-SUBJ CONJ

Translation

(1/2) If the road to my beloved home were near (5) [I] would show [her] (4) the bay of Maripu (3) that [I] look at, but cannot get enough of [it], (5) but …

Commentary
On the placename Maripu see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3630-3637.

15.3636
本文・Original text
(1) 伊敝妣等波 (2) 可敝里波也許等 (3) 伊波比之麻 (4) 伊波比麻都良牟 (5) 多妣由久和礼乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いへ$_1$び$_1$と$_2$は (2) かへ$_1$りはやこ$_2$と$_2$ (3) いはひ$_1$しま (4) いはひ$_1$まつらむ (5) たび$_1$ゆくわれを

Romanization
(1) ipê-N-pîtö pa (2) kapêr-i paya kö tö (3) Ipapîsima (4) ipap-î mat-uram-u (5) taNpî yuk-u ware-wo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) home-GEN-person TOP (2) return-INF quick come(IMP) DV (3) Ipapîsima (4) pray-INF wait-TENT2-FIN (5) journey go-ATTR I-ACC

Translation
(1) [My] home folks (4/5) will wait for me who goes on a journey, praying: (2) ‘Come back quickly!’

Commentary
The place name Ipapîsima (lit. ‘Praying Island’) is used as permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) for the verb *ipap-* ‘to pray.’ Ipapîsima island corresponds to the present-day Iwai island in Kumage town of Yamaguchi prefecture (Omodaka 1984.15: 68), (Itō et al. 1981: 298), (Nakanishi 1985: 426).

15.3637
本文・Original text
(1) 久左麻久良 (2) 多妣由久比等乎 (3) 伊波比之麻 (4) 伊久与布流末弖 (5) 伊波比伎尓家牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) くさまくら (2) たび$_1$ゆくひ$_1$と$_2$を (3) いはひ$_1$しま (4) いくよ$_2$ふるまで (5) いはひ$_1$き$_1$にけ$_1$む

Romanization
(1) kusa makura (2) taNpî yuk-u pîtö-wo (3) Ipapîsima (4) iku yö p-uru-maNte (5) ipap-î k-î-n-i-kêm-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) grass pillow (2) journey go-ATTR person-ACC (3) Ipapîsima (4) how.many generation pass-ATTR-TERM (5) pray-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/TENT-FIN

Translation
(4) For how many generations (3/5) did Ipapîsima (Praying Island) pray (2) for the people who go on a journey (1) [where they use] grass [for their] pillows?

Commentary
On *kusa makura* ‘grass pillow’ see the commentary to 15.3612.
Past tentative auxiliary *-kêm-* is a contraction of the final past auxiliary *-kî* and tentative *-am-*, with the *kō-rui* vowel /î/ and vowel /a/ monophthongizing into a *kō-rui* /ê/.

Preface to the poems 3638-3639
本文・Original text
過大嶋鳴門而経再宿之後追作歌二首

Translation
Two poems composed two nights after [we] passed Oposima [and] Narutô strait.

15.3638
本文・Original text
(1) 巨礼也己能 (2) 名尓於布奈流門能 (3) 宇頭之保尓 (4) 多麻毛可流登布 (5) 安麻乎等女杼毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) こ$_2$れやこ$_2$の$_2$ (2) なにおふなると$_1$の$_2$ (3) うづしほに (4) たまも$_1$かると$_2$ふ (5) あまをと$_2$め$_1$ど$_2$も$_1$

Romanization
(1) köre ya könö (2) NA-ni op-u NaruTÔ-nö (3) uNtu-sipo-ni (4) tama mwo kar-u tö [i]p-u (5) ama wotöMÊ-Ntömô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) this PT this (2) name-LOC carry-ATTR Narutwo-GEN (3) whirl-current-LOC (4) jewel seaweed cut-ATTR DV say-ATTR (5) fisher maiden-PLUR

Translation
(1) Are these (5) the fisher-maidens (4) who are said to cut jewel seaweeds (3) in the whirling current (1/2) of Narutwo bearing this [famous] name?

Commentary
On the placename Oposima see the commentary to 15.3634.

Postscript to the poem 15.3638
本文・Original text
右一首田邊秋庭

Translation
The poem above is by TanaNpê-nö Akînipa.

Narutô (lit. 'Sounding Strait', present-day Ōbatake strait) is a strait between Oposima (modern Yashirojima) and Ōbatake village in the Kuka county in the present-day Yamaguchi prefecture. It is known for its strong and dangerous current that makes sound (Omodaka 1984.15: 69).

Commentary
Nothing is known about the biography of TanaNpê-nö Akînipa except that he was a member of the mission to Silla. This is the only poem by him recorded in the *Man'yōshū*.

15.3639
本文・Original text
(1) 奈美能宇倍尓 (2) 宇伎祢世之欲比 (3) 安杼毛倍香 (4) 許己呂我奈之久 (5) 伊米尓美要都流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) なみ$_1$の$_2$うへ$_2$に (2) うき$_1$ねせしよ$_1$ひ$_1$ (3) あど$_2$も$_1$へ$_2$か (4) こ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$がなしく (5) いめ$_2$にみ$_1$え$_2$つる

Romanization
(1) namî-nö upë-ni (2) uk-î-ne se-si yôpî (3) aN-tö [o]môp-ë ka (4) kökörö-N-kanasi-ku (5) imë-ni mî-ye-t-uru

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) wave-GEN top-LOC (2) float-INF-sleep(NML) do(INF)-PAST/ATTR night (3) what-DV think-EV PT (4) heart-GEN-sad-INF (5) dream-LOC see-PASS(INF)-PERF-ATTR

Translation
(2) On the night when [I] was sleeping floating (1) on the waves (3) what was [I] thinking [about]? (4) As [I] was sad in [my] heart, (5) [she] suddenly has appeared in [my] dream.

Commentary
On *uk-î-ne se-* 'to do floating sleep' see the commentary to 15.3592.

WOJ *yöpî* ‘[first part of the] night’ is misspelled as *yôpî* in this poem, probably due to the contamination with *yô* ‘night.’

This poem has the only example of *aN-* ‘what’ attested in Western Old Japanese. The form *aN-* ‘what’ is typical for Eastern Old Japanese in contrast to WOJ *nani* id.’, for the details see Vovin (2005: 308-11). Although it might seem but unlikely at the first glance, it is possible to speculate that the author of this poem might be from the Azuma region. The basis for this speculation rests on the observation that a single example of *aN-* in the entire Western Japanese corpus is suspicious. Another possibility is that the author of this poem composed his poem as a *honkadori* (本歌取り) of an original poem in Eastern Old Japanese that was not recorded in the *Man’yōshū*.

Preface to the poems 3640-3643
本文・Original text
熊毛浦舶泊之夜作歌四首

Translation
Four poems composed on the night when [we] anchored our boats in the Kumakë bay.

Commentary
Kumakë bay is located in the present-day Kumage county of Yamaguchi prefecture. There are three hypotheses regarding its exact location: (a) seashore of Daijimurotsu in the town of Kaminoseki, (b) the Oguni bay in Hirao town, and (c) Murotsu bay in Hikari city (Itō et al. 1981: 318), (Nakanishi 1985: 444).

15.3640
本文・Original text
(1) 美夜故邊尓 (2) 由可牟船毛我 (3) 可里許母能 (4) 美太礼弖於毛布 (5) 許登都導夜良牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) み$_1$やこ$_1$へ$_1$に (2) ゆかむふねも$_1$が (3) かりこ$_2$も$_2$の$_2$ (4) み$_1$だれておも$_1$ふ (5) こ$_2$と$_2$つげ$_2$やらむ

Romanization
(1) mîyakô pê-ni (2) yuk-am-u pune môNka (3) kar-i-kömö-nö (4) mîNtare-te omôp-u (5) kötö tuNkë-yar-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) capital side-LOC (2) go-TENT-ATTR boat PT (3) reap-INF-wild.rice-COMP (4) be.in.disorder(INF)-SUB (5) word report(INF)-send-TENT-FIN

Translation
(2) [I] wish for a boat that would go (1) to the capital. (5) [I] would send [with it] a message (4) that [my] thoughts are in disorder (3) like reaped [stalks] of wild rice.

Commentary
On *kar-i-kömö-nö* ‘like reaped [stalks] of wild rice’ see the commentary to the postscript of 15.3609.

Postscript to the poem 15.3640
本文・Original text
右一首羽栗

Translation
The poem above is by Pakuri.

Commentary
Since no given name is recorded, this person is identified variously as Pakuri-nö Kakêru (羽栗翔) or Pakuri-nö omî TuNpasa (羽栗翼) (Takagi et al. 1962: 72), (Omodaka 1984.15: 72). Both Pakuri-nö Kakêru (years of birth and death are unknown) and Pakuri-nö TuNpasa (719-798 AD) are sons of Pakuri-nö Kîmarö (羽栗吉麻呂), born during the residence of the latter in Chang’an from a Chinese woman. TuNpasa is the elder brother of Kakêru. Both went back to Japan with their father in 734 AD and embarked on official carreers, serving frequently as

members of missions sent to China (TuNpasa) or to China and Parhay (Chin. Bohai, 渤海) (Kakêru) (KSDJT XI: 514).

15.3641
本文・Original text
(1) 安可等伎能 (2) 伊敝胡悲之伎尓 (3) 宇良未欲理 (4) 可治乃於等須流波 (5) 安麻乎等女可母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あかと$_2$き$_1$の$_2$ (2) いへ$_1$ご$_1$ひ$_2$しき$_1$に (3) うらみ$_2$よ$_1$り (4) かぢの$_2$おと$_2$するは (5) あまをと$_2$め$_1$かも$_2$

Romanization
(1) akatökî-nö (2) ipê-N-kôpïsi-kî n-i (3) ura mï-yôri (4) kaNti-GEN otö s-uru pa (5) ama wotöMÊ kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) dawn-GEN (2) home-GEN-miss-ATTR DV-INF (3) bay turn(NML)-ABL (4) rudder-GEN sound do-ATTR TOP (5) fisher maiden PT

Translation
(2) When [I] am homesick (1) at the dawn, (4) a sound of rudder comes (3) from the turn of the bay -- (5) I wonder whether [it is from] a fisher maiden[‘s boat].

Commentary
There is the same controversy of how to read the third line of this poem as the controversy in reading the fifteenth line of 15.3627. See the commentary to 15.3627 for details.

15.3642
本文・Original text
(1) 於伎敝欲理 (2) 之保美知久良之 (3) 可良能宇良尓 (4) 安佐里須流多豆 (5) 奈伎弖佐和伎奴

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おき$_1$へ$_1$よ$_1$り (2) しほみ$_1$ちくらし (3) からの$_2$うらに (4) あさりするたづ (5) なき$_1$てさわき$_1$ぬ

Romanization
(1) okî pê-yôri (2) sipo mît-i-k-urasi (3) Kara-nö ura-ni (4) asar-i s-uru taNtu (5) nak-î-te sawak-î-n-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) offing side-ABL (2) tide rise-INF-come-SUP (3) Kara-GEN bay-LOC (4) search.for.food-NML do-ATTR crane (5) cry-INF-SUB make.noise-INF-PERF-FIN

Translation
(2) It seems that the tide is rising from the offing. (4) Cranes that search for food (3) in the bay of Kara (5) are crying and making noise.

Commentary
The location of Kara bay is not known for certain. Itō et al. and Nakanishi list several hypotheses (Itō et al. 1981: 314), (Nakanishi 1985: 439), of which the location in the present-day Kumage district of Yamaguchi prefecture seems to be the most likely (Omodaka 1984.15: 73), although Yoshii argues that any of these multiple hypotheses are not trustworthy (Yoshii 1988: 142).
Line four is identical with line four in 15.3598.

15.3643
本文・Original text
(1) 於吉敝欲里 (2) 布奈妣等能煩流 (3) 与妣与勢弖 (4) 伊射都氣也良牟 (5) 多婢能也登里乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) おき$_1$へ$_1$よ$_1$り (2) ふなび$_1$と$_2$の$_2$ぼる (3) よ$_2$び$_1$よ$_2$せて (4) いざつげ$_2$やらむ (5) たび$_1$の$_2$やど$_2$りを

Romanization
(1) okî pê-yôri (2) puna-N-pîtö nöNpor-u (3) yöNp-î yöse-te (4) iNsa tuNkë-yar-am-u (5) taNpî-nö yaNtör-i-wo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) offing side-ABL (2) boat-GEN-people go.up-FIN (3) call-INF make.approach(INF)-SUB (4) EXCL report(INF)-send-TENT-FIN (5) journey-GEN stay.for.a.night-NML-ACC

Translation
(2) Travelers go [to the capital] (1) through the offing. (3) [I] call [them], and make [them approach]. (4) [I] want to send a message [to my folks in the capital] (5) about the place where [I] stayed for a night on [my] journey.

Commentary
Here the ablative case marker *-yôri* seems to be used in the prolative function (Itabashi 19XX: X). Cf. The commentary to 15.3608.

Puna-N-pîtö (lit. 'boat people') here mean not the seamen, but the travelers on the boat. It is unlikely that the author would send a message through a seaman rather than through someone of the same status as he. See also the commentary to 15.3627.

The verb *nöNpor-* 'to go up, to climb' was used in Western Old Japanese in the same meaning as its MdJ counterpart *nobor-* is used today: 'to go to the capital from provinces.'

The verb *yôNp-* 'to call' is misspelled as *yöNp-* in this poem.

Postscript to the poem 15.3643
本文・Original text
一云　(4) 多妣能夜杼里乎 (5) 伊射都氣夜良奈

Translation with romanization and glossing
A variant of this poem says:

(4) taNpî-nö yaNtör-i-wo (5) iNsa tuNkë-yar-ana
(4) journey-GEN stay.for.a.night-NML-ACC (5) EXCL report(INF)-send-TENT-FIN
(5) [I] want to send a message [to my folks in the capital] (4) about the place where [I] stayed for a night on [my] journey.

Commentary
In this variant lines four and five are flipped-flopped, and also *tuNkë-yar-ana* appears in the desiderative form in *-ana* and not in the tentative final form *-am-u* as in the main variant.

Preface to the poems 3644-3651
本文・Original text
佐婆海中忽遭逆風漲浪漂流経宿而後幸得順風到著豊前國下毛郡分間浦於是追怛艱難悽惆作歌八首

Translation
In SaNpa sea [we] suddenly met with a head wind and swelling waves. After drifting through the night, [we] fortunately caught a favorable wind and arrived to Wakuma bay in Simôtumîkë district of NpuNsen province. Consequently, when we were in distress over [our] hardships and lamenting, [the following] eight poems were composed.

Commentary
NpuNsen (MdJ Buzen) province included eastern part of the present-day Fukuoka prefecture and northern part of the present-day Ōita prefecture in Kyūshū.

Simotumîkë district corresponds to the region including Shimoge county and Nakatsu city in the present-day Ōita prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 331), (Nakanishi 1985: 454).

Wakuma bay was probably located somewhere on Wama (also called Mama) seashore in the eastern part of Nakatsu city (Itō et al. 1981: 384), (Nakanishi 1985: 497).

15.3644
本文・Original text

(1) 於保伎美能 (2) 美許等可之故美 (3) 於保夫祢能 (4) 由伎能麻尓末尓 (5) 夜杼里須流可母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほき$_1$み$_1$の$_2$ (2) み$_1$こ$_2$と$_2$かしこ$_1$み$_1$ (3) おほぶねの$_2$ (4) ゆき$_1$の$_2$まにまに (5) やど$_2$りするかも$_2$

Romanization
(1) opo kîmî-nö (2) mî-kötö kasikô-mî (3) opo-N-pune-nö (4) yuk-î-nö manima n-i (5) yaNtör-i s-uru kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) great lord-GEN (2) HON-word awesome-GER (3) big-DV(ATTR)-boat (4) go-NML-GEN according DV-INF (5) stay.for.a.night-NML do-ATTR PT

Translation
(1/2) Because the command of the sovereign is awesome (5) [I] will stay for a night (3/4) wherever [my] big boat goes!

Commentary
Opo kîmî (lit. 'great lord') is one of the designations for the sovereign.
Mî-kötö (lit. 'honorable word') refers to imperial command or edict.

Postscript to the poem 15.3645
本文・Original text
右一首雪宅麻呂

Translation
The poem above is by Yukî-nö Yakamarö.

Commentary
Nothing is known about the biography of Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö except that he was a member of the mission to Silla and died from illness on Ikî island during the outward journey (Nakanishi 1985: 281). See also the preface to poems 3688-3690.

15.3645
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎毛故波 (2) 伴也母許奴可登 (3) 麻都良牟乎 (4) 於伎尓也須麻牟 (5) 伊敝都可受之弖

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$は (2) はやも$_2$こ$_2$ぬかと$_2$ (3) まつらむを (4) おき$_1$にやすまむ (5) いへ$_1$づかずして

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmôkô pa (2) paya mö kö-n-u ka tö (3) mat-uram-u-wo (4) okî-ni ya sum-am-u (5) ipê-N-tuk-aNs-u s-i-te

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved TOP (2) quick PT come-NEG-ATTR PT DV (3) wait-TENT2-ACC (4) offing-LOC PT live-TENT-ATTR (5) home-LOC-approach-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB

Translation
(1/3) Although my beloved probably waits for me, (2) thinking: 'Will he not come back quickly?' (4) would [I continue to] live in the offing (5) without coming close to [my] home?

Commentary
All Japanese commentators explain *ipê-N-tuk-* as 'to approach home, to come close to home,' (Takagi et al. 1962: 74), (Kojima et al. 1975: 63), (Nakanishi 1981: 312), (Omodaka 1984.15: 76), (Yoshii 1988: 151-52), (Itō 1998: 140), although *tuk-* does not mean 'to approach,' but 'to arrive.' In spite of this, the traditional explanation seems to be appropriate, because although in this poem *ipê-N-tuk-* may be explained as 'to arrive home,' it could only be

understood as ‘to come close to one’s home’ in 15.3720. This compound occurs in the *Man’yōshū* only in these two poems.

15.3646
本文・Original text
(1) 宇良未欲里 (2) 許藝許之布祢乎 (3) 風波夜美 (4) 於伎都美宇良尓 (5) 夜杼里須流可毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) うらみ$_2$よ$_1$り (2) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$こ$_2$しふねを (3) かぜはやみ$_1$ (4) おき$_1$つみ$_1$うらに (5) やど$_2$りするかも$_1$

Romanization
(1) ura mï-yôri (2) köNk-î-kö-si pune-wo (3) KANSE paya-mî (4) okî-tu mî-ura-ni (5) yaNtör-i s-uru kamô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) bay turn(NML)-ABL (2) row-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR boat-ACC (3) wind fast-GER (4) offing-GEN/LOC HON-inside-LOC (5) stay.for.a.night-NML do-ATTR PT

Translation
(1/2) [I] came [out to the sea] rowing [my] boat from the turn of the bay. (3) Because the wind is strong, (4/5) I will spend the night in the awesome middle of the offing, alas!

Commentary
There is the same controversy of how to read the first line of this poem as the controversy in reading the fifteenth line of 15.3627. See the commentary to 15.3627 for details.

Some commentators perceive the accusative case marker *-wo* in the second line as introducing a concessive clause (Nakanishi 1981: 312), (Yoshii 1988: 153), but *-wo* has this function only when it follows the attributive form of a verb (Vovin 2005: 167-68). Since the verb *köNk-* ‘to row’ can be both transitive and intransitive, I think that here it is transitive and, consequently, *-wo* marks *pune* ‘boat’ as the object of *köNk-* ‘to row.’ This implies the inversion of the SOV word order, but Old Japanese poetry has plenty of examples of such an inversion.

The fourth line of this poem presents certain difficulty for interpretation. The word 宇良 may mean either ‘bay’ or ‘inside.’, Yoshii cites three basic hypotheses concerning this word: (a) it means ‘bay’, (b) it means ‘inside’, (c) it means ‘bay,’ but used in allegorical sense, because boats stop in bays (1988: 153). Yoshii himself is inclined to follow the third hypothesis, but since there are no bays in the offing, I prefer the second explanation. It also seems more appropriate because the preface to the poems 3644-3651 mentions the hardships that members of the mission met with while drifting in the sea of SaNpa. Thus, *okî-tu mî-ura* is most likely means ‘the awesome middle of the offing.’

15.3647
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎毛故我 (2) 伊可尓於毛倍可 (3) 奴婆多末能 (4) 比登欲毛於知受 (5) 伊米尓之美由流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$が (2) いかにおも$_1$へ$_2$か (3) ぬばたまの$_2$ (4) ひ$_1$と$_2$よ$_1$も$_1$おちず (5) いめ$_2$にしみ$_1$ゆる

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmôkô-Nka (2) ika n-i omôp-ë ka (3) nuNpa tama-nö (4) pîtö yô mô oti-Ns-u (5) imë-ni si mî-y-uru

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved-POSS (2) how DV-INF love-EV PT (3) pitch-black jade-COMP (4) one night PT lack-NEG-INF (5) dream-LOC PT see-PASS-ATTR

Translation
(1/2) [Is it because] my beloved loves me so much?! (5) She appears in [my] dreams (4) without missing a single night (3) [dark] like the pitch-black jade.

Commentary
On *nuNpa tama* see the commentary to 15.3598.

Pierson was unaware that WOJ *oti-* may mean not only 'to fall,' but also 'to lack,' so he mistranslated this verb as 'to fall out' (Pierson 1963.15: 59).

15.3648
本文・Original text
(1) 宇奈波良能 (2) 於伎敝尓等毛之 (3) 伊射流火波 (4) 安可之弖登母世 (5) 夜麻登思麻見無

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) うなはらの$_2$ (2) おき$_1$へ$_1$にと$_2$も$_1$し (3) いざるひ$_2$は (4) あかしてと$_2$も$_2$せ (5) やまと$_2$しまみ$_1$む

Romanization
(1) una-para-nö (2) okî pê-ni tömôs-i (3) iNsar-u PÏ pa (4) akas-i-te tömös-e (5) Yamatö sima MÎ-m-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) sea-plain-GEN (2) offing side-LOC light-INF (3) fish-ATTR fire TOP (4) brighten-INF-SUB burn-IMP (5) Yamatö island see-TENT-FIN

Translation
(2/3) [Fishermen] lit the fishing fires in the offing (1) of the sea plain -- (4) burn [them] brightly. (5) [Then] I would see the islands of Yamatö.

Commentary
For WOJ *una-* 'sea' see the commentary to 15.3592.

WOJ *tömös-* 'to light, to burn' is misspelled as *tömôs-* in the second line, but is spelled correctly in the fourth line. Omodaka et al. transcribe this verb as *tömos-* as if the second vowel has unknown value of *kō-rui* /ô/ or *otsu-rui* /ö/. Although philology here indeed is not helpful, because the word is not attested in the *Kojiki kayō* or book five of the *Man'yōshū*, we know that the *kō-rui* /ô/ and *otsu-rui* /ö/ could not combine within the same morpheme. Since in the first syllable we definitely have *otsu-rui* /ö/, the vowel in the second syllable belonging to the same root could etymologically be only another *otsu-rui* /ö/. WOJ *tömös-* is a transitive verb, therefore Pierson's translation of lines three and four as 'Fishing-torches, please burn, high up!' (1963.15: 60) with WOJ *tömös-* understood as an intransitive verb is misleading.

15.3649
本文・Original text
(1) 可母自毛能 (2) 宇伎祢乎須礼婆 (3) 美奈能和多 (4) 可具呂伎可美尓 (5) 都由曽於伎尓家類

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かも$_2$じも$_1$の$_2$ (2) うき$_1$ねをすれば (3) み$_1$なの$_2$わた (4) かぐろ$_2$き$_1$かみ$_1$に (5) つゆそ$_2$おき$_1$にけ$_1$る

Romanization
(1) kamö Nsimônö (2) uk-î-ne-wo s-ure-Npa (3) mîna-nö wata (4) kaN-kurö-kî kamî-ni (5) tuyu sö ok-î-n-i-kêr-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) wild.duck like (2) float-INF-sleep(NML)-ACC do-EV-CON (3) snail-GEN entrails (4) INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC (5) dew PT put-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR

Translation
(2) Because [I] slept floating (1) like a wild duck (5) [it] turned out that the dew fell (4) on [my] hair [that were] pitch-black (3) [like] the entrails of a snail.

Commentary
The metaphor of a dew falling on black hair means that one is getting grey hair -- here certainly as a result of hardships.

Kamö Nsimönö ‘like a wild duck’ is considered to be a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to WOJ *uk-î-ne se-* ‘to do floating sleep’ (Omodaka 1984.15: 79). Nsimönö (misspelled as Nsimônö in this poem) is a postpostion meaning ‘like.’ For its detailed description see Vovin (2008a: 1281-83).

On *uk-î-ne se-* ‘to do floating sleep’ see the commentary to 15.3592.

Mîna-nö wata ‘entrails of a snail’ is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to WOJ *kurô* ‘black.’ WOJ *mîna* ‘snail’ corresponds to MJ *nina* ‘id.’ On *m* ~ *n* alternation before /i/ see the commentary to 15.3602.

For the detailed description of Western Old Japanese intensifying prefix *ka-* ~ *kaN-* see Vovin (2008a: 581-83).

The character 呂 transcribing *otsu-rui* /rö/ is apparently a scribal mistake for *kō-rui* /rô/, because WOJ *kurô-* ‘black’ has a *kō-rui* /ô/.

15.3650

本文・Original text

(1) 比左可多能 (2) 安麻弖流月波 (3) 見都礼杼母 (4) 安我母布伊毛尓 (5) 安波奴許呂可毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) ひ$_1$さかたの$_2$ (2) あまてるつき$_2$は (3) み$_1$つれど$_2$も$_2$ (4) あがも$_2$ふいも$_1$に (5) あはぬこ$_2$ろ$_2$かも$_1$

Romanization

(1) pîsa kata n-ö (2) ama-ter-u TUKÏ pa (3) MÎ-t-ure-Ntömö (4) a-Nka [o]möp-u imô-ni (5) ap-an-u körö kamô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) long hard DV-ATTR (2) heaven-shine-ATTR moon TOP (3) see(INF)-PERF-EV-CONC (4) I-POSS love-ATTR beloved-DAT (5) meet-NEG-ATTR time PT

Translation

(3) Although [I] have seen (2/3) the moon that shines in the eternal and strong sky, (5) alas, [it is] the time when [I] do not meet (4) my beloved wife.

Commentary

Pîsa kata n-ö ‘eternal [and] strong’ (lit. ‘long [and] hard’) is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to WOJ *amë* ‘heaven.’ It certainly triggers Inner Asian associations.

Ama- is a bound form of WOJ *amë* ‘heaven.’ On bound form of nouns see the commentary to 15.3593.

Although I usually translate WOJ *imô* as ‘beloved,’ in this poem I use ‘wife’ in order to avoid stylistic tautology. On the term *imô* see the commentary to 15.3579.

15.3651

本文・Original text with a comment

(1) 奴波多麻能 (2) 欲和多流月者 (3) 波夜毛伊弖奴香文 (4) 宇奈波良能 (5) 夜蘇之麻能宇倍由 (6) 伊毛我安多里見牟　旋頭歌也

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration of the original text

(1) ぬばたまの$_2$ (2) よ$_1$わたるつき$_2$は (3) はやも$_1$いでぬかも (4) うなはらの$_2$ (5) やそ$_1$しまの$_2$うへ$_2$ゆ (6) いも$_1$があたりみ$_1$む

Romanization of the original text

(1) nuNpa tama-nö (2) yô watar-u TUKÏ pa (3) paya mô iNte-n-u kamo (4) una-para-nö (5) yasô sima-nö upë-yu (6) imô-Nka atari MÎ-m-u

Glossing of the original text with the morphemic analysis

(1) pitch-black jade-COMP (2) night cross-ATTR moon TOP (3) fast PT exit-NEG-ATTR PT (4) sea-plain-GEN (5) eighty island-GEN top-ABL (6) beloved-POSS vicinity see-TENT-FIN

Translation of the original text and the comment

(1/2/3) I wonder whether the moon that goes through the night [that is dark] like the pitch-black jade is not going to go out soon. (6) [I] want to see the vicinity [where my] beloved [is] (5) from the top of multiple islands (4) on the sea plain. [This] is a sedōka.

Commentary
The second syllable /mo/ of the particle *kamo* (etymologically *kamö*) is spelled with the *man'yōgana* sign 文 /mo/ that has no determined *kō-rui* or *otsu-rui* value. The *man'yōgana* sign 文 is used phonographically as /mo/ quite rarely in the *Man'yōshū*: only fifty-eight times, with the heaviest concentration in book thirteen (twenty-six times). In book fifteen this is the only example of its phonographic usage.

Yasô 'eighty' is often used as a designation of 'many.'

On *sedōka* poetic form see the introduction and commentary to 15.3612.

Preface to the poems 3652-3655
本文・Original text
至筑紫舘遥望本郷悽愴作歌四首

Translation
Four poems composed upon arrival to the guest house in Tukusi when [we] were longing for [our] homeland and lamenting.

Commentary
On Tukusi see the commentary to 15.3634.

15.3652
本文・Original text
(1) 之賀能安麻能 (2) 一日毛於知受 (3) 也久之保能 (4) 可良伎孤悲乎母 (5) 安礼波須流香母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しかの$_2$あまの$_2$ (2) ひ$_1$と$_2$ひ$_1$も$_1$おちず (3) やくしほの$_2$ (4) からき$_1$こ$_1$ひ$_2$をも$_2$ (5) あれはするかも$_2$

Romanization
(1) Sika-nö ama-nö (2) pîtö PÎ mô oti-Ns-u (3) yak-u sipo-nö (4) kara-kî kôpï-wo mö (5) are pa s-uru kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Sika-GEN fisherman-GEN (2) one day PT lack-NEG-INF (3) burn-ATTR salt-COMP (4) bitter-ATTR long.for(NML)-ACC PT (5) I TOP do-ATTR PT

Translation
(4/5) Alas, my longing is bitter (1/3) like salt, which fishermen from Sika burn (2) without missing any single day!

Commentary
The first three lines represent the poetic introduction (*jo*, 序) linked to the adjective *kara-* 'bitter, spicy.'

Sika is the island that was located in the eastern part of the entrance to Hakata bay. Nowadays it is part of Kyūshū landmass (Itō et al. 1981: 328), (Nakanishi 1985: 451).

Salt was produced by collecting seawater and boiling it to the effect that water would evaporate leaving salt residue.

15.3653
本文・Original text
(1) 思可能宇良尓 (2) 伊射里須流安麻 (3) 伊敝妣等能 (4) 麻知古布良牟尓 (5) 安可思都流宇乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しかの$_2$うらに (2) いざりするあま (3) いへ$_1$び$_1$と$_2$の$_2$ (4) まちこ$_1$ふらむに (5) あかしつるうを

Romanization
(1) Sika-nö ura-ni (2) iNsar-i s-uru ama (3) ipê-N-pîtö-nö (4) mat-i-kôp-uram-u-ni (5) akas-i tur-u uwo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Sika-GEN bay-LOC (2) fish-NML do-ATTR fisherman (3) home-GEN-person-COMP (4) wait-INF-long.for-TENT2-ATTR-LOC (5) pass.the.night-INF angle-ATTR fish

Translation
(2) Fishermen catching the fish (1) in the bay of Sika, (3) [you are] like [my] people at home (4/5) who angle fish when probably waiting through the night and longing for [me].

Commentary
Sika bay is the bay on Sika island (Itō et al. 1981: 328), (Nakanishi 1985: 451). For Sika island see the commentary to 15.3652.

WOJ *uwo* 'fish' is phonetic variant of *iwo* 'id.', which is not attested phonographically in Western Old Japanese texts, but appears as *iwo* in Middle Japanese. In spite of the fact that MJ *iwo* is attested later, it is more archaic form of the word than WOJ *uwo*, which obviously resulted from /i/ > /u/ shift due to the next two labial sounds. The original nature of *i in the first syllable is confirmed by Ryukyuan forms: OR *iyo*, Taketomi *izu*, etc.

15.3654
本文・Original text
(1) 可之布江尓 (2) 多豆奈吉和多流 (3) 之可能宇良尓 (4) 於枳都之良奈美 (5) 多知之久良思毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かしふえ$_2$に (2) たづなき$_1$わたる (3) しかの$_2$うらに (4) おき$_1$つしらなみ$_1$ (5) たちしくらしも$_1$

Romanization
(1) Kasipu YE-ni (2) taNtu nak-î watar-u (3) Sika-nö ura-ni (4) okî-tu sira namî (5) tat-i si k-urasi-mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Kasipu inlet-LOC (2) crane cry-INF cross-FIN (3) Sika-GEN bay-LOC (4) offing-GEN/LOC white wave (5) rise-INF PT come-SUP-EXCL

Translation
(1) In the inlet of Kasipu (2) cranes cross over, crying. (4) White waves of the offing (5) seem to rise (3) in the bay of Sika!

Commentary
The location of Kasipu inlet is unknown, although there is a hypothesis that it corresponds to the present-day Kasii (香椎) inlet in Fukuoka (Itō et al. 1981: 308), (Omodaka 1984.15: 82), (Nakanishi 1985: 434). From the linguistic point of view there might be a difficulty: WOJ *sipî* 'chinquapin' has *kō-rui* /î/ in the second syllable, but one would expect an otsu-rui /ï/ (< *uy) to have a connection with Kasipu. Certainly the character 椎 'chinquapin' may be a late ateji, that was applied after the *kō-otsu* distinction was lost. If this is the case, then Kasipu might be a bound form of the otherwise unattested placename *Kasipï.

On Sika bay see the commentary to 15.3653.

On *-umö ~ -mö* as a special Old Japanese exclamative form see the commentary to 15.3595.

Postscript to the poem 15.3654
本文・Original text
一云　(5) 美知之伎奴良思

Translation with romanization and glossing
A variant of this poem says:

(5) mît-i si k-î-n-urasi
(5) rise-INF PT come-INF-PERF-SUP
(5) [the waves] seem to rise.

15.3655
本文・Original text

(1) 伊麻欲里波 (2) 安伎豆吉奴良之 (3) 安思比奇能 (4) 夜麻末都可氣尓 (5) 日具良之奈伎奴

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いまよ$_1$りは (2) あき$_1$づき$_1$ぬらし (3) あしひ$_1$き$_2$の$_2$ (4) やままつかげ$_2$に (5) ひ$_1$ぐらしなき$_1$ぬ

Romanization
(1) ima-yôri pa (2) akî-N-tuk-î-n-urasi (3) asi pîkï n-ö (4) yama matu kaNkë-ni (5) pîNkurasi nak-î-n-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) now-ABL TOP (2) autumn-GEN-approach-INF-PERF-SUP (3) feet low DV-ATTR (4) mountain pine shadow-LOC (5) evening cicada sing-INF-PERF-FIN

Translation
(1) From now, (2) autumn seems to come close. (4) In the shadow of pines on the mountains (3) with low foot (5) evening cicadas have sung.

Commentary
On WOJ *tuk-* meaning 'to approach' see the commentary to 15.3645.

Asi pîkï n-ö 'is low-footed' is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to WOJ *yama* 'mountain.' Itō et al. note that this *makura kotoba* can be spelled either as *asi pîkï n-ö* with *otsu-rui* /ï/ after /k/ after or as *asi pîkî n-ö* with *kō-rui* /î/ after /k/, which indicates in their opinion that the real meaning of this expression was already forgotten by the time of the *Man'yōshū* (1981: 429). Omodaka et al. also have the same opinion, but provide more detailed information regarding the distribution of the two variants, indicating that only the *otsu-rui* variant occurs in the earliest *Man'yōshū* poems (1967: 22). However, I must add two other important observations. First, out of 111 occurences of this *makura kotoba* in the *Man'yōshū* all cases of its spelling in *ongana* always have *otsu-rui* /ï/ even in the latest poems. Second, the only cases when *kō-rui* /î/ may be suspected, are the cases when *asi pîkï* is spelled either as 足引 or 足曳, which could imply that the infinitive *pîk-î* of the verb *pîk-* 'to pull, to drag' was involved, indicating *asi pîkî* with a *kō-rui* /î/. However, neither the character 引'to pull, to drag' nor the character 曳 'id.' are used as kungana characters in other cases. Consequently, we are dealing here not with kungana, but with the semantographic or quasi-semantographic spelling that can be very imprecise phonetically. Therefore, the evidence for the existence of the *kō-rui* variant *asi pîkî* is simply not reliable and should be discarded. Thus, the *otsu-rui* variant *asi pîkï* turns to be the only variant that has the solid evidence to support it. This brings us to the conclusion that any associations of dragging one's feet while walking up the mountain as done by Pierson in his translation (1963.15: 65) is untenable. Consequently, the only possible etymology explaining this *makura kotoba* on the basis of Japanese internal data will have to involve WOJ *pîku-* 'low.' I must also note that this etymology is not perfect either, because the alternation /u/ ~ /ï/ < *uy in Western Old Japanese is normally found between the bound and free forms of nouns (on bound form of nouns see the commentary to 15.3593), but is not found in adjective roots. Thus, it is difficult to provide the explanation for the morphology of *pîkï* < *pikuy if it is indeed derived from *pîku-* 'low.' In spite of this difficulty, the etymology deriving *pîkï* from *pîku-* 'low' still seems to be the best available option for the time being, so I adopt it here and elsewhere in my translation.

On *pîNkurasi* 'evening cicada' see the commentary to 15.3589.

Preface to the poems 3656-3658
本文・Original text
七夕仰觀天漢各陳所思作歌三首

Translation
Three poems composed with each [person] expressing his thoughts while looking up at the Heavenly River on TanaNpata [night].

Commentary
On Heavenly River and TanaNpata see the commentary to the preface to 15.3611.

15.3656
本文・Original text

(1) 安伎波疑尓 (2) 尓保敝流和我母 (3) 奴礼奴等母 (4) 伎美我美布祢能 (5) 都奈之等里弖婆

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あき$_1$はぎ$_2$に (2) にほへ$_1$るわがも$_2$ (3) ぬれぬと$_2$も$_2$ (4) き$_1$み$_1$がみ$_1$ふねの$_2$ (5) つなしと$_2$りてば

Romanization
(1) akî paNkï-ni (2) nipop-êr-u wa-Nka mö (3) nure-n-u tömö (4) kîmî-Nka mî-pune-nö (5) tuna si tör-i-te-Npa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn bush.clover-LOC (2) be.dyed-PROG-ATTR I-POSS skirt (3) get.wet(INF)-PERF-FIN CONJ (4) lord-POSS HON-boat-GEN (5) rope PT grab-INF-PERF-COND

Translation
(1/2/3) Even if my skirt dyed by the autumn bush clover gets wet, (5) if [only I could] grab the rope (4) of my lord's boat!

Commentary
ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö (see the postscript and the commentary below) composed this poem assuming the voice of the Weaver Star. *Kîmî* 'lord' is certainly the Cow-herder star. On these two stars see the commentary to the preface to 15.3611.
PaNkï 'bush clover' is a small (1.5 m, 5 ft) deciduous tree that can either grow in the wild or be planted. It blooms in the autumn with red, purple, or white flowers. It is one of the 秋の七草 'seven autumn plants,' and is associated in Japanese traditional poetry with the autumn.

In Pierson's translation WOJ *mo* 'skirt' is mistranslated as 'under-dress' (1963.15: 66). On WOJ *mo* 'skirt' see the commentary to 15.3610.

Plant juices and flowers were widely used in Ancient Japan to dye clothes. The technique of dying normally involved pressing cloth to be dyed against a stone on which flowers or plant juices were placed.

Postscript to the poem 15.3656
本文・Original text
右一首大使

Translation
The poem above is by the Chief Ambassador.

Commentary
Chief Ambassador is ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö. He died in Tusima (MdJ Tsushima) island while on the mission in 737 AD (Tenpyō 9). His poems recorded in the *Man'yōshū* are: 15.3656, 15.3668, 15.3700, 15.3706, and 15.3708.

15.3657
本文・Original text
(1) 等之尓安里弖 (2) 比等欲伊母尓安布 (3) 比故保思母 (4) 和礼尓麻佐里弖 (5) 於毛布良米也母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) と$_2$しにありて (2) ひ$_1$と$_2$よ$_1$いも$_2$にあふ (3) ひ$_1$こ$_1$ほしも$_2$ (4) われにまさりて (5) おも$_1$ふらめ$_2$やも$_2$

Romanization
(1) tösi-ni ar-i-te (2) pîtö yô imö-ni ap-u (3) Pîkôposi mö (4) ware-ni masar-i-te (5) omôp-uram-ë ya mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) year-LOC exist-INF-SUB (2) one night beloved-DAT meet-ATTR (3) Altair PT (4) I-DAT surpass-INF-SUB (5) long.for-TENT2-EV PT PT

Translation

(3) Altair (2) who meets [his] beloved one night (1) in a year, (5) would [he] long for [his beloved] (4) more than I [do]?! (5) -- [Certainly not!]

Commentary
On Pîkôposi ‘Altair’ see the commentary to the preface to 15.3611.

On Western Old Japanese irony constructions *-(a)më ya ~ -(u)ram-ë ya* see the commentary to 15.3585.

15.3658
本文・Original text
(1) 由布豆久欲 (2) 可氣多知与里安比 (3) 安麻能我波 (4) 許具布奈妣等乎 (5) 見流我等母之佐

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ゆふづくよ$_1$ (2) かげ$_2$たちよ$_2$りあひ$_1$ (3) あまの$_2$がは (4) こ$_2$ぐふなび$_1$と$_2$を (5) み$_1$るがと$_2$も$_2$しさ

Romanization
(1) yupu-N-tuku yô (2) kaNkë tat-i-yör-i-ap-î (3) ama-nö Nkapa (4) köNk-u puna-N-pîtö-wo (5) MÎ-ru-Nka tömösi-sa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) evening-GEN-moon night (2) shadow rise-INF-approach-INF-meet-INF (3) heaven-GEN river (4) row-ATTR boat-GEN-man-ACC (5) see-ATTR-POSS envious-NML

Translation
(1) The evening moon and the night (2) shadow rise close together and (5) [I] am envious to see (4) the boatman who rows (3) [across] the Heavenly River.

Commentary
The first two lines of this poem are considered to be difficult to interpret (Takagi et al. 1962: 76). Yoshii provides a detailed discussion of multiple hypotheses concerning the interpretation of these two lines (1988: 170-71), but as none seemed satisfactory to me I decided to follow in my translation the Western Old Japanese grammar *verbatim*, disregarding all extralinguistic considerations. As the reader can see this involved disregarding the line break between *yô* ‘night’ and *kaNkë* ‘shadow,’ but this phenomenon does occur in the traditional Japanese poetry in contrast to Classical Chinese poetry. A potentially more serious problem is that *tuku-* ‘moon’ is a bound form in Western Old Japanese unlike Eastern Old Japanese where *tuku* ‘id.’ can be a free noun form. But this seems to me to be a minor problem compared with grammatical and semantical difficulties that arise if one considers the first line to be a compound *yupu-N-tuku-yô*, which hardly makes any sense.

Preface to the poems 3659-3667
本文・Original text
海邊望月作歌九首

Translation
Nine poems composed while [we] we looking at the moon on the shore.

15.3659
本文・Original text
(1) 安伎可是波 (2) 比尓家尓布伎奴 (3) 和伎毛故波 (4) 伊都登加和礼乎 (5) 伊波比麻都良牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あき$_1$かぜは (2) ひ$_1$にけ$_1$にふき$_1$ぬ (3) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$は (4) いつと$_2$かわれを (5) いはひ$_1$まつらむ

Romanization
(1) akî kaNse pa (2) pî-ni kê n-i puk-î-n-u (3) wa-Nk-îmwo-kô pa (4) itu tö ka ware-wo (5) ipap-î mat-uram-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn wind TOP (2) day-LOC unusual DV-INF blow-INF-PERF-FIN (3) I-POSS-beloved-DIM TOP (4) when DV PT I-ACC (5) pray-INF wait-TENT2-ATTR

Translation
(1) Autumn wind (2) blows unusually [strongly] day after day. (3) My beloved (5) will probably wait for me, praying [to the deities], (4) and thinking: 'When [will he return]?'

Commentary
Pierson, who ignored *kō-otsu* distinctions, misunderstood *kê* 'unusual,' taking it to be *kë* 'day' (Pierson 1963.15: 68). But this is certainly impossible, because text has 家 /kê/ with *kō-rui* vowel /ê/, thus it can only be *kê* 'unusual.'

Postscript to the poem 15.3659
本文・Original text
大使之第二男

Translation
[Composed by] the second son of the Chief Ambassador.

Commentary
The Chief Ambassador is ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö. On his biography see the commentary to the postscript to 15.3656. The name of his second son is unknown.

15.3660
本文・Original text
(1) 可牟佐夫流 (2) 安良都能左伎尓 (3) 与須流奈美 (4) 麻奈久也伊毛尓 (5) 故非和多里奈牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かむさぶる (2) あらつの$_2$さき$_1$に (3) よ$_2$するなみ$_1$ (4) まなくやいも$_1$に (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$わたりなむ

Romanization
(1) kamu-saNp-uru (2) Aratu-nö sakî-ni (3) yös-uru namî (4) ma na-ku ya imô-ni (5) kôpï-watar-i-n-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) deity-be.line-ATTR (2) Aratu-GEN cape-LOC (3) approach-ATTR wave (4) interval no-INF PT beloved-DAT (5) long.for(INF)-cross-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(5) Will [I] continue to long (4) constantly for [my] beloved (3) [like] the waves [that constantly] approach (1) deity-like (2) cape of Aratu?

Commentary
First three lines represent the poetic introduction (*jo*, 序) applied to last two lines.
Cape Aratu is located in the Western Park of the present-day Fukuoka city (Itō et al. 1981: 291), (Omodaka 1984.15: 86), (Nakanishi 1985: 420).

Postscript to the poem 15.3660
本文・Original text
右一首土師稲足

Translation
The poem above is by Panisi-nö Inatari.

Commentary
Nothing is known about the biography of Panisi-nö Inatari except that he was a member of the mission to Silla (Itō et al. 1981: 196), (Nakanishi 1985: 263).

15.3661
本文・Original text

(1) 可是能牟多 (2) 与世久流奈美尓 (3) 伊射里須流 (4) 安麻乎等女良我 (5) 毛能須素奴礼奴

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かぜの$_2$むた (2) よ$_2$せくるなみ$_1$に (3) いざりする (4) あまをと$_2$め$_1$らが (5) も$_1$の$_2$すそ$_1$ぬれぬ

Romanization
(1) kaNse-nö muta (2) yöse-k-uru namî-ni (3) iNsar-i s-uru (4) ama wotöMÊ-ra-Nka (5) mô-nö susô nure-n-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) wind-GEN together (2) approach(INF)-come-ATTR wave-LOC (3) fish-NML do-ATTR (4) fisher maiden-PLUR-POSS (5) skirt-GEN hem become.wet(INF)-PERF-FIN

Translation
(5) Hems of the skirts of (4) fisher maidens (3) fishing (2) in the waves that come together (1) with the wind (5) have become wet.

Commentary
WOJ *muta* is a quasi-postposition meaning 'together.'

Postscript to the poem 15.3661
本文・Original text
一云　(4) 安麻乃乎等賣我 (5) 毛能須蘇奴礼濃

Translation with romanization and glossing
A variant of this poem says:

(4) ama n-ö wotömê-Nka (5) mô-nö susô nure-n-u
(4) fisher DV-ATTR maiden-POSS (5) skirt-GEN hem become.wet(INF)-PERF-FIN
(5) Hems of the skirts of (4) fisher maidens' (5) have become wet.

15.3662
本文・Original text
(1) 安麻能波良 (2) 布里佐氣見礼婆 (3) 欲曽布氣尓家流 (4) 与之恵也之 (5) 比等里奴流欲波 (6) 安氣婆安氣奴等母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あまの$_2$はら (2) ふりさけ$_2$み$_1$れば (3) よ$_1$そ$_2$ふけ$_2$にけ$_1$る (4) よ$_2$しゑやし (5) ひ$_1$と$_2$りぬるよ$_1$は (6) あけ$_2$ばあけ$_2$ぬと$_2$も$_2$

Romanization
(1) ama-nö para (2) purisakë-MÎ-re-Npa (3) yô sö pukë-n-i-kêr-u (4) yösiweyasi (5) pîtö-ri n-uru yô pa (6) akë-Npa akë-n-u tömö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven-GEN plain (2) look.up(INF)-look-EV-CON (3) night PT deepen(INF)-PERF-RETR-ATTR (4) although.it.is.so (5) one-CL sleep-ATTR night TOP (6) dawn-COND dawn(INF)-PERF-FIN CONJ

Translation
(2) When [I] was looking up at (1) the plain of Heaven (3) the night deepened. (4) Although it is so, (5/6) [I] do not mind if the night when [I] sleep alone dawns quickly [because my beloved is not by my side].

Commentary
For a similar poem see 10.2800.
Ama- is a bound form of WOJ *amë* 'heaven.' On bound form of nouns see the commentary to 15.3593.

Postscript to the poem 15.3662
本文・Original text

右一首旋頭歌也

Translation
The poem above is a *sedōka*.

Commentary
On *sedōka* poetic form see the introduction and commentary to 15.3612.

15.3663
本文・Original text
(1) 和多都美能 (2) 於伎都奈波能里 (3) 久流等伎登 (4) 伊毛我麻都良牟 (5) 月者倍尓都追

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わたつみ$_1$の$_2$ (2) おき$_1$つなはの$_2$り (3) くると$_2$き$_1$と$_2$ (4) いも$_1$がまつらむ (5) つきはへ$_2$につつ

Romanization
(1) wata-tu mî-nö (2) okî-tu napa nöri (3) kur-u/k-uru tökî tö (4) imô-Nka mat-uram-u (5) TUKÏ pa pë-n-i-tutu

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN (2) offing-GEN/LOC [red and green] seaweed rope (3) come/reel-ATTR time DV (4) beloved-POSS wait-TENT2-ATTR (5) month TOP pass(INF)-PERF-INF-COOR

Translation
(4/5) The months have continued to pass when [my] beloved is probably waiting for [me], (3) thinking that [it is] the time when [I] will come back (2/3) reeling [like] the [red and green] seaweed ropes in the offing (1) of the sea dragon.

Commentary
WOJ *nöri* did not mean dried pressed seaweed like it does in the modern language, but red and green edible seaweed (Omodaka et al. 1967: 568). *Nöri* grow near the seashore and not in the offing, therefore Yoshii hypothesizes that *okî* might mean here ‘bottom [of the sea]’ (1988: 179). I prefer to follow the text here, since *okî* does not occur in the meaning ‘bottom’ in any other Western Old Japanese text.

The first two lines of this poem represent a poetic introduction (*jo*, 序) to the last three lines with a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) in the beginning of the third line: /kuru/ may be an attributive form *k-uru* of the verb *kö-* ‘to come’ as well as an attributive or a final form *kur-u* of the verb *kur-* ‘to reel.’

Western Old Japanese verbal form *pë-n-i-tutu* ‘have continued to pass’ includes perfective auxiliary *-n-* and coordinative gerund *-tutu* that is used here as a sentence final form. Japanese scholars interpret the last line *TUKÏ pa pë-n-i-tutu* as ‘the month has passed’ (Omodaka 1984.15: 88), (Yoshii 1988: 179), as ‘this month continues to pass’ (Kojima et al. 1975: 68), (Nakanishi 1981: 316), (Itō 1998: 164), or as ‘that month has continuously passed’ (Takagi et al. 1962: 78). The first interpretation fits well with perfective *-n-*, but disregards the coordinative *-tutu* that as a final verbal form has functions of habitual or continous action (Vovin 2008a: 918-20). The second interpretation is opposite, because it disregards perfective *-n-*, but takes into consideration coordinative *-tutu*. Apparently, from the grammatical point of view both are unacceptable. The last interpretation tries to incorporate both *-n-* and *-tutu*, but it is unclear to me how just *one month* could *have continuously passed*. Therefore, I believe that WOJ *TUKÏ pa pë-n-i-tutu* indicates that *several months have continued to pass*, and I used in my translations plural ‘months’ rather than singular ‘month.’

15.3664
本文・Original text
(1) 之可能宇良尓 (2) 伊射里須流安麻 (3) 安氣久礼婆 (4) 宇良未許具良之 (5) 可治能於等伎許由

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しかの$_2$うらに (2) いざりするあま (3) あけ$_2$くれば (4) うらみ$_2$こ$_2$ぐらし (5) かぢの$_2$おと$_2$き$_1$こ$_2$ゆ

Romanization
(1) Sika-nö ura-ni (2) iNsar-i s-uru ama (3) akë-k-ure-Npa (4) ura mï-köNk-urasi (5) kaNti-nö otö kîk-öy-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Sika-GEN bay-LOC (2) fish-NML do-ATTR fisherman (3) dawn(INF)-come-EV-CON (4) bay go.around(INF)-row-SUP (5) rudder-GEN sound hear-PASS-FIN

Translation
(5) [I] suddenly hear the sound of rudders: (1/2/4) it looks like that the fishermen who are fishing in the bay of Sika row around it (3) when the dawn comes.

Commentary
On Sika bay see the commentary to 15.3653.

On *mï-köNk-* 'to row around' see the commentary to 15.3622.

15.3665
本文・Original text
(1) 伊母乎於毛比 (2) 伊能祢良延奴尓 (3) 安可等吉能 (4) 安左宜理其問理 (5) 可里我祢曽奈久

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いも$_2$をおも$_1$ひ$_1$ (2) いの$_2$ねらえ$_2$ぬに (3) あかと$_2$き$_1$の$_2$ (4) あさぎ$_2$りご$_2$もり (5) かりがねそ$_2$なく

Romanization
(1) imö-wo omôp-î (2) i-nö ne-raye-n-u-ni (3) akatökî-nö (4) asa-N-kïri-N-kömor-i (5) kari-Nka ne sö nak-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) beloved-ACC think-INF (2) sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR-LOC (3) dawn-GEN morning-GEN-fog-LOC-hide-INF (5) wild goose-POSS sound PT cry-ATTR

Translation
(2) When [I] cannot sleep, (1) thinking of [my] beloved, (5) wild geese cry loudly (4) hiding in the morning fog (3) at the dawn.

Commentary
The allomorph *-raye-* of the passive suffix *-aye-* is attested in phonographic spelling in Western Old Japanese four times only after the verb *ne-* 'to sleep' in the book fifteen in the poems 3665, 3678, 3680, and 3684. For the details see Vovin (2008a: 824-25).

WOJ *kari* 'wild geese' are migratory birds that come to Japan, Korea, and China in the autumn to escape colder climate in the north, and return to their places of original habitat in Siberia to nest in the spring. Their cry (WOJ *kari-Nka ne*) brings the feeling of sadness -- this cultural perception was probably borrowed from Chinese poetry. WOJ *kari* 'wild goose' is associated with the autumn in the Japanese traditional poetry.

15.3666
本文・Original text
(1) 由布佐礼婆 (2) 安伎可是左牟思 (3) 和伎母故我 (4) 等伎安良比其呂母 (5) 由伎弖波也伎牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ゆふされば (2) あき$_1$かぜさむし (3) わぎ$_1$も$_2$こ$_1$が (4) と$_2$き$_1$あらひ$_1$ご$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$ (5) ゆき$_1$てはやき$_1$む

Romanization
(1) yupu sar-e-Npa (2) akî kaNse samu-si (3) wa-Nk-îmö-kô-Nka (4) tök-î arap-î-N-körömö (5) yuk-î-te paya kî-m-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) evening come-EV-CON (2) fall wind cold-FIN (3) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (4) untie-INF wash-NML-DV(ATTR)-garment (5) go-INF-SUB quick wear-TENT-FIN

Translation
(1) When the evening comes, (2) the autumn wind is cold. (5) After going back, [I] want to put on (3/4) [my old] garment that my beloved untied and washed [for me].

Commentary
WOJ *tök-* 'to untie' at the first glance makes little sense in this poem; and *tök-î arap-î* is usually explained as 'to untie, wash, and mend/prepare' by Japanese scholars (Takagi et al. 1962: 78), (Omodaka 1984.15: 90), (Itō 1998: 173). I think that Kojima et al. explanation of this phrase as 'untie the cords [of the garment], wash, and mend' (1975: 68) is the closest to the reality. It is well known that keeping the cords of one's garment untied while on the journey was a symbol of fidelity to one's beloved. Consequently, it is not difficult to imagine that the garments left at home were also kept tied with their strings for the same ritual purpose. If it is so, the expression *tök-î arap-î* makes perfect sense: a wife unties and washes the clothes on the eve of her husband's return.

15.3667
本文・Original text
(1) 和我多妣波 (2) 比左思久安良思 (3) 許能安我家流 (4) 伊毛我許呂母能 (5) 阿可都久見礼婆

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがたび$_1$は (2) ひ$_1$さしくあらし (3) こ$_2$の$_2$あがけ$_1$る (4) いも$_1$がこ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$の$_2$ (5) あかづくみ$_1$れば

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka taNpî pa (2) pîsasi-ku ar-asi (3) könö a-Nka kêr-u (4) imô-Nka körömö-nö (5) aka tuk-u MÎ-re-Npa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS journey TOP (2) long-INF exist-SUP (3) this I-POSS wear(PROG)-ATTR (4) beloved-POSS garment-GEN (5) dirt attach-ATTR see-EV-CON

Translation
(1/2) It seems that my journey was long, (3/4/5) when [I] see that this garment of [my] beloved which I am wearing became dirty.

Commentary
Western Old Japanese has two basic sets of first person pronouns: *wa* ~ *ware* and *a* ~ *are* 'I, we.' This poem is a good example demonstrating that both sets could be used interchangeably indicating the same referent.

Preface to the poems 3668-3673
本文・Original text
到筑前國志麻郡之韓亭舶泊経三日於時夜月之光皎々流照奄對此華旅情悽噎各陳心緒聊以裁歌六首

Translation
After [we] reached Kara harbor in Sima district of TikuNsen province, [we] anchored our boats and spent [there] three days. At [this] time the light of the moon was shining brightly, [so these] six poems were composed expressing [our] sad feelings about the journey contrasting with this [moon]light.

Commentary
Kara harbor corresponds to the harbor on the south side of Karatomari cape in the Nishi-ku of the present-day Fukuoka city (Itō et al. 1981: 314), (Nakanishi 1985: 439).

Sima district corresponds either to the northern part of the present-day Itoshima county of Fukuoka prefecture and western part of the Nishi-ku of Fukuoka city (Nakanishi 1985: 453), or to Itoshima county of Fukuoka prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 331).

TikuNsen (MdJ Chikuzen) province comprised the northern part of the present-day Fukuoka prefecture.

15.3668
本文・Original text
(1) 於保伎美能 (2) 等保能美可度登 (3) 於毛敝礼杼 (4) 氣奈我久之安礼婆 (5) 古非尓家流可母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほき$_1$み$_1$の$_2$ (2) と$_2$ほの$_2$み$_1$かど$_1$と$_2$ (3) おも$_1$へ$_1$れど$_2$ (4) け$_2$ながくしあれば (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$にけ$_1$るかも$_2$

Romanization
(1) opo kîmî-nö (2) töpo n-ö mîkaNtô tö (3) omôp-êr-e-Ntö (4) kë naNka-ku si ar-e-Npa (5) kôpï-n-i-kêr-u kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) great lord-GEN (2) distant DV-ATTR court DV (3) think-PROG-EV-CONC (4) day long-INF PT exist-EV-CON (5) long.for(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Translation
(3) Although [I] think (2) that [NtaNsaipu] is the distant court (1) of the sovereign, (4) because it has been a long time [since we left], [I] have been longing for [the capital]!

Commentary
The NtaNsaipu (MdJ Dazaifu) headquaters of the governor-general of Tukusi were considered to be a detached or distant court of the capital in Yamatö. Since the point of entrance of Japonic-speaking tribe(s) to Japan from the Korean peninsular was likely around Dazaifu, this probably reflects the position of Northern Kyūshū as the old center of power after the main power was transferred to Yamatö. Dazaifu preserved its importance at least until the mid-Kamakura period. The importance of Dazaifu becomes quite apparent on the basis of the fact that its governor-general (*sochi*, 帥) had the third junior rank (*jusanmi*, 従三位) that was very high in the court hierarchy. This poem expresses the longing of the author for the real capital (Nara), which is contrasted with its distant substitute. See 5.794 for more details.

Postscript to the poem 15.3668
本文・Original text
右一首大使

Translation
The poem above is by the Chief Ambassador.

Commentary
The Chief Ambassador is ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö. On his biography see the commentary to the postscript to 15.3656.

15.3669
本文・Original text
(1) 多妣尓安礼杼 (2) 欲流波火等毛之 (3) 乎流和礼乎 (4) 也未尓也伊毛我 (5) 古非都追安流良牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たび$_1$にあれど$_2$ (2) よ$_1$るはひ$_2$と$_2$も$_1$し (3) をるわれを (4) やみ$_2$にやいも$_1$が (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$つつあるらむ

Romanization
(1) taNpî n-i ar-e-Ntö (2) yôru pa PÏ tömôs-i- (3) wor-u ware-wo (4) yamï-ni ya imô-Nka (5) kôpï-tutu ar-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) journey DV-INF exist-EV-CONC (2) night TOP fire burn-INF- (3) exist-ATTR I-ACC (4) darkness-LOC PT beloved-POSS (5) long.for(INF)-COOR exist-TENT-ATTR

Translation

(1) Although [I am] on a journey (2) burning a fire at night, (3/4/5) would [my] beloved continue to long for me in the darkness?

Commentary
This poem is extremely difficult to translate due to the complexity of the Old Japanese syntax involved here. The English translation provided should serve only as the closest possible approximation.

Postscript to the poem 15.3669
本文・Original text
右一首大判官

Translation
The poem above is by the Senior Secretary.

Commentary
The Senior Secretary is MîNpu-nö omî UNtamarö. On his biography see the commentary to 15.3612.

15.3670
本文・Original text
(1) 可良等麻里 (2) 能許乃宇良奈美 (3) 多々奴日者 (4) 安礼杼母伊敝尓 (5) 古非奴日者奈之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) からと$_2$まり (2) の$_2$こ$_2$の$_2$うらなみ$_1$ (3) たたぬひ$_1$は (4) あれど$_2$も$_2$いへ$_1$に (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$ぬひ$_1$はなし

Romanization
(1) Kara tömar-i (2) Nökö-nö ura namî (3) tat-an-u PÎ PA (4) ar-e-Ntömö ipê-ni (5) kôpï-n-u PÎ PA na-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Kara stop-NML (2) Nökö-GEN bay wave (3) rise-NEG-ATTR day TOP (4) exist-EV-CONC home-DAT (5) long.for-NEG-ATTR day TOP no-FIN

Translation
(4) Although there are (2/3) days when the waves do not rise [in] Nökö bay (1) [of] Kara harbor, (4/5) there are no days when [I] do not long for home.

Commentary
On Kara harbor see the commentary to the Preface to poems 15.3668-3673.
Nökö bay was located on Nökö island in the south-east of Kara harbor (Omodaka 1984.15: 93), (Nakanishi 1985: 474).

15.3671
本文・Original text
(1) 奴婆多麻乃 (2) 欲和多流月尓 (3) 安良麻世婆 (4) 伊敝奈流伊毛尓 (5) 安比弖許麻之乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ぬばたまの$_2$ (2) よ$_1$わたるつき$_2$に (3) あらませば (4) いへ$_1$なるいも$_1$に (5) あひ$_1$てこ$_2$ましを

Romanization
(1) nuNpa tama-nö (2) yô watar-u TUKÏ n-i (3) ar-amas-eNpa (4) ipê-n-ar-u imô-ni (5) ap-î-te kö-masi-wo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) pitch-black jade-COMP (2) night cross-ATTR moon DV-INF (3) exist-SUBJ-COND (4) home-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-DAT (5) meet-INF-SUB come-SUBJ-ACC

Translation

(2/3) If [I] were a moon that goes over through the night (1) [that is dark] like the pitch-black jade, (5) [I] would come to meet (4) [my] beloved, who is at home.

Commentary
On *nuNpa tama-nö* see the commentary to 15.3598.
Ipê-n-ar-u 'home-LOC-exist-ATTR' is a contraction of *ipê-ni ar-u* 'home-LOC exist-ATTR.'

15.3672
本文・Original text
(1) 比左可多能 (2) 月者弖利多里 (3) 伊刀麻奈久 (4) 安麻能伊射里波 (5) 等毛之安敝里見由

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ひ$_1$さかたの$_2$ (2) つき$_2$はてりたり (3) いと$_1$まなく (4) あまの$_2$いざりは (5) と$_2$も$_1$しあへ$_1$りみ$_1$ゆ

Romanization
(1) pîsa kata n-ö (2) TUKÏ PA ter-i-tar-i (3) itôma na-ku (4) ama-nö iNsar-i pa (5) tömwos-i-ap-êr-i mî-y-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) long hard DV-ATTR (2) moon TOP shine-INF-PERF/PROG-FIN (3) leisure.time no-INF (4) fisherman-GEN fishing-NML TOP (5) ignite-INF-meet-PROG-FIN see-PASS-FIN

Translation
(1) The eternal and strong (2) moon is shining. (3/4/5) [I] see that busy fishermen's lights are igniting together.

Commentary
On *pîsa kata n-ö* 'eternal and strong' (lit. 'long [and] hard') see the commentary to 15.3650.
Ama-nö iNsar-i 'fishermen's fishing' in the fourth line is usually argued to be a contraction of *ama-nö iNsar-i-pï* 'fishermen's fishing lights (lit. fires)' (Omodaka 1984.15: 94), (Yoshii 1988: 192), (Itō 1998: 181), although other Japanese scholars disagree, taking it as 'fishing' itself (Komai et al. 1975: 70), (Nakanishi 1981: 318). Takagi et al. take more neutral position, indicating that *iNsar-i* probably means 'fishing lights' here, although it can be taken as 'fishing' as well (1962: 80). The most important argument that tilted my decision toward the first point of view is Yoshii's observation that the nominalized form *iNsar-i* is not used independently as the noun 'fishing' (outside the construction *iNsar-i se-* 'to fish,' lit. 'to do fishing') in the *Man'yōshū* (1988: 192).

15.3673
本文・Original text
(1) 可是布氣婆 (2) 於吉都思良奈美 (3) 可之故美等 (4) 能許能等麻里尓 (5) 安麻多欲曽奴流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かぜふけ$_2$ば (2) おき$_1$つしらなみ$_1$ (3) かしこ$_1$み$_1$と$_2$ (4) の$_2$こ$_2$の$_2$と$_2$まりに (5) あまたよ$_1$そ$_2$ぬる

Romanization
(1) kaNse puk-ë-Npa (2) okî-tu sira namî (3) kasikô-mî tö (4) Nökö-nö tömari-ni (5) amata yô sö n-uru

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) wind blow-EV-CON (2) offing-GEN/LOC white wave (3) awesome-GER DV (4) Nökö-GEN stop-NML-LOC (5) many PT night sleep-ATTR

Translation
(2/3) Because the white waves in offing are awesome (1) when the wind blows, (5) [I] will sleep many nights (4) in the Nökö harbor.

Commentary

On *Nökö* see the commentary to 15.3670.

Preface to the poems 3674-3680
本文・Original text
引津亭舶泊之作歌七首

Translation
Seven poems that were composed when [we] anchored [our] boats in Pîkîtu harbor.

Commentary
Pîkîtu harbor is located in the present day Shima town of Itoshima district in Fukuoka prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 359), (Nakanishi 1985: 477). It was a starting point for the sea journey to Korea.

15.3674
本文・Original text
(1) 久左麻久良 (2) 多婢乎久流之美 (3) 故非乎礼婆 (4) 可也能山邊尓 (5) 草乎思香奈久毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) くさまくら (2) たび$_1$をくるしみ$_1$ (3) こ$_1$ひ$_2$をれば (4) かやの$_2$やまへ$_1$に (5) さをしかなくも$_1$

Romanization
(1) kusa makura (2) taNpî-wo kurusi-mî (3) kôpï-wor-e-Npa (4) Kaya-nö YAMA-PÊ-ni (5) sa-wo-sika nak-umô

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) grass pillow (2) travel-ABS hard-GER (3) long.for(INF)-exist-EV-CON (4) Kaya-GEN mountain-side-LOC (5) PREF-male-deer cry-EXCL

Translation
(1/2) Because the journey [where I use] grass [for my] pillow is hard, (3) when [I] am longing for [my home] (5) a male deer cries (4) at the side of Mount Kaya!

Commentary
This is a poem by MîNpu-nö omî UNtamarö, as becomes clear from the postscript to the poems 15.3674-3675.

On *kusa makura* 'grass pillow' see the commentary to 15.3612.

On the absolutive case marker *-wo* see the commentary to 15.3599.

Mount Kaya (365 m) is located to the east of Pîkîtu harbor. It is often called Mount Fuji of Kyūshū (Itō et al. 1981: 314), (Omodaka 1984.15: 95), (Nakanishi 1985: 439).

The cry of a male deer calling for his female mate is a frequent theme in the *Man'yōshū* in particular and in the traditional Japanese poetry in general. It symbolizes author's longing for his beloved. The deer's cry is associated with the autumn. The deer endemic to Japan has the body length of approximately 1.5 m (5 ft) with the height of 90 cm (3 ft). Only the males have horns that are discarded in winter and then grow again in the spring every year. The horns can grow up to approximately 40 cm (1ft 3 in).

15.3675
本文・Original text
(1) 於吉都奈美 (2) 多可久多都日尓 (3) 安敝利伎等 (4) 美夜古能比等波 (5) 伎吉弖家牟可母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おき$_1$つなみ$_1$ (2) たかくたつひ$_1$に (3) あへ$_1$りき$_1$と$_2$ (4) み$_1$やこ$_1$のひ$_1$と$_2$は (5) き$_1$き$_1$てけ$_1$むかも$_2$

Romanization
(1) okî-tu namî (2) taka-ku tat-u PÎ-ni (3) ap-êr-i-kî tö (4) mîyakô-nö pîtö pa (5) kîk-î-te-kêm-u kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) offing-GEN/LOC wave (2) high-INF rise-ATTR day-DAT (3) meet-PROG-INF-PAST/FIN DV (4) capital-GEN person TOP (5) hear-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/TENT-ATTR PT

Translation
(4/5) [I] wonder whether people in the capital might have heard (3) that [we] met (1/2) with a day when waves in the offing rose high.

Commentary
Pierson mistranslated *mîyakô-nö pîtö* 'people in the capital' as 'home-folk' (1963: 81) for the reasons unknown, but with the clear assertion of his point of view in the commentary.

This is a poem by MîNpu-nö omî UNtamarö, as becomes clear from the postscript to the poems 15.3674-3675.

On the past tentative auxiliary *-kêm-* see the commentary to 15.3637.

Postscript to the poems 15.3674-3675
本文・Original text
右二首大判官

Translation
Two poems above are by the Senior Secretary.

Commentary
Senior Secretary is MîNpu-nö omî UNtamarö. On his biography see the commentary to 15.3612.

15.3676
本文・Original text
(1) 安麻等夫也 (2) 可里乎都可比尓 (3) 衣弖之可母 (4) 奈良能弥夜故尓 (5) 許登都氣夜良武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あまと$_2$ぶや (2) かりをつかひ$_1$に (3) えてしかも$_2$ (4) ならの$_2$み$_1$やこ$_1$に (5) こ$_2$と$_2$つげ$_2$やらむ

Romanization
(1) ama töNp-u ya (2) kari-wo tukapî n-i (3) e-te-si kamö (4) Nara-nö mîyakô-ni (5) kötö tuNkë-yar-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven fly-ATTR PT (2) wild.goose-ACC messenger DV-INF (3) obtain(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT (4) Nara-GEN capital-LOC (5) word report(INF)-send-TENT-FIN

Translation
(3) [I] want to obtain (1/2) wild geese that fly in heaven as messengers! (5) [I] would send [with them] a message (4) to the capital of Nara.

Commentary
Ama töNp-u ya is permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to the word *kari* 'wild goose.' The particle *ya* here is not an interrogative particle *ya*, but a homonymous emphatic particle *ya* here, see Vovin (2008a: 1265-70) for details.

15.3677
本文・Original text
(1) 秋野乎 (2) 尓保波須波疑波 (3) 佐家礼杼母 (4) 見流之留思奈之 (5) 多婢尓師安礼婆

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あきの$_2$の$_1$を (2) にほはすはぎ$_2$は (3) さけ$_1$れど$_2$も$_2$ (4) み$_1$るしるしなし (5) たび$_1$にしあれば

Romanization

(1) AKÎ-NÖ NÔ-wo (2) nipop-as-u paNkï pa (3) sak-êr-e-Ntömö (4) MÎ-ru sirusi na-si (5) taNpî n-i si ar-e-Npa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn-GEN field-ACC (2) color-CAUS-ATTR bush.clover TOP (3) bloom-PROG-EV-CONC (4) look-ATTR use no-FIN (5) journey DV-INF PT exist-EV-CON

Translation
(1/2/3) Although bush clovers that make autumn fields colorful are blooming, (4) there is no use to look [at them], (5) because [I] am on a journey

Commentary
On *paNkï* 'bush clover' see the commentary to 15.3656.

15.3678
本文・Original text
(1) 伊毛乎於毛比 (2) 伊能祢良延奴尓 (3) 安伎乃野尓 (4) 草乎思香奈伎都 (5) 追麻於毛比可祢弖

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いも$_1$をおも$_1$ひ$_1$ (2) いの$_2$ねらえ$_2$ぬに (3) あき$_1$の$_2$の$_1$に (4) さをしかなき$_1$つ (5) つまおも$_1$ひ$_1$かねて

Romanization
(1) imô-wo omôp-î (2) i-nö ne-raye-n-u-ni (3) akî-nö NÔ-ni (4) sa-wo-sika nak-î-t-u (5) tuma omôp-î-kane-te

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) beloved-ACC think-INF (2) sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR-LOC (3) autumn-GEN field-LOC (4) PREF-male-deer cry-INF-PERF-FIN (5) spouse long.for-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB

Translation
(2) When [I] cannot sleep, (1) thinking of [my] beloved, (4) male deer cried (3) in the autumn field, (5) as [it, too] could not [endure] longing for [his] spouse.

Commentary
On the male deer and its cry see the commentary to 15.3674.

15.3679
本文・Original text
(1) 於保夫祢尓 (2) 真可治之自奴伎 (3) 等吉麻都等 (4) 和礼波於毛倍杼 (5) 月曽倍尓家流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほぶねに (2) まかぢしじぬき$_1$ (3) と$_2$き$_1$まつと$_2$ (4) われはおも$_1$へ$_2$ど$_2$ (5) つき$_2$そ$_2$へ$_2$にけ$_1$る

Romanization
(1) opo-N-pune-ni (2) MA-kaNti siNsi nuk-î (3) tökî mat-u tö (4) ware pa omôp-ë-Ntö (5) TUKÎ sö pë-n-i-kêr-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) big-DV(ATTR)-boat-LOC (2) INT-rudder constantly pierce-INF (3) time wait-FIN DV (4) I TOP think-EV-CONC (5) month PT pass(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR

Translation
(4) Although I thought (3) that [I] am waiting for the time [of departure when we go] (1) in [our] big boats (2) constantly piercing [the waves with] great rudder, (5) a month have passed.

Commentary
Opo-N-pune-ni ma-kaNti siNsi nuk-î 'constantly piercing [the waves with our] great rudders in [our] big boats' cf. the identical lines in 15.3611 and 15. 3627.

15.3680
本文・Original text
(1) 欲乎奈我美 (2) 伊能年良延奴尓 (3) 安之比奇能 (4) 山妣故等余米 (5) 佐乎思賀奈君母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) よ$_1$をながみ$_1$ (2) いの$_2$ねらえ$_2$ぬに (3) あしひ$_1$き$_2$の$_2$ (4) やまび$_1$こ$_1$と$_2$よ$_2$め$_2$ (5) さをしかなくも$_2$

Romanization
(1) yô-wo naNka-mî (2) i-nö ne-raye-n-u-ni (3) asi pîkï n-ö (4) yama-N-pîkô töyömë (5) sa-wo-sika nak-umö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) night-ABS long-GER (2) sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR-LOC (3) foot low DV-ATTR (4) mountain-GEN-echo make.sound(INF) (5) PREF-male-deer cry-ATTR

Translation
(2) As [I] cannot sleep, (1) because the night is long, (5) male deer cries (3/4) making the echo resound in the low foot mountain!

Commentary
On WOJ *-wo* as an absolutive case marker see the commentary to 15.3599.

On *asi pîkï n-ö* 'with low foot' see the commentary to 15.3655.

Yama-N-pîkô 'mountain echo' is literally 'mountain male [deity].' In Western Old Japanese *pîkô* occurs as a word for a 'male,' but in many cases is appears in the names of male deities. This reflects the belief that sounds returned by mountains actually represent the voices of deities.

WOJ *töyömë-* 'to make sound/resound' is the transitive form of WOJ intransitive *töyöm-* 'to sound, to resound.' Pierson was apparently unaware of this, as he translated *yama-N-pîkô töyömë* as 'mountain echoes resound' (1963.15: 84).

On the male deer and its cry see the commentary to 15.3674.

Preface to the poems 3681-3687
本文・Original text
肥前國松浦郡狛嶋亭舶泊之夜遥望海浪各慟旅心作歌七首
Translation
Seven poems that were composed on the night when [we] anchored [our] boats at Kömasima harbor in Matura district of PïNseN province, looking at the waves from afar, and lamenting [about our] jorney.

Commentary
The Eastern part of PïNseN (MdJ Hizen) province is located in present-day Saga prefecture, and its Western part in Nagasaki prefecture.

Matura district corresponds to eastern and western parts of Matsura district in present-day Saga prefecture and northern and southern parts of Matsura district in present-day Nagasaki prefecture (Nakanishi 1985: 484).

The location of Kömasima harbor is not known (Itō et al. 1981: 323), (Nakanishi 1985: 447).

15.3681
本文・Original text
(1) 可敝里伎弖 (2) 見牟等於毛比之 (3) 和我夜度能 (4) 安伎波疑須々伎 (5) 知里尓家武可聞

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かへ$_1$りき$_1$て (2) み$_1$むと$_2$おも$_1$ひ$_1$し (3) わがやど$_1$の$_2$ (4) あき$_1$はぎ$_2$すすき$_1$ (5) ちりにけ$_1$むかも

Romanization
(1) kapêr-i-k-î-te (2) MÎ-m-u tö omôp-î-si (3) wa-Nka yaNtô-nö (4) akî paNkï susukî (5) tir-i-n-i-kêm-u kamo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) return-INF-come-INF-SUB (2) see-TENT-FIN DV think-INF-PAST/ATTR (3) I-POSS home-GEN (4) autumn bush.clover susukî (5) fall-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/TENT-ATTR PT

Translation
(4) Autumn bush clovers and susuki (3) at my home, (2) which I thought I would see (1) when I return, (5) have already probably fallen [now].

Commentary
On *paNkï* 'bush clover' see the commentary to 15.3656.

Susukî 'Japanese pampas grass' is a tall (1 ~ 2 m, 3ft 4in ~ 6ft 8in) perennial grass which grows in the wild on river banks and in mountains. In the autumn it develops long sword-like yellowish or purplish spikes. It is one of the 秋の七草 'seven plants of the autumn,' and is associated with the autumn in Japanese traditional poetry.

On the past tentative auxiliary *-kêm-* see the commentary to 15.3637.

Postscript to the poem 15.3681
本文・Original text
右一首秦田麻呂

Translation
The poem above is by Pata-nö Tamarö.

Commentary
Nothing is known about Pata-nö Tamarö's biography except he was one of the members of the mission sent to Silla. He may be (or may be not) the same person as Pata-nö Mamarö, the author of 15.3589. See the commentary to 15.3589.

15.3682
本文・Original text
(1) 安米都知能 (2) 可未乎許比都々 (3) 安礼麻多武 (4) 波夜伎万世伎美 (5) 麻多婆久流思母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あめ$_2$つちの$_2$ (2) かみ$_2$をこ$_2$ひ$_1$つつ (3) あれまたむ (4) はやき$_1$ませき$_1$み$_1$ (5) またばくるしも$_2$

Romanization
(1) amë tuti-nö (2) kamï-wo köp-î-tutu (3) are mat-am-u (4) paya k-î-[i]mas-e kîmî (5) mat-aNpa kurusi-mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven earth-GEN (2) deity-ACC pray-INF-COOR (3) I wait-TENT-FIN (4) quick come-INF-HON-IMP lord (5) wait-COND hard-EXCL

Translation
(3) I will wait for [you], (2) praying to the deities (1) of Heaven and Earth. (4) Come back, quickly, [my] lord! (5) [It] is hard when [I] wait!

Commentary
[I]mas- is a honorific auxiliary verb. In Western Old Japanese in contrast to Classical Japanese it always belongs to the consonant verbal class (*yodan*, 四段), for details see Vovin (2008a: 1027-33).

In contrast to Classical Japanese, condinitional gerund *-aNpa* in Western Old Japanese can introduce temporal connection 'when.' For details see Vovin (2008a: 759-60).

Postscript to the poem 15.3682
本文・Original text
右一首娘子

Translation
The poem above is by a maiden.

Commentary
The ‘maiden’ is probably a local courtesan called for the entertainement of the mission members while they stayed in Kömasima harbor (Takagi et al. 1962: 83), (Kojima et al. 1975: 73), (Nakanishi 1981: 320), (Omodaka 1984.15: 100), (Itō 1998: 195). Courtesans generally provided entertainment for guests, but this ‘entertainment’ might also include sexual interaction. Yoshii although agreeing in principle to such a possibility, believes that this poem may have been composed by Pata-nö Tamarö wife echoing the previous poem that belongs to him (1988: 208). Needless to say, there is no textual evidence to support Yoshii’s claim, and his hypothesis raises more questions than it answers. Certainly, people in the eighth century did not enjoy our technological privileges of being able to use e-mail, faxes, and long distance phone calls, so Pata-nö Tamarö’s wife could not possibly compose a response to her husband poem unless she had some telepathic abilities. One, of course, can argue, that Pata-nö Tamarö made it back, showed his poem to his wife, she wrote a response, and consequently it was included into the *Man’yōshū*. All this, however, looks like a far-fetched speculation, because poetic responses tended to be instantaneous; and, in addition, Pata-nö Tamarö’s wife certainly was not a ‘maiden.’ Finally, as Itō has observed courtesans were frequently called ‘maidens’ (娘子) (1998: 195). Therefore, I think that the traditional explanation is right.

15.3683
本文・Original text
(1) 伎美乎於毛比 (2) 安我古非万久波 (3) 安良多麻乃 (4) 多都追奇其等尓 (5) 与久流日毛安良自

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) き$_1$み$_1$をおも$_1$ひ$_1$ (2) あがこ$_1$ひ$_2$まくは (3) あらたまの$_2$ (4) たつつき$_2$ご$_2$と$_2$に (5) よ$_2$くるひ$_1$も$_1$あらじ

Romanization
(1) kîmî-wo omôp-î (2) a-Nka kôpï-m-aku pa (3) arata ma-nö (4) tat-u tukï Nkötö n-i (5) yök-uru PÎ mô ar-aNsı

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) lord-ACC think-INF (2) I-POSS long.for-TENT-NML TOP (3) new interval-GEN (4) begin-ATTR every DV-INF (5) avoid-ATTR day PT exist-NEG/TENT

Translation
(3/4) Every time when a new month begins, (5) there is no day when [I] could avoid (1/2) my thinking of and longing for [my] lord.

Commentary
This poem was apparently composed by one of the mission members assuming a female voice of a wife or a beloved left in the capital.

Arata ma-nö is considered to be a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) for the words WOJ *tösi* ‘year’, WOJ *tukï* ‘month, moon’, and WOJ *kîpë* (spelled 寸戸), meaning unknown (Omodaka et al. 1967: 245). Its composition is quite transparent: *arata* ‘new,’ *ma* ‘interval,’ and *-nö*, genitive case marker.

15.3684
本文・Original text
(1) 秋夜乎 (2) 奈我美尓可安良武 (3) 奈曽許己波 (4) 伊能祢良要奴毛 (5) 比等里奴礼婆可

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あき$_1$の$_2$よ$_1$を (2) ながみ$_1$にかあらむ (3) なぞ$_2$こ$_2$こ$_2$ば (4) いの$_2$ねらえ$_2$ぬも$_1$ (5) ひ$_1$と$_2$りぬればか

Romanization
(1) AKÎ-NÖ YÔ-wo (2) nanka-mî n-i ka ar-am-u (3) naNsö kökönpa (4) i-nö ne-raye-n-umô (5) pîtö-ri n-ure-Npa ka

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) autumn-GEN night-ABS (2) long-GER DV-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR (3) why extremely (4) sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-EXCL (5) one-CL sleep-EV-CON PT

Translation
(3/4) Why cannot [I] sleep at all: (1/2) is [it] probably because the autumn night is long, (5) or is it because [I] sleep alone?!

Commentary
On WOJ *-wo* as an absolutive case marker see the commentary to 15.3599.

On *-umö* ~ *-mö* as a special Old Japanese exclamative form (misspelled as *-umô* in this poem) see the commentary to 15.3595.

15.3685
本文・Original text
(1) 多良思比賣 (2) 御船波弖家牟 (3) 松浦乃宇美 (4) 伊母我麻都倍伎 (5) 月者倍尓都々

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たらしひ$_1$め$_1$ (2) み$_1$ふねはてけ$_1$む (3) まつらの$_2$うみ$_1$ (4) いも$_2$がまつべ$_2$き$_1$ (5) つき$_2$はへ$_2$につつ

Romanization
(1) Tarasi pîmê (2) mî-pune pate-kêm-u (3) Matura-nö umî (4) imö-Nka mat-uNpë-kî (5) TUKĬ PA pë-n-i-tutu

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Tarasi lady (2) HON-boat anchor(INF)-PAST-TENT-ATTR (3) Matura-GEN sea (4) beloved-POSS wait-DEB-ATTR (5) month TOP pass(INF)-PERF-INF-COOR

Translation
(3) The sea of Matura ‘Bay of Waiting’ (1/2) where the lady Tarasi probably anchored [her] ships… (4/5) the months when [my] beloved had to wait [for me] have continued to pass

Commentary
This is a difficult poem to translate into any language since it involves a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): *mat-* ‘to wait’ and *Matura* ‘Pine bay,’ that can be also understood as ‘Bay of Waiting,’ since *matu* ‘pine’ and *mat-u* ‘wait-FIN’ (or ‘wait-ATTR’) are complete homophones including even their their common accent pattern LOW-HIGH.

Tarasi pîmê ‘Lady Tarasi’ (full name: *OkînaNka tarasi pîmê*, 息長足媛), is empress Jingū (神功), the mother of emeror Ōjin (応神). According to the tradition, she led an expedition against the states on the Korean peninsula. The primary target was Silla, but after the Silla surrendered, Paekche and Koguryo have also surrendered, as narrated in the ninth volume of the *Nihonshoki* (日本書紀). Whether one takes the traditional dating of her reign (201-269 AD), or moves it to the much later period augmenting it by about sexagenary cicles to around 400 AD, this is certainly a fairy tale: as one cannot really imagine that a Japanese army would be able to defeat much more technologically advanced and well-trained in the heavy cavalry warfare armies of Silla, let alone Koguryo. The famous stella of king Kwangkaytho of Koguryo (414 or 415 AD), however, bears evidence for the Japanese invasion of the Korean peninsula that was squarely defeated by Koguryo. Certainly, both sides would hyperbolize their own victories and disregard defeats, so the truth should be somewhere in between. The personal name PomuNta (誉田) of the emperor Ōjin certainly does not seem to be Japanese, if anything at all, it could have a potential Korean etymology: MK *:pəm* < *pəmu ‘tiger’ + *nàh-tá* ‘to give birth,’ i.e. ‘tiger-born.’ Also, as Naoki pointed out, the fact that burial mounds of PomuNta dynasty are located on the seashore of the Ōsaka bay indicates that this dynasty may have a foreign origin (XX: XX). In short, we might have here an account of two bands of early Korean aristocracy, one based on the Ōsaka coast, and another in Korea, fighting one another.

On the past tentative auxiliary *-kêm-* see the commentary to 15.3637.

15.3686
本文・Original text
(1) 多婢奈礼婆 (2) 於毛比多要弖毛 (3) 安里都礼杼 (4) 伊敝尓安流伊毛之 (5) 於母比我奈思母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たび$_1$なれば (2) おも$_1$ひ$_1$たえ$_2$て$_1$も$_1$ (3) ありつれど$_2$ (4) いへ$_1$にあるいも$_1$し (5) おも$_2$ひ$_1$がなしも$_2$

Romanization
(1) taNpî nar-e-Npa (2) omôp-î taye-te mô (3) ar-i-t-ure-Ntö (4) ipê-ni ar-u imô si (5) omöp-î-N-kanasi-mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) journey be-EV-CON (2) think-INF-break(INF)-SUB PT (3) exist-INF-PERF-CONC (4) home-LOC exist-ATTR beloved PT (5) long.for-NML-GEN-dear-EXCL

Translation
(5) [I] think dearly of (4) [my] beloved who is at home (2/3) although [she] has stopped thinking of [me] (1) because [I] am on a journey!

Commentary
Pierson mistranslated this poem assigning the feeling of longing not to the author, but to his wife at home (1963.15: 89)

15.3687
本文・Original text
(1) 安思必奇能 (2) 山等妣古由留 (3) 可里我祢波 (4) 美也故尓由加波 (5) 伊毛尓安比弖許祢

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あしひ$_1$き$_2$の$_2$ (2) やまと$_2$び$_1$こ$_1$ゆる (3) かりがねは (4) み$_1$やこ$_1$にゆかば (5) いも$_1$にあひ$_1$てこ$_2$ね

Romanization
(1) asi pîkï n-ö (2) YAMA töNp-î-kôy-uru (3) kari-Nka ne pa (4) mîyakô-ni yuk-aNpa (5) imô-ni ap-î-te kö-n-e

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) foot low DV-ATTR (2) mountain fly-INF-cross-ATTR (3) wild.goose-POSS sound TOP (4) capital-LOC go-COND (5) beloved-DAT meet-INF-SUB come-DES-IMP

Translation
(3) The cries of wild geese (1/2) that fly over the low foot mountains… (4) if [you the geese] go to the capital, (5) meet [there my] beloved, and come **[**back].

Commentary
On *asi pîkï n-ö* ‘with low foot’ see the commentary to 15.3655.
On WOJ *kari* ‘wild goose’ and *kari-Nka ne* ‘cries of wild geese’ see the commentary to 15.3665.

Preface to the poems 3688-3690
本文・Original text
到壹岐嶋雪連宅満忽遇鬼病死去之時作歌一首　并短歌

Translation
One [long] poem and two accompanying *tanka* envoys composed when Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö upon arrival to Ikî island suddently contracted an evil illness and died.

Commentary
Ikî island is identical to the present-day Iki island situated between Northern Kyūshū and Tsushima.
On Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö see the commentary to the postscript to 15.3644.

15.3688
本文・Original text
(1) 須賣呂伎能 (2) 等保能朝庭等 (3) 可良國尓 (4) 和多流和我世波 (5) 伊敝妣等能 (6) 伊波比麻多祢可 (7) 多太未可母 (8) 安夜麻知之家牟 (9) 安吉佐良婆 (10) 可敝里麻左牟等

(11) 多良知祢能 (12) 波々尓麻乎之弖 (13) 等伎毛須疑 (14) 都奇母倍奴礼婆 (15) 今日可許牟 (16) 明日可蒙許武登 (17) 伊敝妣等波 (18) 麻知故布良牟尓 (19) 等保能久尓 (20) 伊麻太毛都可受 (21) 也麻等乎毛 (22) 登保久左可里弖 (23) 伊波我祢乃 (24) 安良伎之麻祢尓 (25) 夜杼理須流君

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) すめ$_1$ろ$_2$き$_1$の$_2$ (2) と$_2$ほの$_2$み$_1$かど$_1$と$_2$ (3) からくにに (4) わたるわがせは (5) いへ$_1$び$_1$と$_2$の$_2$ (6) いはひ$_1$またねか (7) ただみ$_2$かも$_2$ (8) あやまちしけ$_1$む (9) あき$_1$さらば (10) かへ$_1$りまさむと$_2$ (11) たらちねの$_2$ (12) ははにまをして (13) と$_2$き$_1$も$_1$すぎ$_2$ (14) つき$_2$も$_2$へ$_2$ぬれば (15) け$_1$ふかこ$_2$む (16) あすかもこ$_2$むと$_2$ (17) いへ$_1$び$_1$と$_2$は (18) まちこ$_1$ふらむに (19) と$_2$ほの$_2$くに (20) いまだも$_1$つかず (21) やまと$_2$をも$_1$ (22) と$_2$ほくさかりて (23) いはがねの$_2$ (24) あらき$_1$しまねに (25) やど$_2$りするき$_1$み$_1$

Romanization
(1) sumê-rö-kî-nö (2) töpo n-ö mîkaNtô tö (3) Kara KUNI-ni (4) watar-u wa-Nka se pa (5) ipê-N-pîtö-nö (6) mat-an-e ka (7) taNta mï kamö (8) ayamat-i s-i-kêm-u (9) akî sar-aNpa (10) kapêr-i-[i]mas-am-u tö (11) taratine-nö (12) papa-ni mawos-i-te (13) tökî mô suNkï (14) tukï mö pë-n-ure-Npa (15) KÊPU ka kö-m-u (16) ASU kamo kö-m-u tö (17) ipê-N-pîtö pa (18) mat-i-kôp-uram-u-ni (19) töpo n-ö kuni (20) imaNta mô tuk-aNs-u (21) Yamatö-wo mô (22) töpo-ku sakar-i-te (23) ipa-Nka ne-nö (24) ara-kî sima-ne-ni (25) yaNtör-i s-uru kîmî

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) imperial.ancestor-DV-male-GEN (2) distant DV-ATTR court DV (3) Kara land-LOC (4) cross-ATTR we-POSS elder.brother TOP (5) home-GEN-people-GEN (6) wait-NEG-EV PT (7) direct body PT (8) mistake-NML do-INF-PAST/TENT-ATTR (9) autumn come-COND (10) return-INF-HON-TENT-FIN DV (11) (*makura-kotoba*) (12) mother-DAT tell(HUM)-INF-SUB (13) time PT pass(INF) (14) month PT pass(INF)-PERF-EV-CON (15) today PT come-TENT-ATTR (16) tomorrow PT come-TENT-ATTR DV (17) home-GEN-people TOP (18) wait-INF-long.for-TENT2-ATTR-LOC (19) distant DV-ATTR land (20) yet PT arrive-NEG-INF (21) Yamatö-ACC PT (22) distant-GER be.separated-INF-SUB (23) rock-POSS root-GEN (24) rough-ATTR island root-LOC (25) lodge-NML do-ATTR lord

Translation
(4) Our elder brother who was going across (3) to Kara (2) the distant dominion (1) of the Imperial ancestors -- (5/6) was [it] because [his] home folks did not wait [for him]? (7/8) Or did [he] probably make a mistake himself, I wonder? (11/12) [He] told [his] dear mother: (9) “When the autumn comes, (10) [I] will come back,” (13/14) [but] because the time has passed and months have faded away, (17/18) when [his] home folks were waiting and longing for [him], (15/16) thinking: “Will he come today or tomorrow?” (25) the lord has lodged permanently (23/24) on the hard stone roots of this island, (19/20) without arriving to the distant land [of Kara], (21/22) and being far away from Yamatö, too!

Commentary
WOJ *sumêrökî* or *sumêra* is a mysterious word. It clearly refers to an emperor; and in particular *sumêrökî*, as Omodaka et al. indicate, refers to ancestor emperors in contrast to the presently ruling emperor that is called *Opo kîmî* ‘great lord’ (1967: 394). The root is *sumê*, as indicated by compounds *sumê-kamï* ‘august deities’ and *sumê mî-ma* ‘August Grandchild’ (of Amaterasu). The meaning of *sumê* is unclear, at least there seems to be no internal Japanese etymology. *-ra* in *sumêra* is probably a diminutive suffix, used in its endearment meaning. I think that *-rökî* can be explained as *rö*, a defective copula verb[40] + *kî* ‘male.’[41] This analysis is likely to be supported by神漏伎 ~ 神魯企 *KAMU-rô-kî* ‘male deities (lit. deity-DV-male)’ (NT 1, 7, 8, 14), and 神漏彌 ~ 神魯美 *KAMU-rô-mî* ‘female deities (lit. deity-DV-female)’ (NT 1, 7, 8, 14). However, there is an apparent difficulty: while in the *Man’yōshū* 須賣呂伎 *sumêrökî* is consistently spelled with *otsu-rui* 呂 /rö/ (altogether nine cases of the phonographic attestation), 神漏伎 ~ 神魯企 *KAMU-rô-kî* and 神漏彌 ~ 神魯美 *KAMU-rô-mî* in the Norito are always spelled with *kō-rui* 漏 ~ 魯 /rô/. Moreover, in the *Senmyō*, *KAMU-rô-kî* (spelled variously as 神魯岐 (SM 5.3), 神魯棄 (SM 23.2), 神魯岐 (SM 19.2), and神魯棄 (SM 14.2)) and *KAMU-rô-mî* (神魯美 (SM 5.3, 23.2), 神魯美 (SM 14.2), 神魯彌 (SM 19.3)) also invariably appear with *kō-rui* 魯 /rô/. Meanwhile, the defective verb *rö* ‘to be,’ amply

[40] Not recognized in the traditional Japanese grammars. See Vovin (2008a: 553-56) for details.
[41] Cf. *-kî* in the name of the deity: *INsana-N-kî* (MdJ *Izanagi*).

attested in the *Manyōshū*, the *Kojiki kayō*, and the *Nihonshoki kayō*, is always spelled as /rö/ (Vovin 2008a: 553-56). Nevertheless, I think that it is possible to reconcile etymologically these two contradictory spellings. The solution, I believe, lies in the fact that *kō-rui* form /rô/ is found after vowel /u/ in *kamu-* 'deity,' which has the feature [+labial]. Consequently, *kō-rui* vowel /ô/, which is also [+labial], can be seen as a result of progressive assimilation of [-labial] *otsu-rui* vowel /ö/. Therefore, WOJ *sumêrökî* can be interpreted as 'male [imperial] ancestor,' although as I mentioned above there is no satisfactory Japanese internal etymology for *sumê*. It is possible, however, to offer a speculative etymology on the basis of Korean: MK *súm-* 'to be hidden, to retire from the world.' Ancestors are certainly someone who has retired from this world.

Töpo n-ö mîkaNtô tö Kara KUNI 'land of Kara which is a distant dominion.' This certainly has no more basis in political reality of the eighth century than would the claim that China of the time was also a dominion of Japan. Around 736 AD United Silla was a strong state, with military capacity equal or even exceeding that of Yamatö. This phrase seems to point to the time in sixth century, when Yamatö was involved in one or another way into the political struggles on the Korean peninsular. 'Land of Kara' here certainly does not mean here the whole United Silla, but the former state of Karak (WOJ *Mîmana* 任那), which was located between Paekche and Silla and conquered by the latter in 562 AD. According to the Japanese traditional historiography that took the accounts from the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* at the face value, Karak or Mîmana used to be a dominion of Japan on the Korean peninsular until its conquest by Silla in 562 AD. Recently, several scholars came to question this account, suggesting that Karak was the original metropoly from which the state of Yamatö was founded, but was perceived later as an overseas possession once the political center shifted to Yamatö; see, for example Grierson (XX).

WOJ *se* 'elder brother' is most frequently used in the *Man'yōshū* as a term referring to a male beloved (cf. WOJ *imô* 'younger sister' as term referring to a female beloved, see the commentary to 15.3579). Here, however, it is used in its primary meaning 'elder brother,' which in this case serves as a polite reference to Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö.

On the past tentative auxiliary *-kêm-* see the commentary to 15.3637.

WOJ *taratine-nö* is permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) applied to WOJ *papa* 'mother.' It has no coherent etymology in Japanese, although several have been suggested. It might possibly reflect long-sought Austronesian substratum in Japanese, with *tine* < *tinay reflecting PAN *t-ina 'mother,' and *tara* being

On *ipa-Nka ne* see the commentary to 15.3590.

Preface to the poems 3689-3690
本文・Original text
反歌二首

Translation
Two envoys.

15.3689
本文・Original text
(1) 伊波多野尓 (2) 夜杼里須流伎美 (3) 伊敝妣等乃 (4) 伊豆良等和礼乎 (5) 等波婆伊可尓伊波牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いはたの$_1$に (2) やど$_2$りするき$_1$み$_1$ (3) いへ$_1$び$_1$と$_2$の$_2$ (4) いづらと$_2$われを (5) と$_2$はばいかにいはむ

Romanization
(1) Ipata-NÔ-ni (2) yaNtör-i s-uru kîmî (3) ipê-N-pîtö-nö (4) iNtu-ra tö ware-wo (5) töp-aNpa ika n-i ip-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Ipata-field-LOC (2) lodge-NML do-ATTR lord (3) home-GEN-person-GEN (4) where-LOC DV I-ACC (5) ask-COND how DV-INF say-TENT-FIN

Translation
(2) [Oh, my] lord who lodged (1) at the Ipata field. (3/4/5) If [your] home folks ask me where [are you], what should [I] answer?

Commentary
Ipata field is located in the present-day Ipata town on Iki island in Nagasaki prefecture. There is a small tumulus there that is considered to be the grave of Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö (Itō 1981: 298), (Nakanishi 1985: 426).

WOJ *-ra* in *iNtu-ra* 'where' is a locative case marker, borrowed from Old Korean. For details see Vovin (2005: 147-51).

15.3690
本文・Original text
(1) 与能奈可波 (2) 都祢可久能未等 (3) 和可礼奴流 (4) 君尓也毛登奈 (5) 安我孤悲由加牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) よ$_2$の$_2$なかは (2) つねかくの$_2$み$_2$と$_2$ (3) わかれぬる (4) き$_1$み$_1$にやも$_1$と$_2$な (5) あがこ$_1$ひ$_2$ゆかむ

Romanization
(1) yö-nö naka pa (2) tune ka-ku nömï tö (3) wakare-n-uru (4) KÎMÎ-ni ya môtöna (5) a-Nka kôpï-yuk-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) world-GEN middle TOP (2) usual thus-GER PT DV (3) part(INF)-PERF-ATTR (4) lord-DAT PT in.vain (5) I-POSS long.for(INF)-go-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(1) The life (2) is always just like this. (5) Will [I] continue to long (4) in vain for [my] lord, (3) who departed [from me]?

Commentary
Pierson mistranslated lines four and five as 'I'll go in vain, longing for him' (1963.15: 94), failing to realize that *yuk-* 'to go' is an auxiliary verb here.

Postscript to the poems 15.3689-3690
本文・Original text
右三首挽歌

Translation
Three poems above are elegies.

15.3691
本文・Original text
(1) 天地等 (2) 登毛尓母我毛等 (3) 於毛比都々 (4) 安里家牟毛能乎 (5) 波之家也思 (6) 伊敝乎波奈礼弖 (7) 奈美能宇倍由 (8) 奈豆佐比伎尓弖 (9) 安良多麻能 (10) 月日毛伎倍奴 (11) 可里我祢母 (12) 都藝弖伎奈氣婆 (13) 多良知祢能 (14) 波々母都末良母 (15) 安佐都由尓 (16) 毛能須蘇比都知 (17) 由布疑里尓 (18) 己呂毛弖奴礼弖 (19) 左伎久之毛 (20) 安流良牟其登久 (21) 伊伎見都追 (22) 麻都良牟母能乎 (23) 世間能 (24) 比登乃奈氣波 (25) 安比於毛波奴(26) 君尓安礼也母 (27) 安伎波疑能 (28) 知良敝流野邊乃 (29) 波都乎花 (30) 可里保尓布伎弖 (31) 久毛婆奈礼 (32) 等保伎久尓敝能 (33) 都由之毛能 (34) 佐武伎山邊尓 (35) 夜杼里世流良牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あめ$_2$つちと$_2$ (2) と$_2$も$_1$にも$_2$がも$_1$と$_2$ (3) おも$_1$ひ$_1$つつ (4) ありけ$_1$むもの$_2$を (5) はしけ$_1$やし(6) いへ$_1$をはなれて (7) なみ$_1$の$_2$うへ$_2$ゆ (8) なづさひ$_1$き$_1$にて (9) あらたまの$_2$ (10) つき$_2$ひも$_1$き$_1$へ$_2$ぬ (11) かりがねも$_2$ (12) つぎ$_1$てき$_1$なけ$_2$ば (13) たらちねの$_2$ (14) ははも$_2$つまらも$_2$ (15) あさつゆに (16) も$_1$の$_2$すそ$_1$ひ$_1$づち (17) ゆふぎ$_2$りに (18) こ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_1$でぬれて (19) さき$_1$くしも$_1$ (20) あるらむご$_2$と$_2$く (21) いでみ$_1$つつ (22) まつらむも$_2$の$_2$を (23) よ$_2$の$_2$なかの$_2$ (24) ひ$_1$と$_2$の$_2$なげ$_2$き$_1$は (25) あひ$_1$おも$_1$はぬ (26) き$_1$み$_1$にあれやも$_2$ (27) あき$_1$はぎ$_2$の$_2$ (28) ちらへ$_1$るの$_1$へ$_1$の$_2$ (29) はつをばな (30) かりほにふき$_1$て(31) くも$_1$ばなれ (32) と$_2$ほき$_1$くにへ$_1$の$_2$ (33) つゆしも$_1$の$_2$ (34) さむき$_1$やまへ$_1$に (35) やど$_2$りせるらむ

Romanization

(1) AMEY TUTI-tö (2) tömö n-i möNkamô (3) omôp-î-tutu (4) ar-i-kêm-u mônöwo (5) pasikêyasi (6) ipê-wo panare-te (7) namî-nö upë-yu (8) naNtusap-î k-î-n-i-te (9) arata ma-nö (10) TUKÏ PÏ mô k-î pë-n-u (11) kari-Nka ne mö (12) tuNk-î-te k-î-nak-ë-Npa (13) taratine-nö (14) papa mö tuma-ra mö (15) asa tuyu-ni (16) mô-nö susô pîNtut-i (17) yupu-N-kïri-ni (18) körömôNte nure-te (19) sakî-ku si mô (20) ar-uram-u Ngötö-ku (21) iNte MÎ-tutu (22) mat-uram-u mönöwo (23) YÖ-NÖ NAKA-nö (24) pîtö-nö naNkëk-î pa (25) apî-omôp-an-u (26) KÎMÎ n-i ar-e ya mö (27) akî paNkï-nö (28) tir-ap-êr-u NÔ-PÊ-nö (29) patuwo-N-pana (30) kari [i]po-ni puk-î-te (31) kumô-N-panare (32) töpo-kî kuni-pê-nö (33) tuyu simô-nö (34) samu-kî YAMA PÊ-ni (35) yaNtör-i s-er-uram-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven earth-COM (2) together DV-INF PT (3) think-INF-COOR (4) exist-INF-PAST/TENT-ATTR CONJ (5) dear (6) home-ACC separate(INF)-SUB (7) wave-GEN top-ABL (8) be.tossed-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB (9) new interval-GEN (10) month day come-INF pass(INF)-PERF-FIN (11) wild.goose-POSS cry PT (12) follow-INF-SUB come-INF-cry-EV-CON (13) (*makura-kotoba*) (14) mother PT spouse-PLUR PT (15) morning-dew-LOC (16) skirt-GEN hem drench-INF (17) evening-GEN-fog-LOC (18) sleeve make.wet(INF)-SUB (19) safe-INF PT PT (20) exist-TENT2-ATTR like-INF (21) exit(INF) see(INF)-COOR (22) wait-TENT2-ATTR CONJ (23) world-GEN inside-GEN (24) person-GEN lament-NML TOP (25) REC-think-NEG-ATTR (26) lord DV-INF exist-EV PT PT (27) autumn bush.clover-GEN (28) fall-ITER-PROG-ATTR field-side-GEN (29) patuwo-GEN-flower (30) temporary hut-LOC thatch-INF-SUB (31) cloud-LOC-separate(INF) (32) distant-ATTR land-side-GEN (33) dew froast-GEN (34) cold mountain side-LOC (35) lodge-NML do-PROG-TENT2-FIN

Translation
(3/4) Although [you] probably continued to think: (2) '[I] would like [to live long] together (1) with Heaven and Earth,' (5/6) [you] left [your] dear home, and (8) after [you] have come [here] being tossed (7) by the waves, (9) new (10) days and months came and passed. (11/12) When the cries of wild geese then became heard, (13/14/22) although both [your] mother and spouses are probably waiting [for you], (16) drenching the hems of [their] skirts (15) in morning dew, (18) wetting [their] sleeves in evening fog, (21) while going out [to the gate] and watching whether (20) [you] returned (19) safely; (23/24/25/26) does [my] lord no [longer] think about lamenting of the people of this world in return?! (30) Having thatched [your] temporary hut (29) with the patuwo flowers (27/28) from the fields where autumn bush clovers continue to fall, (35) [you] stayed (33/34) at the mountain side, where dew and froast are cold, (32) of the distant land, (31) which is as far as the clouds.

Commentary
On the past tentative auxiliary *-kêm-* see the commentary to 15.3637.

WOJ *pasikêyasi* 'dear, beloved' (also attested in the forms *pasikîyasi*, and *pasikîyösi*) looks like a final form in *-si,* but this word always appears in attributive usage.

On *arata ma-nö* see the commentary to 15.3683.

On WOJ *kari* 'wild goose' and *kari-Nka ne* 'cries of wild geese' see the commentary to 15.3665.

On *taratine-nö* see the commentary to 15.3688.

On *paNkï* 'bush clover' see the commentary to 15.3656.

Western Old Japanese plant *patuwo-N-pana* 'patuwo flower' remains unidentified (Omodaka et al. 1967: 584-89).

Preface to the poems 3692-3693
本文・Original text
反歌二首

Translation
Two envoys.

15.3692
本文・Original text
(1) 波之家也思 (2) 都麻毛古杼毛母 (3) 多可多加尓 (4) 麻都良牟伎美也 (5) 之麻我久礼奴流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) はしけ$_1$やし (2) つまも$_1$こ$_1$ど$_2$も$_1$も$_2$ (3) たかたかに (4) まつらむき$_1$み$_1$や (5) しまがくれぬる

Romanization
(1) pasikêyasi (2) tuma mô kô-Ntömô mö (3) taka-taka n-i (4) mat-uram-u kîmî ya (5) sima-N-kakure-n-uru

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) dear (2) spouse PT child-PLUR PT (3) impatient DV-INF (4) wait-TENT2-ATTR (5) island-LOC-hide(INF)-PERF-ATTR

Translation
(1/2/4) Did [my] lord for whom [his] dear spouses and children wait (3) impatiently, (5) hide himself on the island?

Commentary
Hiding on the island certainly is metaphor for death here, which also points to the fact that Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö was buried on Ikî island.

On WOJ *pasikêyasi* 'dear, beloved' see the commentary to 15.3691.

I took the liberty to translate WOJ *tuma* as plural 'spouses' here, because several spouses of Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö are mentioned above in 15.3691.

Omodaka believes that *ya* in the line four is an emphatic, but not an interrogative particle (1984.15: 116), but emphatic *ya* in contrast to interrogative *ya* does not trigger the change of a final form to an attributive (Vovin 2008a: 1265), which apparently took place here: *kakure-n-u 'hide(INF)-PERF-FIN' > *kakure-n-uru* 'hide(INF)-PERF-ATTR.' Only Satake et al. share Omodaka's analysis here (2002: 438), while all other commentators take ya as interrogative, cf. (Takagi et al. 1962: 87), (Kojima et al. 1975: 77), (Nakanishi 1981: 324), (Yoshii 1988: 229), (Itō 1998: 214).

Another controversial issue is the reading of the line five. Since the burials were done on the mountains, some Japanese scholars chose to rewrite *sima-N-kakure-n-uru* '[my lord] hid [himself] on the island' into *yama-N-kakure-n-uru* '[my lord] hid [himself] in the mountains,' arguing that the first character 之 /si/ in the line five is a scribal mistake for the repetition sign 丶(Kojima et al. 1975: 76), (Satake et al. 2002: 438). Omodaka (1984.15: 112-15) and Yoshii (1988: 229-30) provide detailed and persuasive critique of this point of view, arguing for reading the text as it is with *sima* 'island' with the latter making an important observation that islands also have connection to the dead (1988: 229). Nakanishi (1981: 324), and Itō (1998: 213-14) also share this opinion. I would also like to add that besides the fact that Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö died on Ikî *island*, it is always dangerous to attempt to rewrite texts. Finally, the character 之 /si/ could be mistaken for the repetition sign 丶only in its cursive form 〻, but there are no extant Nara period text written in cursive form. As the next poem (15.3693) demonstrates there is nothing wrong with Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö being buried on the mountain on Ikî island.

15.3693
本文・Original text
(1) 毛美知葉能 (2) 知里奈牟山尓 (3) 夜杼里奴流 (4) 君乎麻都良牟 (5) 比等之可奈思母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) も$_1$み$_1$ちばの$_2$ (2) ちりなむやまに (3) やど$_2$りぬる (4) き$_1$み$_1$をまつらむ (5) ひ$_1$と$_2$しかなしも$_2$

Romanization
(1) môмît-i-N-PA-nö (2) tir-i-n-am-u YAMA-ni (3) yaNtör-i-n-uru (4) KÎMÎ-wo mat-uram-u (5) pîtö si kanasi-mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-DV(ATTR)-leaf-GEN (2) fall-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR mountain-LOC (3) lodge-INF-PERF-ATTR (4) lord-ACC wait-TENT2-ATTR (5) person PT sad-EXCL

Translation
(5) Oh, [how] sad that [your home] folks (4) would wait for you, (3) who lodged [forever] (1/2) at the mountain, where the colored autumn leaves will fall!

Commentary
WOJ *mômît-* is a verb meaning ‘to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves).’ Only its nominalized form *momiji* (with s secondary voicing) survived in the modern Japanese language with specialized meaning ‘red maple leaves.’

Postscript to the poems 15.3691-3693
本文・Original text
右三首葛井連子老作挽歌

Translation
Three poems above are elegies composed by Puntiwi-nö muraNsi Kôoyu.

Commentary
Nothing is known about the biography of Puntiwi-nö muraNsi Kôoyu except that he was a member of the mission to Silla in 736 AD. The Puntiwi clan originally carried the name Sirawisi (白猪 or 白猪史), which indicates descendants from Paekche king Kwisu (貴須) (Takagi et al. 1962: 87).

15.3694
本文・Original text
(1) 和多都美能 (2) 可之故伎美知乎 (3) 也須家口母 (4) 奈久奈夜美伎弖 (5) 伊麻太尓母 (6) 毛奈久由可牟登 (7) 由吉能安末能 (8) 保都手乃宇良敝乎 (9) 可多夜伎弖 (10) 由加武土須流尓 (11) 伊米能其等 (12) 美知能蘇良治尓 (13) 和可礼須流伎美

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わたつみ$_1$の$_2$ (2) かしこ$_1$き$_1$み$_1$ちを (3) やすけ$_1$くも$_2$ (4) なくなやみ$_1$き$_1$て (5) いまだにも$_2$ (6) も$_1$なくゆかむと$_2$ (7) ゆき$_1$の$_2$あまの$_2$ (8) ほつての$_2$うらへ$_1$を (9) かたやき$_1$て (10) ゆかむと$_1$するに (11) いめ$_2$の$_2$ご$_2$と$_2$ (12) み$_1$ちの$_2$そ$_1$らぢに (13) わかれするき$_1$み$_1$

Romanization
(1) wata-tu mî-nö (2) kasikô-kyi mîti-wo (3) yasu-kêku mö (4) na-ku nayam-î k-î-te (5) ima Ntani mö (6) mô na-ku yuk-am-u tö (7) Yukî-nö ama-nö (8) po-tu te-nö ura-pê-wo (9) kata yak-î-te (10) yuk-am-u tô s-uru-ni (11) imë-nö Nkötö (12) mîti n-ö sôra-N-ti-ni (13) wakare s-uru kîmî

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN (2) awesome-ATTR road-ACC (3) peaceful-ATTR/NML PT (4) no-INF suffer-INF come-INF-SUB (5) now PT PT (6) misfortune no-INF go-TENT-FIN DV (7) Yukî-GEN fisherman-GEN (8) top-GEN/LOC hand-GEN divination-guild-ACC (9) shoulder burn-INF-SUB (10) go-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR-LOC (11) dream-GEN like (12) way DV-ATTR sky-GEN-way-LOC (13) depart(NML) do-ATTR lord

Translation
(1/2/3/4) [He] came along the awesome road of the sea dragon, suffering and without peace [of mind]; (5/6) and as [he] intended to go without misfortune just this time, (10) although [he] intended to go [safely], (8) [using] the most skillful diviners (7) among the fishermen of Yukî [island] (9) to scorch a shoulder [blade of a deer]; (11) like [in] a dream, (13) [my] lord departed (12) on the road to Heaven.

Commentary
On *wata-tu mî* see the commentary to 15.3597.

WOJ *yasu-kêku* is a nominalized form of WOJ *yasu-* ‘easy, peaceful,’ that consists of the root *yasu-*, attributive form *-kî* and nominaliser *-aku*. The latter two fused as *-kêku* < *-kî-aku.

Placename Yukî is the the phoneticvariant of Ikî. On Ikî island see the commentary to the preface to the poems 15.3688-3690. There are three other words that show the alternation of initial /i/ ~ /yu/: WOJ *ik-* (rare) ~ *yuk-* ‘to go,’ WOJ *i* ~ *yu* ‘sacred, taboo,’ WOJ *imë* ~ MJ *yume* ‘dream,’ which probably indicates PJ initial *yi- here. For details see Vovin (2008a: 425-26).

WOJ *po* ‘top’ is a relique word that was consequently replaced by WOJ *upë* ‘top.’ It mostly appears in the oldest Western Old Japanese poetry.

One of the ways of conducting divination in Ancient Japan was to scorch a deer shoulder blade, and to fortell the future on the basis of cracks that appeared. This is, of course, highly reminiscent of the similar practice in Shang period China, where the turtle shells were used for the same purpose.

In the line ten the character 土 /tô/ has a *kō-rui* vowel /ô/, although an *otsu-rui* vowel /ö/ has to be expected in the defective verb *tö* 'to say.' Some scholars went as far as to replace it with character 等 /tö/ in their editions of the *Man'yōshū* (Kojima et al. 1975: 77), (Yoshii 1988: 232), (Itō 1998: 204), (Kinoshita 2001), (Satake et al. 2002: 439), considering it to be a scribal mistake of 土 for 等 in cursive script. However, since there are no Nara period cursive script texts, this argument cannot be considered very strong, see also the commentary to 15.3692. As I mentioned in the same commentary, I consider the rewriting of texts to be dangerous enterprise, unless it can be confirmed by other textual variants, which is not the case here. Therefore, I follow Takagi et al. (1962: 88), (Nakanishi 1981: 325), and Omodaka (1984.15: 119) in keeping 土 in the original text, although it certainly does not rule a possibility of a scribal mistake. On the contrary, since there are no extant manuscripts of the book fifteen of the *Man'yōshū* until the end of the Heian period, the scribal mistake was most likely introduced by a scribe who by that time had no longer *kō-otsu* distinctions in his language.

Preface to the poems 3695-3696
本文・Original text
反歌二首

Translation
Two envoys.

15.3695
本文・Original text
(1) 牟可之欲里 (2) 伊比祁流許等乃 (3) 可良久尓能 (4) 可良久毛己許尓 (5) 和可礼須留可聞

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) むかしよ$_1$り (2) いひ$_1$け$_1$るこ$_2$と$_2$の$_2$ (3) からくにの$_2$ (4) からくも$_1$こ$_2$こ$_2$に (5) わかれするかも

Romanization
(1) mukasi-yôri (2) ip-î-kêr-u kötö-nö (3) Kara kuni-nö (4) kara-ku mô kökö-ni (5) wakare s-uru kamo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) old.times-ABL (2) say-INF-RETR-ATTR word-COMP (3) Kara land-GEN (4) bitter-INF PT here-LOC (5) part(NML) do-ATTR PT

Translation
(3/4) Although the land of Kara is bitter, (2) like it has been told (1) from old times, (4/5) how bitter [it is that you] parted [from us] here!

Commentary
The first three lines represent the poetic introduction (*jo*, 序) linked to the adjective *kara-* 'bitter, spicy,' involving, therefore, a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): Kara 'Karak, Korea' (here certainly referring to United Silla, see the commentary to 15.3627), and *kara-* 'bitter.' Cf. 15.3652 for a different *jo* to *kara-* 'bitter, spicy.'

15.3696
本文・Original text
(1) 新羅奇敝可 (2) 伊敝尓可加反流 (3) 由吉能之麻 (4) 由加牟多登伎毛 (5) 於毛比可祢都母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しらき$_2$へ$_1$か (2) いへ$_1$にかかへ$_1$る (3) ゆき$_1$の$_2$しま (4) ゆかむたど$_2$き$_1$も$_1$ (5) おも$_1$ひ$_1$かねつも$_2$

Romanization

(1) Sirakï-pê ka (2) ipê-ni ka kapêr-u (3) Yukî-nö sima (4) yuk-am-u taNtökî mô (5) omôp-î-kane-t-umö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Silla-DIR PT (2) home-LOC PT return-ATTR (3) Yukî-GEN island (4) go-TENT-ATTR clue PT (5) think-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL

Translation
(1) [Will I go] to Silla, (2) or will [I] return home? (5) [I] cannot think of (4) any reason [why I] should go (3) [to] the island of Yukî!

Commentary
This poem is composed by the author assuming the voice of the deceased Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö.
On *Sirakï* 'Silla' see the commentary to 15.3587.

On the placename Yukî being identical with Ikî see the commentary to 15.3694.

The third line Yukî-nö sima 'the island of Yukî' is used as a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to the verb *yuk-* 'to go' in the fourth line involving, therefore, a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞). This play on words may, however, go even deeper than usually noticed by Japanese scholars. The family name Yukî (written as 雪 *yukî* HL 'snow') of the deceased member of the mission Yukî-nö muraNsi Yakamarö again involves a near homophone to the verb *yuk-* 'to go'[42], and since Yakamarö died in autumn, one can also expect that雪 *yukî* HL 'snow' will fall onto his grave in not so remote future.

On WOJ *tantökî* 'clue' see the commentary to 15.3777.

Postscript to the poems 15.3694-3696
本文・Original text
右三首六鯖作挽歌

Translation
Three poems above are elegies composed by Mu SaNpa.

Commentary
The name Mu SaNpa written with the characters 六鯖 is considered to be a possible abbreviation of of the name MutöNpê-nö muraNsi SaNpamarö (六人部連鯖麻呂) who is mentioned in the *Shoku Nihongi* as a person having Senior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade in 765 AD (Omodaka 1984.15: 120). MutöNpê clan was possibly descendant from Paekche king Cu (Takagi et al. 1962: 89).

Preface to the poems 3697-3699
本文・Original text
到對馬嶋淺茅浦舶泊之時不得順風経停五箇日於是瞻望物華各陳慟心作歌三首

Translation
When [we] reached AsaNti bay in Tusima [island], [we] could not get a favorable wind, and, [therefore, we] anchored [our] boats for five days there. These three poems were composed narrating the suffering in [our] hearts when [we] observed the scenery.

Commentary
WOJ Tusima (MdJ Tsushima) is the island (actually two islands since the canal was dug across its most narrow point in modern times) half way between Korean and Japan.

AsaNti bay is probably the biggest harbor on Tusima, located on the eastern shore of the island (Omodaka 1984.15: 120-21).

15.3697
本文・Original text
(1) 毛母布祢乃 (2) 波都流對馬能 (3) 安佐治山 (4) 志具礼能安米尓 (5) 毛美多比尓家里

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) も$_1$も$_2$ふねの$_2$ (2) はつるつしまの$_2$ (3) あさぢやま (4) しぐれの$_2$あめ$_2$に (5) も$_1$み$_1$たひ$_1$にけ$_1$り

[42] The verb *yuk-* 'to go' belongs the the high-register accent class, also starting with a high pitch like *yukî* 'snow.'

Romanization
(1) mômö pune-nö (2) pat-uru Tusima-nö (3) AsaNti YAMA (4) siNkure n-ö amë-ni (5) mômît-ap-î-n-î-kêr-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) hundred boat-GEN (2) anchor-ATTR Tusima-GEN (3) AsaNti mountain (4) drizzling.rain DV-ATTR rain-LOC (5) leaves.turn.red/yellow-ITER-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

Translation
(3) Mt. AsaNti (1/2) on Tusima, where hundreds of boats anchor, (5) was suddenly covered with red autumn leaves (4) in the drizzling rain.

Commentary
WOJ 毛母 *mômö* 'hundred' is a typical case of misspelling of syllables /mô/ and /mö/ that is so characteristic of the whole *Man'yōshū* except volume five. The etymological spelling for the word 'hundred' is mômô with both syllables having *kō-rui* vowels.
On Tusima see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3697-3699.
Mt. AsaNti is the mountain overlooking AsaNti bay. On AsaNti bay see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3697-3699.
On WOJ *mômît-* 'to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)' see the commentary to 15.3693.

15.3698
本文・Original text
(1) 安麻射可流 (2) 比奈尓毛月波 (3) 弖礼々杼母 (4) 伊毛曽等保久波 (5) 和可礼伎尓家流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あまざかる (2) ひ$_1$なにも$_1$つき$_2$は (3) てれれど$_2$も$_2$ (4) いも$_1$そ$_2$と$_2$ほくは (5) わかれき$_1$にけ$_1$る

Romanization
(1) ama-N-sakar-u (2) pîna-ni mô TUKÏ pa (3) ter-er-e-Ntömö (4) imô sö töpo-ku pa (5) wakare k-î-n-i-kêr-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven-COMP-be.far.away-ATTR (2) countryside-LOC PT moon TOP (3) shine-PROG-EV-CONC (4) beloved PT far-INF TOP (5) part(INF) come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR

Translation
(2/3) Although the moon is shining even in the countryside (1) that is distant [from the capital] as heaven, (4/5) [I] have come [here] parting with [my] beloved who is far away.

Commentary
On *ama-N-sakar-u* see the commentary to 15.3608.

15.3699
本文・Original text
(1) 安伎左礼婆 (2) 於久都由之毛尓 (3) 安倍受之弖 (4) 京師乃山波 (5) 伊呂豆伎奴良牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あき$_1$されば (2) おくつゆしも$_1$に (3) あへ$_2$ずして (4) み$_1$やこ$_1$の$_2$やまは (5) いろ$_2$づき$_1$ぬらむ

Romanization
(1) akî sar-e-Npa (2) ok-u tuyu simô-ni (3) apey-Ns-u s-i-te (4) MÎYAKÔ-nö YAMA pa (5) irönTuk-î-n-uram-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn come-EV-CON (2) fall-ATTR dew frost-LOC (3) endure-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB (4) capital-GEN mountain TOP (5) get.colored-INF-PERF-TENT2-FIN

Translation
(1) When the autumn comes, (3) not [being able to] endure (2) the falling dew and frost, (4) the mountains of the capital (5) are probably already colored [with leaves].

Commentary
WOJ *apë-* means 'to endure, to bear.' It survives in the modern language only in the form *aete* 'dare [to do something].'

Preface to the poems 3700-3717
本文・Original text
竹敷浦舶泊之時各陳心緒作歌十八首

Translation
Eighteen poems composed relating everyone's feelings when [our] boats were anchored in Takasikî bay.

Commentary
Takasikî bay is located on the southern shore of the larger AsaNti bay (Omodaka 1984.15: 123). On AsaNti bay see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3697-3699. The modern name is Takeshiki (Nakanishi 1985: 457).

15.3700
本文・Original text
(1) 安之比奇能 (2) 山下比可流 (3) 毛美知葉能 (4) 知里能麻河比波 (5) 計布仁聞安留香母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あしひ$_1$き$_2$の$_2$ (2) やましたひ$_1$かる (3) も$_1$み$_1$ちばの$_2$ (4) ちりの$_2$まがひ$_1$は (5) け$_1$ふにもあるかも$_2$

Romanization
(1) asi pîkï n-ö (2) YAMA SITA pîkar-u (3) môмît-i-N-PA-nö (4) tir-i-nö maNkap-î pa (5) kêpu-ni mo ar-u kamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) foot low DV-ATTR (2) mountain bottom shine-ATTR (3) leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-GEN-leaf-GEN (4) fall-NML-GEN scatter.around-NML TOP (5) today-LOC PT exist-ATTR PT

Translation
(4) The scattering (3) of the colored autumn leaves (1/2) shining at the bottom of a low foot mountain (5) occurs today, too!

Commentary
On *asi pîkï n-ö* 'with low foot' see the commentary to 15.3655.
On WOJ *môмît-* 'to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)' see the commentary to 15.3693.

Postscript to the poem 15.3700
本文・Original text
右一首大使

Translation
The poem above is by the Chief Ambassador.

Commentary
The Chief Ambassador is ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö. On his biography see the commentary to the postscript to 15.3656.

15.3701
本文・Original text
(1) 多可之伎能 (2) 母美知乎見礼婆 (3) 和藝毛故我 (4) 麻多牟等伊比之 (5) 等伎曽伎尓家流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たかしき$_1$の$_2$ (2) も$_2$み$_1$ちをみ$_1$れば (3) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$が (4) またむと$_2$いひ$_1$し (5) と$_2$き$_1$そ$_2$き$_1$にける

Romanization
(1) Takasikî-nö (2) mömît-i-wo MÎ-re-Npa (3) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-Nka (4) mat-am-u tö ip-î-si (5) tökî sö k-î-n-i-kêr-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Takasikî-GEN (2) leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-ACC see-EV-CON (3) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (4) wait-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR (5) time PT come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR

Translation
(2) When [I] saw the colored autumn leaves (1) of Takasikî, (5) [I] suddenly realized that the time has come (3) that my dear beloved (4) said that [she] would wait for [me].

Commentary
On Takasikî see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3700-3717.
On WOJ *môMît-* 'to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)' see the commentary to 15.3693.

Postscript to the poem 15.3701
本文・Original text
右一首副使

Translation
The poem above is by the Assistant Ambassador.

Commentary
Assistant Ambassador is Opotömö-nö sukune Mînaka. He lived a long life and died in 775 AD. The poems belonging to him in the *Man'yōshū* are: 3.443-45, 15.3701, and 15.3707.

15.3702
本文・Original text
(1) 多可思吉能 (2) 宇良未能毛美知 (3) 和礼由伎弖 (4) 可敝里久流末侶 (5) 知里許須奈由米

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たかしき$_1$の$_2$ (2) うらみ$_2$の$_2$も$_1$み$_1$ち (3) われゆき$_1$て (4) かへ$_1$りくるまで (5) ちりこ$_2$すなゆめ$_2$

Romanization
(1) Takasikî-nö (2) ura mï-nö môMît-i (3) ware yuk-î-te (4) kapêr-i-k-uru-maNte (5) tir-i-kös-una yumê

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Takasikî-GEN (2) bay turn(NML)-GEN leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML (3) I go-INF-SUB (4) return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM (5) fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP at.all

Translation
(1/2) Colored autumn leaves around the Takasikî bay! (5) Please do not fall at all (3/4) until I go and come back.

Commentary
On Takasikî see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3700-3717.
On the controversy of the reading *ura mï* 'around the bay,' 'circumference of the bay' vs. *ura ma* 'inside the bay' see the commentary to 15.3627. In my opinion, this poem (15.3702) presents the irrefutable evidence that we are dealing here and elsewhere in this book with *ura mï* 'around the bay,' 'circumference of the bay' and not with *ura ma* 'inside the bay': the trees with colored autumn leaves can only be found *around* a bay, and not *inside* a bay.

On WOJ *mômît-* ‘to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)’ see the commentary to 15.3693.

Postscript to the poem 15.3702
本文・Original text
右一首大判官

Translation
The poem above is by the Senior Secretary.

Commentary
The Senior Secretary is MîNpu-nö omî UNtamarö. On his biography see the commentary to 15.3612.

15.3703
本文・Original text
(1) 多可思吉能 (2) 宇敝可多山者 (3) 久礼奈為能 (4) 也之保能伊呂尓 (5) 奈里尓家流香聞

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たかしき$_1$の$_2$ (2) うへ$_1$かたやまは (3) くれなゐの$_2$ (4) やしほの$_2$いろ$_2$に (5) なりにけ$_1$るかも

Romanization
(1) Takasikî-nö (2) Upêkata yama pa (3) kurenawi n-ö (4) ya-sipo n-ö irö n-i (5) nar-i-n-i-kêr-u kamo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Takasikî-GEN (2) Upêkata mountain TOP (3) crimson.red DV-ATTR (4) eight-CL DV-ATTR color DV-INF (5) become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Translation
(2) Mount Upêkata (1) in Takasikî (5) has been dyed (3/4) in the crimson red color many times!

Commentary
On Takasikî see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3700-3717.

Mount Upêkata is possibly the present-day Jō-yama (城山) in the back of Takasikî (modern Takeshiki) bay (Nakanishi 1985: 430).

WOJ *kurenawi* ‘crimson red’ is a contraction of *Kure-nö awi* ‘indigo of Koguryo.’ On WOJ *Kure* meaning ‘Koguryo’ and not, as usually assumed, the Wu (呉) region of China, see Mabuchi (2000: 421-30).

WOJ *ya-sipo* is literally ‘eight times dye,’ with *sipo* being a classifier for the number of times a cloth was died. The numeral *ya* ‘eight’ may just indicate ‘many times,’ or a ‘perfect number of times,’ since it represents the sum of the male number ‘five’ and female number ‘three.’ On the symbolism of these numbers consider even the modern *Kodomo-no hi* ‘boys’ day (lit. day of children)’ (falling on May 5 (５月５日)), and *Hina matsuri* ‘girls’ festival’ (falling on March 3 (３月３日)). For the oldest textual evidence for this number symbolism consider the competition between Amaterasu-no Ōmikami and Susanō when the former produces three female deities and the latter five male deities (KJK 1.16a-17b).

Postscript to the poem 15.3703
本文・Original text
右一首少判官

Translation
The poem above is by the Junior Secretary..

Commentary
Junior Secretary is Opokura-nö imîkî Marö. His name frequently appears in the *Shoku Nihongi*, with the last certain citation in 772 AD, when he is cited having Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade (Nakanishi 1985: 207-08).

15.3704
本文・Original text
(1) 毛美知婆能 (2) 知良布山邊由 (3) 許具布祢能 (4) 尓保比尓米侶弖 (5) 伊侶弖伎尓家里

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) も$_1$み$_1$ちばの$_2$ (2) ちらふやまへ$_1$ゆ (3) こ$_2$ぐふねの$_2$ (4) にほひ$_1$にめ$_2$でて (5) いでてき$_1$にけ$_1$り

Romanization
(1) môмît-i-N-pa-nö (2) tir-ap-u yama pê-yu (3) köNk-u pune-nö (4) nipop-î-ni mëNde-te (5) iNte-te k-î-n-i-kêr-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-DV(ATTR)-leaf-GEN (2) fall-ITER-ATTR mountain side-ABL (3) row-ATTR boat-GEN (4) be.beautiful-NML-LOC be.attracted(INF)-SUB (5) exit(INF)-SUB come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

Translation
(4) Being attracted to the beautiful [red] color (3) of [your] boat that rowed (1/2) from the side of the mountain where red autumn leaves are constantly falling, (5) [I] came out [here].

Commentary
This poem was composed by the local Tusima courtesan named Tamatukï as becomes clear from the postscript to poems 15.3704-3705. The beautiful red color of the boat probably implies that the red leaves have fallen on it and decorated it in this way.

On WOJ *môмît-* 'to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)' see the commentary to 15.3693.

On courtesans see the commentary to 15.3682.

15.3705
本文・Original text
(1) 多可思吉能 (2) 多麻毛奈婢可之 (3) 己藝侶奈牟 (4) 君我美布祢乎 (5) 伊都等可麻多牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たかしき$_1$の$_2$ (2) たまも$_1$なび$_1$かし (3) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$でなむ (4) き$_1$み$_1$がみ$_1$ふねを (5) いつと$_2$かまたむ

Romanization
(1) Takasikî-nö (2) tama mô naNpîk-as-i (3) köNk-î-[i]Nte-n-am-u (4) KÎMÎ-Nka mî-pune (5) itu tö ka mat-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Takasikî-GEN (2) jewel seaweed bend-CAUS-INF (3) row-INF-exit(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR (4) lord-POSS HON-boat (5) when DV PT wait-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(5) When [should I] expect [the return of] (4) your boat (3) that has probably rowed out, (2) bending the jewel seaweed (1) of Takasikî [bay]?

Commentary
This poem was composed by the local Tusima courtesan named Tamatukï as becomes clear from the postscript to poems 15.3704-3705.

On Takasikî see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3700-3717.

On courtesans see the commentary to 15.3682.

Postscript to the poems 15.3704-3705
本文・Original text
右二首對馬娘子名玉槻

Translation
Two poems above are by the Tusima courtesan named Takatukï.

Commentary
On courtesans see the commentary to 15.3682.

15.3706
本文・Original text
(1) 多麻之家流 (2) 伎欲吉奈藝佐乎 (3) 之保美弖婆 (4) 安可受和礼由久 (5) 可反流左尓見牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たましけ$_1$る (2) き$_1$よ$_1$き$_1$なぎ$_1$さを (3) しほみ$_1$てば (4) あかずわれゆく (5) かへ$_1$るさにみ$_1$む

Romanization
(1) tama sik-êr-u (2) kîyô-kî naNkîsa-wo (3) sipo mît-e-Npa (4) ak-aNs-u ware yuk-u (5) kapêr-usa-ni MÎ-m-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) pearl spread-PROG-ATTR (2) clean-ATTR beach-ACC (3) tide fill-EV-CON (4) be.satisfied-NEG-INF I go-FIN (5) return-NML-LOC look-TENT-FIN

Translation
(3) Because the tide covered (2) the clean beach (1) where pearls are spread, (4) I will go away unsatisfied. (5) [But I] will look for [them] when [I] return.

Commentary
Pierson translated WOJ *tama* ‘jewel, pearl’ here as ‘pebbles’ (1963.15: 109). But why should one search for pebbles?
On the nominalizer *-usa* see the commentary to 15.3614.

Postscript to the poem 15.3706
本文・Original text
右一首大使

Translation
The poem above is by the Chief Ambassador.

Commentary
The Chief Ambassador is ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö. On his biography see the commentary to the postscript to 15.3656.

15.3707
本文・Original text
(1) 安伎也麻能 (2) 毛美知乎可射之 (3) 和我乎礼婆 (4) 宇良之保美知久 (5) 伊麻太安可奈久尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あき$_1$やまの$_2$ (2) も$_1$み$_1$ちをかざし (3) わがをれば (4) うらしほみ$_1$ちく (5) いまだあかなくに

Romanization
(1) akî yama-nö (2) môмît-i-wo kaNsas-i (3) wa-Nka wor-e-Npa (4) ura sipo mît-i-k-u (5) imaNta ak-an-aku n-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn mountain-GEN (2) leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-ACC decorate-INF (3) I-POSS exist-EV-CON (4) bay tide rise-INF-come-FIN (5) yet be.satisfied-NEG-NML DV-INF

Translation
(3) When I was [enjoying myself] (2) decorating [my hair] with colored autumn leaves (1) from autumn mountains, (4) the tide in the bay rose. (5) But I have not yet [enjoyed this] enough…

Commentary
On WOJ *mômît-* ‘to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)’ see the commentary to 15.3693.

There was a custom of decorating one’s hair with flowers, leaves, or branches, sometimes making a kind of wig from them during merry times, such as bankets or drinking parties.

Line four *ura sipo mît-i-k-u* ‘the tide in the bay rose’ implies that it is time to depart taking out the boats while the tide is high. The verb *k-u* ‘come-FIN’ is an auxiliary verb indicating in this case that the action was developing towards the present moment (Vovin 2008: 1088). Pierson was apparently unaware of this, having translated this line as ‘the gulf-tide, being full, comes’ (1963.15: 110).

Postscript to the poem 15.3707
本文・Original text
右一首副使

Translation
The poem above is by the Assistant Ambassador.

Commentary
Assistant Ambassador is Opotömö-nö sukune Mînaka. See the commentary to 15.3701 on his biography.

15.3708
本文・Original text
(1) 毛能毛布等 (2) 比等尓波美要縞 (3) 之多婢毛能 (4) 思多由故布流尓 (5) 都奇曽倍尓家流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) も$_1$の$_2$も$_1$ふと (2) ひ$_1$と$_2$にはみ$_1$え$_2$じ (3) したび$_1$も$_1$の$_2$ (4) したゆこ$_1$ふるに (5) つき$_2$そ$_2$へ$_2$にける

Romanization
(1) mônö [o]môp-u tö (2) pîtö-ni pa mî-ye-Nsi (3) sita-N-pîmô-nö (4) sita-yu kôp-uru-ni (5) tukï sö pë-n-i-kêr-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) thing think-FIN DV (2) person-DAT TOP see-PASS-NEG/TENT (3) under[garment]-GEN-cord-COMP (4) bottom-ABL long.for-ATTR-LOC (5) month PT pass(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR

Translation
(2) Others cannot see (1) that [I] am deep in my thoughts. (5) It turned out that months have passed (4) while [I] was longing for [my home-folks] from the bottom [of my heart], (3) that is hidden like cords of undergarment.

Commentary
The usage of the character 縞 ‘black [of a garment]’ as a phonogram for the syllable /Nsi/ is unique in the Old Japanese corpus (Takagi et al. 1962: 92). Its Early Middle Chinese reading in Baxter’s system is *tsri (with *-r-* indicating the retroflex nature of the initial). As a phonogram, 縞 is not present in the extant Old Korean corpus, either (Song 2004), so its provenance remains mysterious.

Line three *sita-N-pîmô-nö* ‘like cords of undergarment’ is the permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to the word *sita* ‘below, bottom’ (Omodaka 1984.15: 130).

Postscript to the poem 15.3708
本文・Original text
右一首大使

Translation
The poem above is by the Chief Ambassador.

Commentary

The Chief Ambassador is ANpë-nö asömî TuNkîmarö. On his biography see the commentary to the postscript to 15.3656.

15.3709
本文・Original text
(1) 伊敝豆刀尓 (2) 可比乎比里布等 (3) 於伎敝欲里 (4) 与世久流奈美尓 (5) 許呂毛弖奴礼奴

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いへ$_1$づと$_1$に (2) かひ$_1$をひ$_1$りふと$_2$ (3) おき$_1$へ$_1$よ$_1$り (4) よ$_2$せくるなみ$_1$に (5) こ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_1$でぬれぬ

Romanization
(1) ipê-N-tutô n-i (2) kapî-wo pîrip-u tö (3) okî pê-yôri (4) yöse-k-uru namî-ni (5) körömôNte nure-n-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) home-GEN-souvenir DV-INF (2) shell-ACC pick.up-FIN DV (3) offing side-ABL (4) approach(INF)-come-ATTR wave-LOC (5) sleeve become.wet(INF)-PERF-FIN

Translation
(2) [I] thought to pick up some shells (1) as a souvenir for [my] home-[folks], (5) [and my] sleeves became wet (4) in the waves that come (3) from the offing.

Commentary
On WOJ *pîrip-* ‘to pick up’ see the commentary to 15.3614.

15.3710
本文・Original text
(1) 之保非奈婆 (2) 麻多母和礼許牟 (3) 伊射遊賀武 (4) 於伎都志保佐為 (5) 多可久多知伎奴

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しほひ$_2$なば (2) またも$_2$われこ$_2$む (3) いざゆかむ (4) おき$_1$つしほさゐ (5) たかくたちき$_1$ぬ

Romanization
(1) sipo pï-n-aNpa (2) mata ware kö-m-u (3) iNsa yuk-am-u (4) okî-tu sipo sawi (5) taka-ku tat-i-k-î-n-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) tide dry(INF)-PERF-COND (2) again I come-TENT-FIN (3) INTER go-TENT-FIN (4) offing-GEN/LOC tide roar (5) high-INF rise-INF-come-INF-PERF-FIN

Translation
(1) When the tide ebbs, (2) I will come again. (3) Hey, let [us] go! (4/5) The tide rises roaring loudly.

Commentary
WOJ *sawi* predominantly occurs with the preceding word *sipo* ‘tide.’ It probably means the ‘sound’ or the ‘roar’ of the waves coming into a shore at the high tide. As a compound *shiosai* ‘sound/roar of the waves’ it also survived in the modern language.

15.3711
本文・Original text
(1) 和我袖波 (2) 多毛登等保里弖 (3) 奴礼奴等毛 (4) 故非和須礼我比 (5) 等良受波由可自

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがそ$_1$では (2) たも$_1$と$_2$と$_2$ほりて (3) ぬれぬと$_2$も$_1$ (4) こ$_1$ひ$_2$わすれがひ$_1$ (5) と$_2$らずはゆかじ

Romanization

(1) wa-Nka SÔNTE pa (2) tamôtö töpor-i-te (3) nure-n-u tömô (4) kôpï wasure-N-kapî (5) tör-aNs-u pa yuk-aNsi

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS sleeve TOP (2) sleeve.edge pass-INF-SUB (3) become.wet(INF)-PERF-FIN CONJ (4) love forget(NML)-GEN-shell (5) take-NEG-INF TOP go-NEG/TENT

Translation
(1/3) Although my sleeves became wet (2) from the wrists up, (4/5) if [I] do not take a 'love-forgetting' shell, [I] would not go.

Commentary
There was a belief in Ancient Japan that certain seashells could bring a remedy of forgetting one's love, or longing for a person.

15.3712
本文・Original text
(1) 奴婆多麻能 (2) 伊毛我保須倍久 (3) 安良奈久尓 (4) 和我許呂母弖乎 (5) 奴礼弖伊可尓勢牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ぬばたまの$_2$ (2) いも$_1$がほすべ$_2$く (3) あらなくに (4) わがこ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$でを (5) ぬれていかにせむ

Romanization
(1) nuNpa tama-nö (2) imô-Nka pos-uNpë-ku (3) ar-an-aku n-i (4) wa-Nka körömöNte-wo (5) nure-te ika n-i se-m-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) pitch-black jade-COMP (2) beloved-POSS dry-DEB-INF (3) exist-NEG-NML DV-INF (4) I-POSS sleeve-ACC (5) become.wet(INF)-SUB how DV-INF do-TENT-FIN

Translation
(4/5) What should I do with my wet sleeves – (1/2/3) because [my] beloved [with the hair] like the pitch-black jade cannot dry [them]?

Commentary
On *nuNpa tama* see the commentary to 15.3598. Since nuNpa tama as a permanent epithet normally precedes *yô* 'night,' or *kamî* 'hair,' there is an opinion, cited by Takagi et al. (1962: 93), Omodaka (1984.15: 132), etc., that WOJ *imô* 'beloved' is a scribal mistake for WOJ imë 'dream.' However, WOJ *imë* 'dream' would hardly make any sense in the context of this poem: dream drying the sleeves? Thus, it is much more natural to suppose that we have here the case of metonymy, or even an ellipsis.

15.3713
本文・Original text
(1) 毛美知婆波 (2) 伊麻波宇都呂布 (3) 和伎毛故我 (4) 麻多牟等伊比之 (5) 等伎能倍由氣婆

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) も$_1$み$_1$ちばは (2) いまはうつろ$_2$ふ (3) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$が (4) またむと$_2$いひ$_1$し (5) と$_2$き$_1$の$_2$へ$_2$ゆけ$_2$ば

Romanization
(1) mômît-i-N-pa pa (2) ima pa utur-öp-u (3) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-Nka (4) mat-am-u tö ip-î-si (5) tökî-nö pë-yuk-ë-Npa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) leaves.turn.red/yellow-INF-DV(ATTR)-leaf TOP (2) now fade-ITER-FIN (3) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (4) wait-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR (5) time-GEN pass(INF)-go-EV-CON

Translation

(3/4/5) Because the time when my dear beloved said that [she] would wait for [me] passes away, (1) the colored autumn leaves (2) are now continuing to fall.

Commentary
On WOJ *mômît-* ‘to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)’ see the commentary to 15.3693.

15.3714
本文・Original text
(1) 安伎佐礼婆 (2) 故非之美伊母乎 (3) 伊米尓太尓 (4) 比左之久見牟乎 (5) 安氣尓家流香聞

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あき$_1$されば (2) こ$_1$ひ$_2$しみ$_1$いも$_2$を (3) いめ$_2$にだに (4) ひ$_1$さしくみ$_1$むを (5) あけ$_2$にけ$_1$るかも

Romanization
(1) akî sar-e-Npa (2) kôpïsi-mî imö-wo (3) imë-ni Ntani (4) pîsasi-ku MÎ-m-u-wo (5) akë-n-i-kêr-u kamo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) autumn come-EV-CON (2) be.longing.for(INF)-GER beloved-ACC (3) dream-LOC PT (4) be.long-INF see-TENT-ATTR-ACC (5) dawn(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Translation
(1) When the autumn came, (2) because [I] was longing for my beloved, [I] just wanted to see [her] in a dream for a long time, but (5) it turned out that the dawn had come, alas!

Commentary
There are two theoretically possible ways to interpret line two from the grammatical standpoint. The first possibility is the way how it is done here, which follows on the Japanese tradition: taking *-mî* in *kôpïsi-mî* as an adjectival gerund, (Takagi et al. 1962: 93), (Kojima et al. 1975: 83), (Nakanishi 1981: 330), (Omodaka 1984.15: 133), (Yoshii 1988: 261), (Itō 1998: 248). The second possibility is to analyze it as *kôpïsi mî-imö-wo* be.longing.for HON-beloved-ACC ‘beloved, for whom I am longing,’ taking *mî-* as an honorific prefix (here with the endearment function). There is one substantial problem with the latter analysis: the combination mî-imô ‘HON-beloved’ is not attested anywhere else in the Old Japanese corpus. Therefore, the first analysis is more appropriate.

Autumn nights are long, so it is a good time to see one’s beloved either in reality, or in a dream.

15.3715
本文・Original text
(1) 比等里能未 (2) 伎奴流許呂毛能 (3) 比毛等加婆 (4) 多礼可毛由波牟 (5) 伊敝杼保久之弖

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ひ$_1$と$_2$りの$_2$み$_2$ (2) き$_1$ぬるこ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_1$の$_2$ (3) ひ$_1$も$_1$と$_2$かば (4) たれかも$_1$ゆはむ (5) いへ$_1$ど$_2$ほくして

Romanization
(1) pîtö-ri nömï (2) kî-n-uru körömô-nö (3) pîmô tök-aNpa (4) tare ka mô yup-am-u (5) ipê-N-töpo-ku s-i-te

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) one-CL PT (2) wear(INF)-PERF-ATTR garment-GEN (3) cord untie-COND (4) who PT PT tie-TENT-ATTR (5) home-GEN-far-INF do-INF-SUB

Translation
(1) If [I] untie the cords (2/3) of the garment that [I] wear coming [here] all alone, (5) with [my] home far away, (4) who would tie them [again]?

Commentary

Omodaka mentions the possibility that *kî-n-uru* ‘has been wearing’ in line two may be in fact *k-î-n-uru* ‘has come,’ or at least to involve a word play involving these two (1984.15: 134). The second option seems to be the most appropriate solution, because first line pîtö-ri nömï ‘one-CL only’ agrees much better with the verb *kö-* ‘to come,’ rather than with the verb *kî-* ‘to wear,’ but then the natural flow of the poem is interrupted in the second line, because *k-î-n-uru* ‘has come’ cannot modify *körömö* ‘garment.’ This play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) is impossible to transmit into English, so in my translation I inserted both ‘wear’ and ‘come’ in order to convey this double meaning.

On the symbolism of tying and untying cords of one’s garment see the commentary to 15.3585.

15.3716
本文・Original text
(1) 安麻久毛能 (2) 多由多比久礼婆 (3) 九月能 (4) 毛美知能山毛 (5) 宇都呂比尓家里

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あまくも$_1$の$_2$ (2) たゆたひ$_1$くれば (3) ながつき$_2$の$_2$ (4) も$_1$み$_1$ちの$_2$やまも$_1$ (5) うつろ$_2$ひ$_1$にけ$_1$り

Romanization
(1) ama-kumô-nö (2) tayutap-î k-ure-Npa (3) NANKATUKÏ-nö (4) môмît-i-nö yama mô (5) utur-öp-î-n-i-kêr-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven-cloud-COMP (2) drift-INF come-EV-CON (3) ninth.lunar.month-GEN (4) leaves.turn.red/yellow-GEN mountain PT (5) fade-ITER-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

Translation
(2) When [I] come, drifting (1) like the heavenly clouds, (3) in the ninth month, (4) mountains [covered] with autumn colored leaves, (5) have already faded, too!

Commentary
Ama- is a bound form of WOJ *amë* ‘heaven.’ On bound form of nouns see the commentary to 15.3593.

NaNka tukï (lit. ‘long month’) is the traditional name for the ninth month in the lunar calendar. Roughly speaking it falls onto November and/or December in the modern solar calendar.

On WOJ *môмît-* ‘to turn red and/or yellow (of autumn leaves)’ see the commentary to 15.3693.

15.3717
本文・Original text
(1) 多婢尓弖毛 (2) 母奈久波也許登 (3) 和伎毛故我 (4) 牟須妣思比毛波 (5) 奈礼尓家流香聞

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たび$_1$にても$_1$ (2) も$_2$なくはやこ$_2$と$_2$ (3) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$が (4) むすび$_1$しひ$_1$も$_1$は (5) なれにけ$_1$るかも

Romanization
(1) taNpî n-i-te mô (2) mö na-ku paya kö tö (3) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-Nka (4) musuNp-î-si pîmô pa (5) nare-n-i-kêr-u kamo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) journey DV-INF-SUB PT (2) misfortune no-INF quick come(IMP) DV (3) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (4) tie-INF-PAST/ATTR cord TOP (5) become.worn-out.and.dirty(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Translation
(3/4) The cords [of my garment] that my dear beloved tied, saying: ‘Come [back] quickly without any misfortune on [your] journey!’ (5) became worn-out and dirty, alas!

Commentary

WOJ *kö* ‘come!’ is the imperative form of the verb *kö-* ‘to come.’ In contrast to Classical Japanese imperatives in the form *ko-yo*, WOJ *kö* is the only imperative form attested in the texts. Vowel verbs (traditional *kami-nidan* (上二段) and *simo-nidan* (下二段) classes), irregular vowel verbs (traditional *kami-ichidan* (上一段) class), and the irregular verb *se-* ‘to do’ (traditional *sa-hen* (サ変) class) can have both imperative forms in *-yö* and imperative forms without *-yö*. For details see Vovin (2008a: 505-06, 509, 673-74).

On the symbolism of tying and untying cords of one’s garment see the commentary to 15.3585.

Preface to the poems 3718-3722
本文・Original text
廻來筑紫海路入京到播磨國家嶋之時作歌五首

Translation
Five poems composed when [we] reached IpêNsima island in Parima province on [our] sea route to the capital [after] going around the Tukusi.

Commentary
These five poems are the only one in this collection that were composed on the return trip. While the poems on the road to Silla were composed in different locations, with the last being Tusima island, all poems on the return trip are composed in a single location: IpêNsima island in Parima province. There are no poems composed in Silla.

On Tukusi see the commentary to 15.3634.

Parima province corresponds to the southwestern part of the present-day Hyōgo prefecture.

On Ipêsima see the commentary to 15.3627.

15.3718
本文・Original text
(1) 伊敝之麻波 (2) 奈尓許曽安里家礼 (3) 宇奈波良乎 (4) 安我古非伎都流 (5) 伊毛母安良奈久尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いへ$_1$しまは (2) なにこ$_2$そ$_2$ありけ$_1$れ (3) うなはらを (4) あがこ$_1$ひ$_2$き$_1$つる (5) いも$_1$も$_2$あらなくに

Romanization
(1) ipye sima pa (2) na n-i kösö ar-i-kyer-e (3) una-para-wo (4) a-Nka kôpï k-î-t-uru (5) imô mö ar-an-aku n-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Home island TOP (2) name DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-EV (3) sea-plain-ACC (4) I-POSS long.for(INF) come-INF-PERF-ATTR (5) beloved PT exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

Translation
(1) “Home island” (2) turned out to be just a name. (3/4/5) Because [my] beloved for whom I was longing, coming across the sea plain, is not [here].

Commentary
For WOJ *una-* ‘sea’ see the commentary to 15.3592.

15.3719
本文・Original text
(1) 久左麻久良 (2) 多婢尓比左之久 (3) 安良米也等 (4) 伊毛尓伊比之乎 (5) 等之能倍奴良久

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) くさまくら (2) たび$_1$にひ$_1$さしく (3) あらめ$_2$やと$_2$ (4) いも$_1$にいひ$_1$しを (5) と$_2$しの$_2$へ$_2$ぬらく

Romanization
(1) kusa makura (2) taNpî-ni pîsasi-ku (3) ar-am-ë ya tö (4) imwo-ni ip-yi-si-wo (5) tösi-nö pey-n-ur-aku

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) grass pillow (2) journey-LOC long-INF (3) exist-TENT-EV PT DV (4) beloved-LOC say-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC (5) year-GEN pass(INF)-PERF-ATTR-NML

Translation
(4) Although [I] told [my] beloved: (1/2/3) 'Would [I] be long on [my] journey, [where I use] grass [for my] pillow?! [Certainly it would not!],' (5) a [whole] year has passed.

Commentary
On *kusa makura* 'grass pillow' see the commentary to 15.3612.
On Western Old Japanese irony constructions *-(a)më ya ~ -(u)ram-ë ya* see the commentary to 15.3585.

15.3720
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎毛故乎 (2) 由伎弖波也美武 (3) 安波治之麻 (4) 久毛為尓見延奴 (5) 伊敝都久良之母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$を (2) ゆき$_1$てはやみ$_1$む (3) あはぢしま (4) くも$_1$ゐにみ$_1$え$_2$ぬ (5) いへ$_1$づくらしも$_2$

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-wo (2) yuk-î-te paya mî-m-u (3) ApaNti sima (4) kumôwi-ni MÎ-ye-n-u (5) ipê-N-tuk-urasi-mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-ACC (2) go-INF-SUB fast see-TENT-FIN (3) ApaNti island (4) distance-LOC see-PASS(INF)-PERF-FIN (5) home-LOC-approach-SUP-EXCL

Translation
(2) [I] will go and see shortly (1) my dear beloved. (3) ApaNti island (4) became visible in the distance. (5) It seems [I] am coming close to my home!

Commentary
On ApaNti island and the word play associated with it see the commentary to 15.3627.
On WOJ *kumôwi* 'clouds,' 'distance' see the commentary to 15.3627.

15.3721
本文・Original text
(1) 奴婆多麻能 (2) 欲安可之母布祢波 (3) 許藝由可奈 (4) 美都能波麻末都 (5) 麻知故非奴良武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ぬばたまの$_2$ (2) よ$_1$あかしも$_2$ふねは (3) こ$_2$ぎ$_1$ゆかな (4) み$_1$つの$_2$はままつ (5) まちこ$_1$ひ$_2$ぬらむ

Romanization
(1) nuNpa tama-nö (2) yô akas-i mö pune pa (3) köNk-yi-yuk-ana (4) Mîtu-nö pama matu (5) mat-i kôpï-n-uram-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) pitch-black jade-COMP (2) night stay.up-INF PT boat TOP (3) row-INF-go-DES (4) Mîtu-GEN shore pine (5) wait-INF long.for(INF)-PERF-TENT2-FIN

Translation
(1/2) Even if [we] stay up all the night [dark] like the pitch-black jade, (3) [I] want [our] boats to row out. (4) The pines on the shore of Mîtu (5) have probably waited and longed for [our return].

Commentary
On *nuNpa tama* see the commentary to 15.3598.
On the placename Mîtu see the commentary to 15.3593.

On the play of words between *matu* ‘pine’ and *mat-* ‘to wait’ see the commentary to 15.3685.

15.3722
本文・Original text
(1) 大伴 (2) 美津能等麻里尓 (3) 布祢波弖々 (4) 多都多能山乎 (5) 伊都可故延伊加武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おほと$_2$も$_2$の$_2$ (2) み$_1$つの$_2$と$_2$まりに (3) ふねはてて (4) たつたの$_2$やまを(5) いつかこ$_1$え$_2$いかむ

Romanization
(1) OPOTÖMÖ-NÖ (2) Mîtu-nö tömar-i-ni (3) pune pate-te (4) Tatuta-nö YAMA-wo (5) itu ka kwöye-ik-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) Opotömö-GEN (2) Mîtu-GEN stop-NML-LOC (3) boat anchor(INF)-SUB (4) Tatuta-GEN mountain-ACC (5) when PT cross(INF)-go-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(5) When will [I] go to cross (4) Tatuta mountains, (3) after anchoring [my] boat (2) in Mîtu harbor (1) of Opotömö?

Commentary
On the place name Opotömö see the commentary to 15.3593.

On the placename Mîtu see the commentary to 15.3593.

Tatuta mountains refers to the mountain area that spans the area of the present day Kasiwara city in Ōsaka prefecture. See also the commentary to 15.3589 on Tatuta crossing.

Preface to the second collection (poems 15.3723-15.3785)
本文・Original text
中臣朝臣宅守与狭野弟上娘子贈答歌

Translation
The poetic exchange between Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri and Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê.

Commentary
The second collection included in book fifteen represents a poetic exchange between Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri and Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê while the former was in exile in WetiNseN (MdJ Echizen) province. Not much is known about their biographies. Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri was the seventh son of Nakatömî-nö asömî ANtumapîtö, who was appointed to the Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade in 733 AD. The dates of ANtumapîtö life are not known. In the contents of book fifteen there is the following entry:

> 中臣朝臣宅守娶蔵部女嬬狭野弟上娘子之時勅断流罪配越前國也。於是夫婦相嘆易別難会陳慟情贈答六十三歌
>
> Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri wed Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê from the Treasury office against the imperial order and was exiled on behalf of this behavior to WetiNseN. These are sixty-three poems that spouses exchanged expressing their feelings and lamenting together ‘the diffulty of meeting and ease of parting.’

From this entry it becomes clear that the two of them were either officially married, or that Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê became one of the official mistresses of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri.

According to the *Shoku Nihongi*, Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri was exiled to WetiNseN province in 739 AD or 740 AD; and he was pardoned and returned to the capital on the ninth day of the first lunar month in 764 AD, when he was promoted from the Junior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade to the Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade (Omodaka 1984.15: 139). Thus, it was a quarter of a century exile, and we do not know, and probably will never know whether the relationship of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri and Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê survived this ordeal. If we are to rely on the texts of their poetic exchange preserved in the *Man’yōshū*,

it probably did not: although the collection starts with four passionate poems by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê, it ends with seven poems by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri which presumably remained unanswered. Also, among sixty-three poems in the collection, forty belong to Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri, and only twenty-three to Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê. Also, the progression in the poem numbers might be significant:

First exchange: Sanô (4) ~ Nakatömî (4)
Second exchange: Nakatömî (14) ~ Sanô (9)
Third exchange: Nakatömî (13) ~ Sanô (8)
Fourth exchange: Nakatömî (2) ~ Sanô (2)
Fifth exchange (unanswered): Nakatömî (7) ~ Sanô (0)

It is easy to notice that Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê's replies progressively drop down, and that except the first exchange and fourth exchange where the number of poems is equal on both sides, the number of Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê's poems is less than that of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri. Finally, one can easily see that poems 15.3779-3785 of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri that remained unanswered are full of unusual anguish as the reader will see below. Yoshii also believes that the fact that last poems of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri have no replies from Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê demonstrates that their romance was winding down (1988: 357).

Turning to the biography of Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê now, all what we know is that she was a lower lady-in-waiting in charge of cleaning and lighting lights (女孺), who was working in the Treasury office of the palace. It is not clear why the imperial order prohibited Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri to wed Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê. Possibly the reason was that he belonged to a much higher social group that she was.

15.3723
本文・Original text
(1) 安之比奇能 (2) 夜麻治古延牟等 (3) 須流君乎(4) 許々呂尓毛知弖 (5) 夜須家久母奈之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あしひ$_1$き$_2$の$_2$ (2) やまぢこ$_1$え$_2$むと$_2$ (3) するき$_1$み$_1$を (4) こ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$にも$_1$ちて (5) やすけ$_1$くも$_2$なし

Romanization
(1) asi pîkï n-ö (2) yama-N-ti kôye-m-u tö (3) s-uru KÎMÎ-wo (4) kökörö-ni mwot-i-te (5) yasu-kêku mö na-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) feet low DV-ATTR (2) mountain-GEN-road cross-TENT-FIN DV (3) do-ATTR lord-ACC (4) heart-LOC hold-INF-SUB (5) peaceful-ATTR/NML PT no-FIN

Translation
(4) Holding in [my] heart (1/2/3) [my] lord who is going to cross over the road in the mountains with low feet, (5) [I] have no peace of mind.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê on the eve of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri's departure to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3723-3726.

On *asi pîkï n-ö* 'with low foot' see the commentary to 15.3655.

On WOJ *yasu-kêku* 'peaceful-ATTR/NML' see the commentary to 15.3694.

15.3724
本文・Original text
(1) 君我由久 (2) 道乃奈我弖乎 (3) 久里多々祢 (4) 也伎保呂煩散牟 (5) 安米能火毛我母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) き$_1$み$_1$がゆく (2) み$_1$ちの$_2$ながてを (3) くりたたね (4) やき$_1$ほろ$_2$ぼさむ (5) あめ$_2$の$_2$ひ$_2$も$_1$がも$_2$

Romanization

(1) KÎMÎ-Nka yuk-u (2) MÎTI-nö naNkate-wo (3) kur-i tatane (4) yak-î pörö̂Npos-am-u (5) amë-nö PÏ môNkamö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) lord-POSS go-ATTR (2) road-GEN length-ACC (3) reel-INF fold(INF) (4) burn-INF destroy-TENT-ATTR (5) heaven-GEN fire PT

Translation
(5) [I] want a heavenly fire (4) that will burn and and destroy (2) the length of the road, (1) which [my] lord goes, (3) after [I] reel and fold [it].

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê on the eve of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri's departure to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3723-3726.

WOJ *naNkate* is a compound consisting of of *naNka* 'long' and bound noun *-te* 'place.' The latter is likely to be a borrowing from Old Korean. Although the Old Korean form is not known, MK form is *tʌy* H 'place.' It the similar Old Korean form would be borrowed into pre-Old Japanese, it would result in *tay or *təy, which both become /te/ in Western Old Japanese.

WOJ *tatane-* 'to fold' is a *hapax legomenon*. One would expect WOJ *tatam-* 'to fold' that is also attested. Although the reality of *tatane-* is frequently supported by the derived form *tatanapar-* 'to pile up (of mountains),' besides a possible semantic problem, there is also another one: *tatanapar-* is not attested in phonographic spelling until Middle Japanese. I think there are two possible solutions to this problem, one being philological, and another linguistic. The philological solution seems to be quite easy: the phonogram 祢 /ne/ can be easily confused with the phonogram 弥 /mî/. However, as I have already pointed out above on several occasions, although this might be well the case, I generally dislike the textual explanations based on 'misspellings,' because these explanations with few exceptions when there are textual variants normally cannot be collaborated with hard-core evidence. The *Man'yōshū* manuscripts are many, and the fact that they remarkably agree on the phonogram 祢 /ne/ here makes a scribal error theory not very credible. A possible counterargument is that the book fifteen has a poor transmission history with the first fragment version coming to us only from the late Heian period, so there are no many different lines' manuscripts supporting this phonogram as would be the case with volumes that have good transmission history. The linguistic solution is based on the fact that the consonant /m/ in front of /i/ is often palatalized to /n/. However, this solution has its own grave problems. First of all, *tatane-* appears to be a vowel verb. If so, then the final vowel /e/ could only go back to *otsu-rui* *ë < *ay, and not to *kō-rui* *ê < *ia. Consequently, we lose the condition for the shift /m/ > /n/. Second, even if the original vowel here were *kō-rui* *ê < *ia, we would still face a problem of explaining what the final *-a in *ia is morphologically: although *-i-a is the underlying form of imperatives found after consonant class verbs to which *tatam-* 'to fold' belongs, in the context of this poem *tatan-e as an imperative is rather senseless. Overall, then it seems that the philological explanation should take the precedence, weak as it is, but not as lame as the linguistic one.

15.3725
本文・Original text
(1) 和我世故之 (2) 氣太之麻可良婆 (3) 思漏多倍乃 (4) 蘇伊乎布良左祢 (5) 見都追志努波牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがせこ$_1$し (2) け$_2$だしまからば (3) しろ$_1$たへ$_2$の$_2$ (4) そ$_1$でをふらさね (5) み$_1$つつしの$_1$はむ

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka se-kô si (2) këNtasi makar-aNpa (3) sirô tapë-nö (4) sôNte pur-as-an-e (5) MÎ-tutu sinôp-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS beloved-DIM PT (2) if go.away-COND (3) white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN (4) sleeve wave-HON-DES-IMP (5) see(INF)-COOR long.for-TENT-FIN

Translation

(1) Oh, my dear beloved! (2) If [you] go away (4) [I] want [you] to wave [your] sleeves (3) [made] from cloth of the white mulberry tree bark! (5) [I] will long for [you] looking at [it].

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê on the eve of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri's departure to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3723-3726.

The last character 之 in the line one was read as possessive case marker *-Nka* for a long time, but the present tradition is to read it phonetically as emphatic particle *si* (Yoshii 1988: 279). This makes more sense, since the line four contains the desiderative imperative form in *-an-e* that is always addressed to the second person. For details see Vovin (2008a: 687-89) for details. This old tradition explains Pierson's mistake of reading 之 as *-Nka*, but does not excuse his mistranslation of *makar-* as 'to come' instead of 'to go away' (1963.15: 123).

On *sirô tapë-nö* '[made] from the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark like the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark' see the commentary to 15.3607.

The ritual of waving one's sleeves meant inviting the soul of one's beloved, whether alive or dead (Inaoka 1990: 59).

15.3726
本文・Original text
(1) 己能許呂波 (2) 古非都追母安良牟 (3) 多麻久之氣 (4) 安氣弖乎知欲利 (5) 須辨奈可流倍思

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) こ$_2$の$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$は (2) こ$_1$ひ$_2$つつも$_2$あらむ (3) たまくしげ$_2$ (4) あけ$_2$てをちよ$_1$り (5) すべ$_1$なかるべ$_2$し

Romanization
(1) könö körö pa (2) kôpï-tutu mö ar-am-u (3) tama kusi-N-kë (4) akë-te woti-yôri (5) suNpê na-k-ar-uNpë-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) this time TOP (2) long.for(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-FIN (3) jewel comb-GEN-box (4) open/dawn(INF)-SUB there-ABL (5) way no-INF-exist-DEB-FIN

Translation
(1/2) Even if [I] was longing for [you] recently, [I] would be alive. (4) After the dawn breaks [like one] opens (3) a jewel comb box, (5) nothing can be done.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê on the eve of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri's departure to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3723-3726.

WOJ *tama kusi-N-kë* 'jewel comb box' is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to verbs *akë-* 'to dawn,' *akë-* 'to open,' *opop-* 'to cover,' placenames PutaNkamî yama 'Mount PutaNkamî,' Mîmörö 'Mount Mîmörö,' Asikï 'Reed fortress,' and the expression *oku-ni omöp-* 'to think inside [oneself].' WOJ *kusi-N-kë* is a box where combs and cosmetics were kept (Itō et al. 1981: 453).

WOJ *akë-* in the line four represents the play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): WOJ *akë-* 'to dawn' (v.i.) and *akë-* 'to open' (v.t.).

WOJ *woti* is a distal demonstrative pronoun meaning 'there.' Here, however, it is used in a temporal sense, thus *woti-yôri* functions as a quasi-postposition 'after' following the subordinative gerund *akë-te* 'open and' ~ 'dawn and.'

WOJ *suNpye* 'way to do' is likely to be a contraction of the *s-uru pye* 'do-ATTR side.' WOJ *suNpye na-* 'there is no way' is a frequent expression describing the hopelessness of a cituation when nothing can be done about it.

Postscript to the poems 15.3723-3726
本文・Original text
右四首娘子臨別作歌

Translation
The four poems above are composed by [Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö] wotömê on the eve [of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri's] departure [to his exile].

Commentary
On Sanô-nö ÖtöNkamî-nö wotömê see the commentary to the preface to the second collection (poems 15.3723-15.3785).

15.3727
本文・Original text
(1) 知里比治能 (2) 可受尓母安良奴 (3) 和礼由恵尓 (4) 於毛比和夫良牟 (5) 伊母我可奈思佐

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ちりひ$_1$ぢの$_2$ (2) かずにも$_2$あらぬ (3) われゆゑに (4) おも$_1$ひ$_1$わぶらむ (5) いも$_2$がかなしさ

Romanization
(1) tiri pîNti-nö (2) kaNsu-ni mö ar-an-u (3) ware **y**uwe n-i (4) omôp-î-waNp-uram-u (5) imö-Nka kanasi-sa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) dust dirt-COMP (2) number DV-INF PT exist-NEG-ATTR (3) I reason DV-INF (4) think-INF-worry-TENT2-ATTR (5) beloved-POSS dear-NML

Translation
(5) Oh, how dear is [my] beloved, (4) who probably worries (3) because of me, (2) who is not even worth counting (1) like dust and dirt!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri when he set his foot on the road to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3727-3730.

In contrast to MdJ *kanasii* 'to be sad,' WOJ *kanasi* may mean either 'to be dear' or 'to be sad.' Consequently, this word is interpreted differently by various Japanese scholars: some take it be 'to be sad' (Omodaka 1984.15: 144), (Nakanishi 1981: 333), (Itō 1998: 272), while others prefer 'to be dear' (Takagi et al. 1962: 96-7), (Kojima et al. 1975: 86), (Yoshii 1988: 283), (Satake et al. 2002: 451). I am inclined to see this word as 'to be dear' -- apparently the author is impressed by the fact how his beloved cares about him.

WOJ *-sa* is an adjectival nominalizer that may be reminiscent of MdJ adjectival nominalizer *-sa*, but their functions are very different. There is a clearly marked tendency for *-sa* to occur with the final predicate of a given sentence, even if it does not occur in the last line of a given text. Thus, there is a great functional difference between the nominalized form in *-kêku* (see the commentary to 15.3694) that can occur as a subject or an object of another verb, and the form *-sa* that never does. Consequently, it seems that the Western Old Japanese form in *-sa* conveys some kind of an emphatic statement, comparable with Modern Japanese *no da* 'the fact is that…' For the details see Vovin (2008a: 482-83).

15.3728
本文・Original text
(1) 安乎尓与之 (2) 奈良能於保知波 (3) 由吉余家杼 (4) 許能山道波 (5) 由伎安之可里家利

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あをによ$_2$し (2) ならの$_2$おほちは (3) ゆき$_1$よ$_2$け$_1$ど$_2$ (4) こ$_2$の$_2$やまみ$_1$ちは (5) ゆき$_1$あしかりけ$_1$り

Romanization
(1) awo ni yö-si (2) Nara-nö opo ti pa (3) yuk-î yö-kê-Ntö (4) könö YAMA MÎTI pa (5) yuk-î asi-k-ar-i-kêr-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) green earth good-FIN (2) Nara-GEN big road TOP (3) go-NML good-EV-CONC (4) this mountain road TOP (5) go-NML bad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN

Translation
(3) Although [it] is easy to walk (2) along the big roads of Nara (1) where the green earth is good, (4/5) walking along this mountain road turned out to be difficult.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri when he set his foot on the road to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3727-3730.

On the permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) *awo ni yö-si*, WOJ *ni* 'earth, soil, clay' and the placename Nara see the commentary to 15.3602.

The special Western Old Japanese adjectival evidential form *-kê-* is likely to be a contraction of *-kêre-*, which is in its turn a contraction of the adjectival attributive form *-kî* and the evidential form *ar-e* of the auxiliary verb *ar-* 'to exist.' For the details see Vovin (2008a: 477-78).

15.3729
本文・Original text
(1) 宇流波之等 (2) 安我毛布伊毛乎 (3) 於毛比都追 (4) 由氣婆可母等奈 (5) 由伎安思可流良武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) うるはしと$_2$ (2) あがも$_1$ふいも$_1$を (3) おも$_1$ひ$_1$つつ (4) ゆけ$_2$ばかも$_2$と$_2$な (5) ゆき$_1$あしかるらむ

Romanization
(1) urupasi tö (2) a-Nka [o]môp-u imô-wo (3) omôp-î-tutu (4) yuk-ë-Npa ka mötöna (5) yuk-î asi-k-ar-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) dear DV (2) I-POSS think-ATTR beloved-ACC (3) think-INF-COOR (4) go-EV-CON PT in.vain (5) go-NML bad-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(3/4) [Is it] because [I] go thinking in vain (2) of [my] beloved whom [I] consider (1) to be dear [to me], (5) that [my] going away should be difficult?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri when he set his foot on the road to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3727-3730.

On WOJ *urupasi* 'dear' see the commentary to 15.3766.

WOJ *mötöna* 'in vain' is used mostly in preposition to a verb, but here it is exceptionally used after the verb it refers to. There are two other poems with the same usage of *mötöna* (15.3738 and 17.3976).

15.3730
本文・Original text
(1) 加思故美等 (2) 能良受安里思乎 (3) 美故之治能 (4) 多武氣尓多知弖 (5) 伊毛我名能里都

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かしこ$_1$み$_1$と$_2$ (2) の$_2$らずありしを (3) み$_1$こ$_1$しぢの$_2$ (4) たむけ$_2$にたちて (5) いも$_1$がなの$_2$りつ

Romanization
(1) kasikô-mî tö (2) nör-aNs-u ar-i-si-wo (3) mî-kôs-i-N-ti-nö (4) tamukë-ni tat-i-te (5) imô-Nka na nör-i-t-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) to.be.avoided DV (2) call-NEG-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC (3) HON-cross.over-NML-GEN-road-GEN (4) mountain.pass-LOC stand-INF-SUB (5) beloved-POSS name call-INF-PERF-FIN

Translation
(2) Although [I] did not call [the name of my beloved] (1) because it is to be avoided, (4) standing at the mountain pass (3) of the road crossing [the mountains], (5) [I] have called the name of [my] beloved.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri when he set his foot on the road to his exile as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3727-3730.

There are two general interpretations of the situation described in this poem. First one considers that Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri, being sentenced to an exile, was afraid to pronounce the name of his beloved in order not to involve her (Omodaka 1984.15: 145-46). However, as Yoshii notes, it was a mandatory rule for a person going to exile to take his wives and concubines with him, so there probably were no grounds for being afraid (Yoshii 1988: 289).[43] A different point of view suggests that there was a belief that calling name of a person could cause his/her soul to be separated from the body (Takagi et al. 1962: 97), (Nakanishi 1981: 333), (Yoshii 1988: 289). I am inclined to accept the second explanation.

WOJ *tamukë* 'mountain pass' (lit. 'hand directing') is a place where one would offer paper offerings praying to a deity of the road for a safe passage on the journey. MdJ *tōge* 'mountain pass' is the descendant of this word.

Postscript to the poems 15.3727-3730
本文・Original text
右四首中臣朝臣宅守上道作歌

Translation
Four poems above are composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri when he set his foot on the road [to his exile].

Commentary
On Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri see the commentary to to the preface to the second collection (poems 15.3723-15.3785).

15.3731
本文・Original text
(1) 於毛布恵尓 (2) 安布毛能奈良婆 (3) 之末思久毛 (4) 伊毛我目可礼弖 (5) 安礼乎良米也母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おも$_1$ふゑに (2) あふも$_1$の$_2$ならば (3) しましくも$_1$ (4) いも$_1$がめ$_2$かれて (5) あれをらめ$_2$やも$_2$

Romanization
(1) omôp-u we n-i (2) ap-u mônö nar-aNpa (3) simasi-ku mô (4) imô-Nka më kare-te (5) are wor-am-ë ya mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) love-ATTR reason DV-INF (2) meet-ATTR thing be-COND (3) brief-INF (4) beloved-POSS eye separate(INF)-SUB (5) I exist-TENT-EV PT PT

Translation
(2) If [we] would meet (1) because [I] love [you], (3/4/5) would I be away from the sight of my beloved even briefly? --[Certainly I would not!]

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *we* 'reason' in the first line is a *hapax legomenon* not attested anywhere else in the Old Japanese corpus. It should probably be taken as an irregular contraction of WOJ *yuwe* 'reason,' although there are no other examples supporting the elision of /y/ before /u/ in Western Old Japanese. It might be a result of a subconscious attempt of a scribe to confirm to the standard of five syllables in the first line.

15.3732
本文・Original text

[43] Under this scenario one is left wondering why Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri did not take Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê along.

(1) 安可祢佐須 (2) 比流波毛能母比 (3) 奴婆多麻乃 (4) 欲流波須我良尓 (5) 祢能未之奈加由

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あかねさす (2) ひ$_1$るはも$_1$の$_2$も$_2$ひ$_1$ (3) ぬばたまの$_2$ (4) よ$_1$るはすがらに (5) ねの$_2$み$_2$しなかゆ

Romanization
(1) akanesasu (2) pîru pa mônö [o]möp-î (3) nuNpa tama-nö (4) yôru pa suNkara n-i (5) ne nömï si nak-ay-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) *(makura kotoba)* (2) day.time TOP thing think-INF (3) pitch-black jade-COMP (4) night.time TOP all.through DV-INF (5) sound PT PT cry-PASS-FIN

Translation
(1/2) [I] think of [you] all the days, (5) and [I] just sob loudly (3/4) through all the nights [dark] as pitch-black jade.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *akanesasu* is one of the permanent epthets (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) with obscure meaning. It attaches to the following Western Old Japanese words: *pî* 'day,' *pîru* 'day time,' *murasakî* 'purple,' and *kîmî* 'lord.' The etymology involving *akane* 'perennial grass plant' and *sas-* 'to reflect' that Itō et al. propose (1981: 427), seems to be done in the best tradition of *kokugogaku*, and, therefore, cannot be taken seriously. The aka 'bright' part of this *makura kotoba* certainly can be applicable to days, purple color, and lords, but the remaining part is enigmatic.

On *nuNpa tama* see the commentary to 15.3598.

15.3733
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎毛故我 (2) 可多美能許呂母 (3) 奈可里世婆 (4) 奈尓毛能母弖加 (5) 伊能知都我麻之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$が (2) かたみ$_1$の$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$ (3) なかりせば (4) なにも$_1$の$_2$も$_2$てか (5) いの$_2$ちつがまし

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-Nka (2) katamî n-ö körömö (3) na-k-ar-i-s-eNpa (4) nani mônö möt-e ka (5) inöti tuNk-amasi

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS (2) keepsake DV-ATTR garment (3) no-INF-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND (4) what thing hold-EV PT (5) life join-SUBJ

Translation
(3) If [I] did not have (1/2) a garment of my beloved as a keepsake, (4) would having anything (5) keep [me] alive?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

15.3734
本文・Original text
(1) 等保伎山 (2) 世伎毛故要伎奴 (3) 伊麻左良尓 (4) 安布倍伎与之能 (5) 奈伎我佐夫之佐

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) と$_2$ほき$_1$やま (2) せき$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$え$_2$き$_1$ぬ (3) いまさらに (4) あふべ$_2$き$_1$よ$_2$しの$_2$ (5) なき$_1$がさぶしさ

Romanization
(1) töpo-kî YAMA (2) sekî mô kôye k-î-n-u (3) ima sara n-i (4) ap-uNpë-kî yösi-nö (5) na-kî-Nka saNpusi-sa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) distant-ATTR mountain (2) barrier PT cross(INF) come-INF-PERF-FIN (3) now furthermore DV-INF (4) meet-DEB-ATTR chance-GEN (5) no-ATTR-POSS sad-NML

Translation
(2) [I] have come [here] crossing barriers and (1) distant mountains. (3/4/5) Oh, how sad it is that now there is no chance to meet at all!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

15.3735
本文・Original text
(1) 於毛波受母 (2) 麻許等安里衣牟也 (3) 左奴流欲能 (4) 伊米尓毛伊母我 (5) 美延射良奈久尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おも$_1$はずも$_2$ (2) まこ$_2$と$_2$ありえ$_1$むや (3) さぬるよ$_1$の$_2$ (4) いめ$_2$にも$_1$いも$_2$が (5) み$_1$え$_2$ざらなくに

Romanization
(1) omwop-aNs-u mö (2) makötö ar-i-e-m-u ya (3) sa-n-uru yô-nö (4) imey-ni mwo imö-Nka (5) myi-ye-Ns-ar-an-aku n-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) long.for-NEG-INF PT (2) truth exist-INF-get-TENT-FIN PT (3) PREF-sleep-ATTR night-GEN (4) dream-LOC PT beloved-POSS (5) see-PASS-NEG(INF)-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

Translation
(4/5) Because [my] beloved [always] appears in [my] dreams (3) on the nights when [I] sleep, (2) could [I] really live (1) without longing [for her]?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *makötö* 'truth' historically consists of the intensive prefix *ma-* and *kötö*, which might mean either 'thing' or 'word.'

15.3736
本文・Original text
(1) 等保久安礼婆 (2) 一日一夜毛 (3) 於母波受弖 (4) 安流良牟母能等 (5) 於毛保之賣須奈

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) と$_2$ほくあれば (2) ひ$_1$と$_2$ひ$_1$ひ$_1$と$_2$よも$_1$ (3) おも$_2$はずて (4) あるらむも$_2$の$_2$と$_2$ (5) おも$_1$ほしめ$_1$すな

Romanization
(1) töpo-ku ar-e-Npa (2) PÎTÖ PÎ PÎTÖ YÔ mô (3) omöp-aNs-u-te (4) ar-uram-u mönö tö (5) omôp-os-i-mês-una

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) far-INF exist-EV-CON (2) one day one night PT (3) think-NEG-INF-SUB (4) exist-TENT2-ATTR person DV (5) think-HON-INF-HON-NEG/IMP

Translation
(1) because [I] am far away, (5) please do not think (3/4) that [I am] a person who would not long for [you] (2) even one day or one night.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *omôp-os-i-mês-una* 'please do not think' is a highly honorific form usually used towards deities, emperors, heir-apparents made from the honorific form *omöp-os-* of the verb *omöp-* 'to think' with a further addition of a honorific auxiliary *mês-*. It is strange to find it in a poem addressed to a female beloved, and as Kojima et al. note, there are no other examples of such a usage (1975: 88), although *omöp-os-* by itself could be used in such a situation, see 15.3764 below. Yoshii suggests that this poem originally was a poem from a different poetic collection that ended up being included into the poetic exchange of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri and Sanô-nö ÖtöNkamî-nö wotömê. One also should not exclude the possibility of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri using *honkadori* (本歌取り) technique on the basis of some earlier poem that is no longer extant. On *honkadori* see the commentary to the preface to poems 15.3602-3611.

15.3737
本文・Original text
(1) 比等余里波 (2) 伊毛曽母安之伎 (3) 故非毛奈久 (4) 安良末思毛能乎 (5) 於毛波之米都追

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ひ$_1$と$_2$よ$_2$りは (2) いも$_1$そ$_2$も$_2$あしき$_1$ (3) こ$_1$ひ$_2$も$_1$なく (4) あらましも$_1$の$_2$を (5) おも$_1$はしめ$_2$つつ

Romanization
(1) pîtö-yöri pa (2) imô sö mö asi-kî (3) kôpï mô na-ku (4) ar-amasi mônöwo (5) omôp-asimë-tutu

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) person-ABL TOP (2) beloved PT PT bad-ATTR (3) long.for(NML) PT no-INF (4) exist-SUBJ CONJ (5) love-CAUS(INF)-COOR

Translation
(2) [My] beloved is worse (1) than [other] people! (3/4) [I] would have no longing for [you], but (5) [you] make [me] love [you] constantly.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ ablative case marker *-yôri* in the first line is misspelled as *-yöri*.

15.3738
本文・Original text
(1) 於毛比都追 (2) 奴礼婆可毛等奈 (3) 奴婆多末能 (4) 比等欲毛意智受 (5) 伊米尓之見由流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) おも$_1$ひ$_1$つつ (2) ぬればかも$_1$と$_2$な (3) ぬばたまの$_2$ (4) ひ$_1$と$_2$よ$_1$も$_1$おちず (5) いめ$_2$にしみ$_1$ゆる

Romanization
(1) omôp-î-tutu (2) n-ure-Npa ka môtöna (3) nuNpa tama-nö (4) pîtö yô mô oti-Ns-u (5) imë-ni si MÎ-y-uru

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) think-INF-COOR (2) lie.down-EV-CON PT in.vain (3) pitch-black jade-COMP (4) one night PT (5) lack-NEG-INF see-PASS-ATTR

Translation
(1/2) [Is it] because [I] lie down thinking [of my beloved] in vain (5) that [she] appears in [my] dreams (4) without missing a single night (3) [dark] like the pitch-black jade?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

On WOJ *mötöna* 'in vain' (misspelled here as *môtöna*) see the commentary to 15.3729.

On *nuNpa tama* see the commentary to 15.3598.

15.3739
本文・Original text
(1) 可久婆可里 (2) 古非牟等可祢弖 (3) 之良末世婆 (4) 伊毛乎婆美受曽 (5) 安流倍久安里家留

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かくばかり (2) こ$_1$ひ$_2$むと$_2$かねて (3) しらませば (4) いも$_1$をばみ$_1$ずそ$_2$ (5) あるべくありけ$_1$る

Romanization
(1) ka-ku Npakari (2) kôpï-m-u tö kanete (3) sir-amas-eNpa (4) imô-woNpa mî-Ns-u sö (5) ar-uNpë-ku ar-i-kêr-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) thus-INF PT (2) long.for-TENT-FIN DV beforehand (3) know-SUBJ-COND (4) beloved-ACC(EMPH) see-NEG-INF PT (5) exist-DEB-INF exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Translation
(3) If [I] knew (2) beforehand that [I] would long for [her] (1) so much, (4/5) [I] should not have seen [my] beloved.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *sir-amas-eNpa* 'if I knew' is a constraction of *sir-* 'know' + *-amasi*, subjunctive suffix + *-aNpa*, confitional suffix. Vowels /i/ and /a/ contracted already in pre-Old Japanese into *kō-rui* *ê, but since there is no *kō-otsu* distinction for *î* ~ *ï* and *ê* ~ *ë* after coronals in Western Old Japanese, it is transcribed as the neutralized /e/.

15.3740
本文・Original text
(1) 安米都知能 (2) 可未奈伎毛能尓 (3) 安良婆許曽 (4) 安我毛布伊毛尓 (5) 安波受思仁世米

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あめ$_2$つちの$_2$ (2) かみ$_2$なき$_1$も$_1$の$_2$に (3) あらばこ$_2$そ$_2$ (4) あがも$_1$ふいも$_1$に (5) あはずしにせめ$_2$

Romanization
(1) amë tuti-nö (2) kamï na-kî mônö n-i (3) ar-aNpa kösö (4) a-Nka [o]môp-u imô-ni (5) ap-aNs-u sin-i se-m-ë

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven earth-GEN (2) deity no-ATTR thing DV-INF (3) exist-COND PT (4) I-POSS think-ATTR beloved-LOC (5) meet-NEG-INF die-NML do-TENT-EV

Translation
(1/2/3) If deities of heaven and earth did not exist, (5) [I] would die without meeting [my] beloved for whom [I] long!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *sin-i se-* ‘to die’ is a peculiar construction derived from the nominalized form *sin-i* of the verb *sin-* ‘to die’ + the verb *se-* ‘to do.’ Thus, it is a secondary verbalization. Cf. also *kôpï se-* ‘to long for’ (long.for(NML) + do) that is derived in the same way.

15.3741
本文・Original text
(1) 伊能知乎之 (2) 麻多久之安良婆 (3) 安里伎奴能 (4) 安里弖能知尓毛 (5) 安波射良米也母 一云 (4) 安里弖能乃知毛

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いの$_2$ちをし (2) またくしあらば (3) ありき$_1$ぬの$_2$ (4) ありての$_2$ちにも$_1$ (5) あはざらめ$_2$やも$_2$ 一云 (4) ありての$_2$の$_2$ちも$_1$

Romanization
(1) inöti-wo si (2) mata-ku si ar-aNpa (3) arikînu-nö (4) ar-i-te nöti-ni mô [ar-i-te-nöti mö] (5) ap-aNs-ar-am-ë ya mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) life-ABS PT (2) safe-INF PT exist-COND (3) (makura kotoba) (4) exist-INF-SUB later-LOC PT [exist-INF-SUB-GEN later PT] (5) meet-NEG(INF)-exist-TENT-EV PT PT

Translation
(1/2) If [my] life would be safe, (5) will [we] not meet (4) later?! [Of course we will!]

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

On WOJ *-wo* as an absolutive case marker see the commentary to 15.3599.

OJ *arikînu-nö* is considered to be permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) that is attached to *mî-pê* ‘three layers,’ *takara* ‘treasure,’ onomatopoeia *sawe-sawe* ‘make noise while shaking,’ and to the verb *ar-* ‘to exist’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 58). The structure and meaning of *arikînu* is obscure, although there are multiple different hypotheses, explaining it as ‘new garment,’ ‘silk[worm] garment,’[44] ‘existing garment,’ or simply as a repetition of the phonetic sequence *ari* when it precedes the verb *ar-* ‘to exist.’ I think that none of these explanations can be accepted, therefore I left *arikînu* untranslated.

15.3742
本文・Original text
(1) 安波牟日乎 (2) 其日等之良受 (3) 等許也未尓 (4) 伊豆礼能日麻弖 (5) 安礼古非乎良牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あはむひ$_1$を (2) そ$_2$の$_2$ひ$_1$と$_2$しらず (3) と$_2$こ$_2$やみ$_2$に (4) いづれの$_2$ひ$_1$まで (5) あれこ$_1$ひ$_2$をらむ

Romanization
(1) ap-am-u PÎ-wo (2) SÖNÖ PÎ tö sir-aNs-u (3) tökö yamï-ni (4) iNture n-ö PÎ-maNte (5) are kôpï-wor-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) meet-TENT-ATTR day-ACC (2) that day DV know-NEG-FIN (3) eternal darkness-LOC (4) which DV-ATTR day-TERM (5) I long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-FIN

Translation
(1) The day [when we] will meet, (2) that day [I] do not know. (4) Until what day (5) should I be longing for [you] (3) in the eternal darkness?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *tökö* ‘eternal’ is an uninflected adjective.

[44] Via *ari* ‘ant,’ although ants are not silkworms. Both are insects, but…

15.3743
本文・Original text
(1) 多婢等伊倍婆 (2) 許等尓曽夜須伎 (3) 須久奈久毛 (4) 伊母尓戀都々 (5) 須敝奈家奈久尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たび$_1$と$_2$いへ$_2$ば (2) こ$_2$と$_2$にそ$_2$やすき$_1$ (3) すくなくも$_1$ (4) いも$_2$にこ$_1$ひ$_2$つつ (5) すべ$_1$なけ$_1$なくに

Romanization
(1) taNpî tö ip-ë-Npa (2) kötö n-i sö yasu-kî (3) sukuna-ku mô (4) imö-ni KÔPÏ-tutu (5) suNpê na-kên-aku n-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) journey DV say-EV-CON (2) word DV-INF PT easy-ATTR (3) be.few-INF PT (4) beloved-DAT long.for(INF)-COOR (5) way no-ATTR/NEG-NML DV-INF

Translation
(2) It is easy to talk (1) about a journey, (4) but at least continuing to long for [my] beloved (3/5) is a big deal.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ form *na-kên-aku* in line five represents a nominalized negative of the verb *na-* 'no, not to exist,' therefore the result of two negatives is a tricky affirmative form. WOJ *na-kên-aku* is a contraction of *na-kî-an-aku 'no-ATTR-NEG-NML,' where the vowel /î/ of the attributive *-kî* and vowel /a/ of the negative *-an-* monophtongize as vowel /ê/.

The third line is traditionally considered to be syntactically connected to the second negative in the fifth line, therefore *sukuna-* 'to be few' is negated and the resulting meaning is 'considerably' (Omodaka 1984.15: 153-54), (Yoshii 1988: 305). This explanation, is, however, ungrammatical, because WOJ *na-kên-aku* represents a single word, and sukuna-ku mô cannot be just syntactically connected to a part of a word. As mentioned above, double negation makes WOJ *na-kên-aku* affirmative. Therefore, I take *sukuna-ku mô* in its literate sense as 'at least.'

15.3744
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎毛故尓 (2) 古布流尓安礼波 (3) 多麻吉波流 (4) 美自可伎伊能知毛 (5) 乎之家久母奈思

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$に (2) こ$_1$ふるにあれは (3) たまき$_1$はる (4) み$_1$じかき$_1$いの$_2$ちも$_1$ (5) をしけ$_1$くも$_2$なし

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-ni (2) kôp-uru-ni are pa (3) tamakîparu (4) mîNsika-kî inöti mô (5) wosi-kêku mö na-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT (2) long.for-ATTR-LOC (3) precious (4) short-ATTR life PT (5) regrettable-ATTR/NML PT no-FIN

Translation
(2) Because [I] long for (1) my dear beloved, (5) [I] have no regrets for [my] precious short life.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3731-3744.

WOJ *tamakîparu* is permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) used for words *inöti* 'life,' *yö* 'age, generation,' *uti* 'inside,' *ware* 'I,' and *isô* 'rock, rocky shore.' It probably includes

tama ‘jewel,’ but the *-kîparu* part is less clear. Omodaka et al. claim that it means ‘to carve’ (1967: 245), but the problem is that this tentative verb does not occur anywhere else except *tamakîparu* itself. Strictly speaking, the proper analysis of the structure and meaning of this *makura kotoba* is the task for the future, but conjecturing that all the words to which *tamakîparu* attaches are precious and could theoretically be compared to a carved jewel, which is certainly a ‘precious’ thing, I tentatively adopt the translation ‘precious.’

On WOJ *-kêku* ATTR/NML see the commentary to 15.3694.

Postscript to the poems 15.3731-3744
本文・Original text
右十四首中臣朝臣宅守

Translation
Fourteen poems above are by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri.

15.3745
本文・Original text
(1) 伊能知安良婆 (2) 安布許登母安良牟 (3) 和我由恵尓 (4) 波太奈於毛比曽 (5) 伊能知多尓敝波

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) いの$_2$ちあらば (2) あふこ$_2$と$_2$も$_2$あらむ (3) わがゆゑに (4) はだなおも$_1$ひ$_1$そ$_2$ (5) いの$_2$ちだにへ$_1$ば

Romanization
(1) inöti ar-aNpa (2) ap-u kötö mö ar-am-u (3) wa-Nka yuwe n-i (4) paNta na-omôp-î-sö (5) inöti Ntani pê-Npa

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) life exist-COND (2) meet-ATTR thing PT exist-TENT-FIN (3) I-POSS reason DV-INF (4) considerably NEG-think-INF-do (5) life PT pass-COND

Translation
(1) If [we] are alive, (2) [we] will probably meet again. (3) Do not long for me so much -- (5) if just [our] lives would go on…

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753. As noted by Yoshii, it looks like a direct reply to the previous poem 15.3744 by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri (1988: 309).

The verb *pë-* ‘to pass’ in the last line is misspelled as *pê-*, which should be attributed to the poor transmission of book fifteen.

15.3746
本文・Original text
(1) 比等能宇々流 (2) 田者宇恵麻佐受 (3) 伊麻佐良尓 (4) 久尓和可礼之弖 (5) 安礼波伊可尓勢武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ひと$_2$の$_2$ううる (2) たはうゑまさず (3) いまさらに (4) くにわかれして (5) あれはいかにせむ

Romanization
(1) pyitö-nö uw-uru (2) TA PA uwe-[i]mas-aNs-u (3) ima sara n-i (4) kuni wakare s-i-te (5) are pa ika n-i se-m-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) person-GEN plant-ATTR (2) paddy TOP plant(INF)-HON-NEG-FIN (3) now in.addition DV-INF (4) land part(NML) do-INF-SUB (5) I TOP how DV-INF do-TENT-FIN

Translation
(2) [You] do not plant a paddy (1) that people plant. (3) Now, in addition, (4) [you] left [your] home land, so (5) what should I do?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

The first two lines of this poem may contain a metaphor, since Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri was no farmer. There are hypothesis explaining 'not planting' the fields as a metaphor of an exile, but as Yoshii points out, in the contents of book fifteen it definitely says that Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri wed (娶) Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê,[45] so both were officially married, and therefore had a common property in the form of rice fields, and were engaged in rice production besides their service in the palace. Although in all probability Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri did not participate in the in the planting process himself, he might have directed it (1988: 309-10).

There is, however, a possibility that a metaphor of a sexual nature is involved here, although to the best of my knowledge none of the Japanese scholars mentions it. Namely, Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri being away in exile does not plant the body of Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê with his seed.

15.3747
本文・Original text
(1) 和我屋度能 (2) 麻都能葉見都々 (3) 安礼麻多無 (4) 波夜可反里麻世 (5) 古非之奈奴刀尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがやど$_1$の$_2$ (2) まつの$_2$はみ$_1$つつ (3) あれまたむ (4) はやかへ$_1$りませ (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$しなぬと$_1$に

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka yaNtô-nö (2) matu-nö pa MÎ-tutu (3) are mat-am-u (4) paya kapêr-i-[i]mas-e (5) kôpï sin-an-u tôni

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS home-GEN (2) pine-GEN leaf see(INF)-COOR (3) I wait-TENT-FIN (4) quick return-INF-HON-IMP (5) long.for(INF) die-NEG-ATTR CONJ

Translation
(3) I will wait for [you] (2) looking at the pine needles (1) at my home. (4) Come back quickly (5) before [I] die longing for [you]!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

On the play of words between *matu* 'pine' and *mat-* 'to wait' see the commentary to 15.3685.

15.3748
本文・Original text
(1) 比等久尓波 (2) 須美安之等曽伊布 (3) 須牟也氣久 (4) 波也可反里万世 (5) 古非之奈奴刀尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ひ$_1$と$_2$くには (2) すみ$_1$あしと$_2$そ$_2$いふ (3) すむやけ$_2$く (4) はやかへ$_1$りませ (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$しなぬと$_1$に

Romanization
(1) pîtö kuni pa (2) sum-î asi tö sö ip-u (3) sumuyakë-ku (4) paya kapêr-i-[i]mas-e (5) kôpï sin-an-u tôni

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) person province TOP (2) live-NML bad(FIN) DV PT say-ATTR (3) be.fast-INF (4) quick return-INF-HON-IMP (5) long.for(INF) die-NEG-ATTR CONJ

[45] See for the quotation the preface to the poems 15.3723-15.3787.

Translation
(1/2) [They] say that living in the [other] people's province is bad. (3/4) Come back quickly (5) before [I] die longing for [you]!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

The last two lines are identical with the previous poem. Possibly, both poems are *honkadori* (本歌取り) on the basis of a poem that is no longer extant. On *honkadori* see the commentary to the preface to the poems 15.3602-3611.

15.3749
本文・Original text
(1) 比等久尓々 (2) 伎美乎伊麻勢弖 (3) 伊都麻弖可 (4) 安我故非乎良牟 (5) 等伎乃之良奈久

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ひ$_1$と$_2$くにに (2) き$_1$み$_1$をいませて (3) いつまでか (4) あがこ$_1$ひ$_2$をらむ (5) と$_2$き$_1$の$_2$しらなく

Romanization
(1) pîtö kuni-ni (2) kîmî-wo imase-te (3) itu-maNte ka (4) a-Nka kôpï-wor-am-u (5) tökï-nö sir-an-aku

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) person province-LOC (2) lord-ACC let.go(HON)(INF)-SUB (3) when-TERM PT (4) I-POSS long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR (5) time-GEN know-NEG-NML

Translation
(2) [I] let you go (1) to another province, and (3) until when (4) should I long for [you]? (5) [This] time [I] do not know.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

The first line is almost identical with the preceding poem 15.3748.

In contrast to WOJ *imas-* 'go, come, be', intransitive honorific verb, WOJ *imase-* is transitive 'to let go.' This is the only phonographic spelling of *imase-* in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus.

15.3750
本文・Original text
(1) 安米都知乃 (2) 曽許比能宇良尓 (3) 安我其等久 (4) 伎美尓故布良牟 (5) 比等波左祢安良自

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あめ$_2$つちの$_2$ (2) そ$_2$こ$_2$ひ$_1$の$_2$うらに (3) あがご$_2$と$_2$く (4) き$_1$み$_1$にこ$_1$ふらむ (5) ひ$_1$と$_2$はさねあらじ

Romanization
(1) amë tuti-nö (2) sököpî-nö ura-ni (3) a-Nka Nkötö-ku (4) kîmî-ni kôp-uram-u (5) pîtö pa sane ar-aNsi

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heaven earth-GEN (2) limit-GEN inside-LOC (3) I-POSS like-INF (4) lord-DAT long.for-TENT2-ATTR (5) person TOP at.all exist-NEG/TENT

Translation
(5) There is probably nobody at all (2) within the limits (1) of heaven and earth (4) who would long for you (3) like me.

Commentary

This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

WOJ *sököpî* ‘bottom, limit’ is a rare word that occurs only once in the whole *Man’yōshū*. It is clearly connected with WOJ *sökö* ‘bottom,’ but its derivation is unclear.

WOJ *sane* is an adverb meaning ‘[not] at all,’ ‘[not] in the least,’ not be confused with WOJ noun *sane* ‘kernel, core,’ although Yoshii believes that the former is derived from the latter (Yoshii 1988: 316). The same opinion is found in (Omodaka et al. 1967: 336). All examples of the adverb *sane* in phongraphic spelling are found with following negatives.

15.3751

本文・Original text

(1) 之呂多倍能 (2) 安我之多其呂母 (3) 宇思奈波受 (4) 毛弖礼和我世故 (5) 多太尓安布麻侶尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) しろ$_2$たへ$_2$の$_2$ (2) あがしたご$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$ (3) うしなはず (4) も$_1$てれわがせこ$_1$ (5) ただにあふまでに

Romanization

(1) sirö tapë-nö (2) a-Nka sita-N-körömö (3) usinap-aNs-u (4) môt-er-e wa-Nka se-kô (5) taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN (2) I-POSS bottom-GEN-garment (3) lose-NEG-INF (4) carry-PROG-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM (5) direct DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

Translation

(4) My dear beloved, carry [with you] (2) my undergarment (1) from white mulberry tree bark cloth (3) without losing [it], (5) until [we] meet directly.

Commentary

This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

On *sirô tapë-nö* ‘[made] from the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark, like the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark’ see the commentary to 15.3607. Here *sirô* ‘white’ is misspelled as *sirö*, due to the poor history of transmission (Omodaka 1984.15: 158).

There was a custom of giving one’s undergarment as a keepsake to one’s beloved at the parting.

15.3752

本文・Original text

(1) 波流乃日能 (2) 宇良我奈之伎尓 (3) 於久礼為弖 (4) 君尓古非都々 (5) 宇都之家米也母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) はるの$_2$ひ$_1$の$_2$ (2) うらがなしき$_1$に (3) おくれゐて (4) き$_1$み$_1$にこ$_1$ひ$_2$つつ (5) うつしけ$_1$め$_2$やも$_2$

Romanization

(1) paru-nö PÎ-nö (2) ura-N-kanasi-kî-ni (3) okure wi-te (4) KÎMÎ-ni kôpï-tutu (5) utusi-kêm-ë ya mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) spring-GEN day-GEN (2) inside-LOC-sad-ATTR-LOC (3) be.left.behind(INF) exist(INF)-SUB (4) lord-DAT long.for(INF)-COOR (5) be.living-ATTR/TENT-EV PT PT

Translation

(2) As [I] was sad in [my] heart (1) on the spring day, (3) being left alone, (4/5) could [I] be alive while longing for you? [Certainly, I could not!]

Commentary

This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

A combination of tentative suffix *-am-* with the preceding adjectival attributive *-kî*, which results in the contracted form *-kêm-* as in this poem should not be confused with a similar looking contraction *-kêm-* which results from crasis of the past final *-kî* with the tentative *-am-*. On the past tentative auxiliary *-kêm-* see the commentary to 15.3637.

15.3753
本文・Original text
(1) 安波牟日能 (2) 可多美尓世与等 (3) 多和也女能 (4) 於毛比美太礼弖 (5) 奴敝流許呂母曽

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あはむひ$_1$の$_2$ (2) かたみ$_1$にせよ$_2$と$_2$ (3) たわやめ$_1$の$_2$ (4) おも$_1$ひ$_1$み$_1$だれて (5) ぬへ$_1$るこ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_2$そ$_2$

Romanization
(1) ap-am-u PÎ-nö (2) katamî n-i se-yö tö (3) tawaya MÊ-nö (4) omôp-î mîNtare-te (5) nup-êr-u körömö sö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) meet-TENT-ATTR day-GEN (2) keepsake DV-INF do-IMP DV (3) delicate woman-GEN (4) think-NML be.confused(INF)-SUB (5) sow-PROG-ATTR garment PT

Translation
(3/5) The garment that a weak woman has sewn (4) while [her] thoughts were confused -- (2) keep [it] as a keepsake (1) until the day we meet again.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3745-3753.

WOJ uninflected adjective *tawaya* ‘slender, graceful, delicate’ occurs only with the following word *mê* ‘woman.’

Postscript to the poems 15.3745-3753
本文・Original text
右九首娘子

Translation
Nine poems above are by [Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö] wotömê.

15.3754
本文・Original text
(1) 過所奈之尓 (2) 世伎等婢古由流 (3) 保等登藝須 (4) 多我子尓毛 (5) 夜麻受可欲波牟

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) くわそなしに (2) せき$_1$と$_2$び$_1$こ$_1$ゆる (3) ほと$_2$と$_2$ぎ$_1$す (4) たがこ$_1$にも$_1$ (5) やまずかよ$_1$はむ

Romanization
(1) KWASO na-si-ni (2) sekî töNp-î-kôy-uru (3) potötöNkîsu (4) AMATA-Nka KÔ-ni mô (5) yam-aNs-u kayôp-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) permit no-FIN-LOC (2) barrier fly-INF-cross-ATTR (3) cuckoo (4) amata-POSS girl-DAT PT (5) stop-NEG-FIN go.back.and.forth-TENT-FIN

Translation
(3) A cuckoo (2) which flies over the barrier (1) without a permit, (5) goes back and forth without stopping (4) to [its] many beloved.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

WOJ *kwaso* ‘permit’ is a Chinese loanword. The syllable count in the first line demonstrates that it should be pronounced as [k^{w}aso], with a labiovelar [k^{w}], which apparently was present in the words of Chinese origin at that time. Written permits were needed to pass through a barrier. Any illegal passage without a permit was a subject to punishment. Permits were given as *mokkan* (木簡): strips of wood with written text usually on both sides. In order to return to the capital, Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri certainly would need such a permit, which, as an exiled person, he did not have, and could not obtain unless he would be pardoned.

WOJ *potötöNkîsu* ‘cuckoo’ is a migratory bird that comes to Japan from China and Korea in summer and engages in individual reproduction in mountain forests. Its habit of brood parasitism by depositing its egg into a nest of other birds such as bush warbler was well known from ancient times. Cuckoo’s wing length is 15 cm (6 in), and tail length is approximately 12 cm (5 in). Its head and back have grayish blue color, tail is black with several white horizontal stripes. Its chest is white with black spots. Cuckoo’s beak is long and narrow with a slight curve down at the end. It has two front and two back claws on each foot. Cuckoo feeds on various insects. Cuckoo starts to sing in the first decade of the forth lunar month, but its voice really becomes audible in the fifth lunar month. According to Yoshii, there are two symbolic contexts involving cuckoo’s singing. In one of them, cuckoo symbolizes a positive longing for one’s beloved, one impatiently waits for the cuckoo’s song, and wants it to last for ever. Another, less frequent context, as in 15.3780-15.3785 below, is more negative, as cuckoo singing increases one’s love longing (1988: 350).

The fourth line 多我子尓毛 has various interpretations that differ from scholar to a scholar. Takagi et al. read it as *mane-ku a kô-ni mô* ‘many times to my girl’ (1962: 102-03). Omodaka treats this line as *iNture n-ö kô-ni mô* ‘to which girl’ (1984.15: 160-62). Nakanishi interprets it as *wa-Nka omöp-u kô-ni mô* ‘to the girl that I love’ (1981: 338). Yoshii reads it as *opo-ku-nö kô-ni mô* ‘to many girls’ (1988: 320-22). Itō suggests *mîyakô-Nka kô-ni mô* ‘to the capital girl’ (1998: 304). Kojima et al. just indicate that there are many hypotheses, none of them credible, and live this line without interpretation (1975: 92). Satake et al. adopt the same approach (2002: 459). The apparent difficulty here is in the first two characters. I wonder, however, if the first two characters 多我 should be read as *AMATA-Nka* ‘many-GEN,’ with the exactly the same *furigana* reading as adopted in Kishū-bon and Nishi Honganji-bon manuscripts of the *Man’yōshū*. Yoshii discusses this possibility, but he points out that while *amata-nö pari* ‘many fishhooks’ occurs in the *Kojiki*, *amata-Nka* is not attested in Old Japanese (Yoshii 1988: 322). As a matter of fact, the sequence 多鉤 ‘many fishooks’ (KJK I: 53b2) has no indication that it was indeed *amata-nö pari* and not *amata-Nka pari* besides furigana reading that indeed says *amata-nö pari*. But *furigana* readings in the Kojiki are of a very late provenance and cannot be used as evidence. Yoshii then develops a whole theory, speculating that there was not 多我子 in the original script, but 多之子, but since the character 之 as a semantogram could be read either as *nö* or as *Nka*, it was mistakenly read as Nka, and then the script was changed to phonographic with the character 我. He also further argues that since in the postscripts of Nishi Honganji-bon and later manuscripts there is glossing *opo-ku-nö kô-ni mô*, which he considers to be an archaic remainder of the original text that contained *nö*, and which he consequently adopts as his interpretation (Yoshii 1988: 322). However, it remains unclear why this archaic remainder pops up only in the later manuscripts, and not even in the *furigana* reading of the text: as we have seen above Nishi Honganji-bon has furigana reading *amata-Nka*. It should be no wonder that *amata-Nka* is not attested phonographically in Western Old Japanese: after all, the corpus is rather limited, and there are all kinds of imaginable gaps in the grammatic structure. However, *amata-Nka* is perfectly attested in phonographic script in Middle (Classical) Japanese, e.g. あまたが中に *amata-Nka NAKA-ni* ‘among many’ (HM I: 170.6). Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari is a text from ca. 1064, thus it is likely to be much older than the furigana in the Kojiki. One might argue against such a solution because Western Old Japanese are based on close, but not identical dialects of Central Japanese, but since their case marking is very close, I think that we can trust the evidence from Middle Japanese.

15.3755
本文・Original text
(1) 宇流波之等 (2) 安我毛布伊毛乎 (3) 山川乎 (4) 奈可尓敝奈里弖 (5) 夜須家久毛奈之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) うるはしと$_{2}$ (2) あがも$_{1}$ふいも$_{1}$を (3) やまかはを (4) なかにへ$_{1}$なりて (5) やすけ$_{1}$くも$_{1}$なし

Romanization

(1) urupasi tö (2) a-Nka [o]môp-u imô-wo (3) YAMA KAPA-wo (4) naka-ni pênar-i-te (5) yasu-kêku mô na-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) dear DV (2) I-POSS think-ATTR beloved-ACC (3) mountain river-ACC (4) middle-LOC separate-INF-SUB (5) peaceful-ATTR/NML PT no-FIN

Translation
(3/4) Being separated (2) from my beloved (1) whom [I] consider [so] dear (3) by mountains and rivers between [us], (5) [I] have no peace of mind.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

The first two lines are identical with the first two lines from 15.3729 even including the script.

On WOJ *urupasi* 'dear' see the commentary to 15.3766.

On WOJ *yasu-kêku* 'peaceful-ATTR/NML' see the commentary to 15.3694.

The main difficulty in interpreting this poem is the double accusative construction, which to the best of my knowledge, does not occur anywhere else. I follow here the interpretation of Takagi et al. that the verb *pênar-* means 'to separate two entities by placing something in between them' (Takagi et al. 1960: 466). Therefore, it separates author's beloved from him by placing between them mountains and rivers. Cf. also 15.3764 below. I think that in this way the double accusative construction can be cogently explained. Yoshii takes a different approach, detaching the first two lines from the rest of the poem and interpreting them as 'Oh, [my] beloved whom I consider graceful.' In order to do so, he needs to interpret *-wo* after imô 'beloved' as exclamation particle, which is a by-product of the *kokugogaku* analysis (Vovin 1997).

15.3756
本文・Original text
(1) 牟可比為弖 (2) 一日毛於知受 (3) 見之可杼母 (4) 伊等波奴伊毛乎 (5) 都奇和多流麻弖

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) むかひ$_1$ゐて (2) ひ$_1$と$_2$ひ$_1$も$_1$おちず (3) み$_1$しかど$_2$も$_2$ (4) いと$_2$はぬいも$_1$を (5) つき$_2$わたるまで

Romanization
(1) mukap-î wi-te (2) PÎTÖ PÎ mô oti-Ns-u (3) MÎ-sika-Ntömö (4) itöp-an-u imô-wo (5) tukï watar-u-maNte

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) face-INF sit(INF)-SUB (2) one day PT lack-NEG-INF (3) look-PAST/EV-CONC (4) get.tired-NEG-ATTR beloved (5) month cross-ATTR-TERM

Translation
(5) Until [many] months pass [I will not be able to see] (5) [my] beloved, of whom [I] never got tired, (3) although [I] looked [at her], (1) sitting across [from her], (2) not missing a single day.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

15.3757
本文・Original text
(1) 安我未許曽 (2) 世伎夜麻故要弖 (3) 許己尓安良米 (4) 許己呂波伊毛尓 (5) 与里尓之母能乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あがみ$_2$こ$_2$そ$_2$ (2) せき$_1$やまこ$_1$え$_2$て (3) こ$_2$こ$_2$にあらめ$_2$ (4) こ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$はいも$_1$に (5) よ$_2$りにしも$_2$の$_2$を

Romanization
(1) a-Nka mï kösö (2) sekî yama kôye-te (3) kökö-ni ar-am-ë (4) kökörö pa imô-ni (5) yör-i-n-i-si mönöwo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS body PT (2) barrier mountain cross(INF)-SUB (3) here-LOC exist-TENT-EV (4) heart TOP beloved-DAT (5) approach-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ

Translation
(1/2) My body has crossed barriers and mountains, and (3) is probably here. (4/5) But [my] heart stayed near [my] beloved!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

There are two explanations of *sekî yama* in line two. One takes it as 'a mountain with a barrier' (Kojima et al. 1975: 93), (Nakanishi 1981: 338), and another as 'barriers and mountains' (Takagi et al. 1962: 103), (Omodaka 1984.15: 164), (Yoshii 1988: 324-25), (Itō 1998: 305), (Satake et al. 2002: 460). I follow the second one because on his way to Echizen province Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri must have passed through several barriers and mountains. Besides, simple justapozition, as with *yama kapa* in 15.3755 above normally implies A and B, and not B of A. In the latter case we should have had *sekî-nö yama*, and not *sekî yama*.

15.3758
本文・Original text
(1) 佐須太氣能 (2) 大宮人者 (3) 伊麻毛可母 (4) 比等奈夫理能未 (5) 許能美多流良武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) さすだけ$_2$の$_2$ (2) おほみ$_1$やひ$_1$と$_2$は (3) いまも$_1$かも$_2$ (4) ひ$_1$と$_2$なぶりの$_2$み$_2$ (5) こ$_2$の$_2$み$_1$たるらむ

Romanization
(1) sas-u-N-takë-nö (2) OPO MÎYA PÎTÖ PA (3) ima mô kamö (4) pîtö naNpur-i nömï (5) könöm-î-tar-uram-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) rise-ATTR-DV(ATTR)-bamboo-COMP (2) great place person TOP (3) now PT PT (4) person mock-NML PT (5) like-INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR

Translation
(2) Do the people from the Great Palace (1) that is like a bamboo that rises straight up (3/4/5) probably continue to like just to mock [other] people now as well, I wonder?

15.3758a
本文・Original text
(1) 佐須太氣能 (2) 大宮人者 (3) 伊麻左倍也 (4) 比等奈夫理能未 (5) 許能美多流良武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) さすだけ$_2$の$_2$ (2) おほみ$_1$やひ$_1$と$_2$は (3) いまさへ$_2$や (4) ひ$_1$と$_2$なぶりの$_2$み$_2$ (5) こ$_2$の$_2$み$_1$たるらむ

Romanization
(1) sas-u-N-takë-nö (2) OPO MÎYA PÎTÖ PA (3) ima sapë ya (4) pîtö naNpur-i nömï (5) könöm-î-tar-uram-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) rise-ATTR-DV(ATTR)-bamboo-COMP (2) great place person TOP (3) now PT PT (4) person mock-NML PT (5) like-INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR

Translation

(2) Do the people from the Great Palace (1) that is like a bamboo that rises straight up (3/4/5) probably continue to like just to mock [other] people even now as well?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

There are two textual variants of this poem with slight variation in line three that are presented here as 15.3758 and 15.3758a respectively.

WOJ *sasuNtakë-nö* is permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) mainly for *opo mîya* 'Great Palace,' although in singular cases it is also found with *kîmî* 'lord' and *töneri* 'retainer' (Yoshii 1988: 326). Following the tradition, I tentatively analyze it is as *sas-u-N-takë* 'rise-ATTR-DV(ATTR)-bamboo,' but this analysis is by no means certain, because an attributive does not require a copula to modify the following noun.

15.3759
本文・Original text
(1) 多知可敝里 (2) 奈氣杼毛安礼波 (3) 之流思奈美 (4) 於毛比和夫礼弖 (5) 奴流欲之曽於保伎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たちかへ$_1$り (2) なけ$_2$ど$_2$も$_1$あれは (3) しるしなみ$_1$ (4) おも$_1$ひ$_1$わぶれて (5) ぬるよ$_1$しそ$_2$おほき$_1$

Romanization
(1) tatikapêri (2) nak-ë-Ntömô are pa (3) sirusi na-mî (4) omôp-î waNpure-te (5) n-uru yô si sö opo-kî

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) repeatedly (2) cry-EV-CONC I TOP (3) effect no-GER (4) think-NML be.confused(INF)-SUB (5) sleep-ATTR night PT PT many-ATTR

Translation
(2) Although I cry (2) all the time, (3) because there is no effect, (5) there are many nights when [I] sleep (4) with [my] thoughts in confusion.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

WOJ *tatikapêri* 'repeatedly' is a *hapax legomenon*. There is a opinion that it does not mean 'repeatedly,' but the fact that Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri was recollecting the beginning of the incident that landed him in the exile, in other words he was 'returning to the beginning' (Yoshii 1988: 328). I cannot see how this could be substantiated by any kind of evidence, although it is, of course, notoriously difficult to define the meaning of any *hapax legomenon*.

WOJ *waNpure-* 'be disappointed, be confused' is another *hapax legomenon*. It is probably etymologically connected with WOJ *waNpï-* 'to worry, to be perplexed' that is amply attested, see e.g. 15.3727 above.

15.3760
本文・Original text
(1) 左奴流欲波 (2) 於保久安礼杼毛 (3) 母能毛波受 (4) 夜須久奴流欲波 (5) 佐祢奈伎母能乎

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) さぬるよ$_1$は (2) おほくあれど$_2$も$_1$ (3) も$_2$の$_2$も$_1$はず (4) やすくぬるよ$_1$は (5) さねなき$_1$も$_2$の$_2$を

Romanization
(1) sa-n-ur-u ywo pa (2) opo-ku ar-e-Ntömô (3) mönö [o]môp-aNs-u (4) yasu-ku n-uru yô pa (5) sane na-kî mönöwo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) PREF-sleep-ATTR night TOP (2) many-INF exist-EV-CONC (3) thing think-NEG-INF (4) easy-INF sleep-ATTR night TOP (5) at.all no-ATTR CONJ

Translation
(1) Although there are many (2) nights when [I] sleep, (4/5) there are no nights at all when [i] sleep easily (5) without [my] thoughts!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

15.3761
本文・Original text
(1) 与能奈可能 (2) 都年能己等和利 (3) 可久左麻尓 (4) 奈里伎尓家良之 (5) 須恵之多祢可良

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) よ$_2$の$_2$なかの$_2$ (2) つねの$_2$こ$_2$と$_2$わり (3) かくさまに (4) なりき$_1$にけ$_1$らし (5) すゑしたねから

Romanization
(1) yö-nö naka-nö (2) tune n-ö kötöwari (3) ka-ku sama n-i (4) nar-i-k-î-n-i-kêr-asi (5) suwe-si tane-kara

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) world-GEN inside-GEN (2) usual DV-ATTR principle (3) thus-INF situation DV-INF (4) become-INF-come-INF-PERF-RETR-SUP (5) plant(INF)-PAST/ATTR seed-ABL

Translation
(2) [This is] the usual principle (1) of the world. (4) It looks like that [I] ended up (3) in this situation (5) because of the seeds that [I] planted [myself].

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

In this poem Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri obviously laments his exile and blames himself for what happened.

WOJ *-kara* is a new ablative case marker that appears very rarely in the texts. It is a grammaticalization from the noun *kara* ‘clan, relationship, character’ (Vovin 2005: 207).

15.3762
本文・Original text
(1) 和伎毛故尓 (2) 安布左可山乎 (3) 故要弖伎弖 (4) 奈伎都々乎礼杼 (5) 安布余思毛奈之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わぎ$_1$も$_1$こ$_1$に (2) あふさかやまを (3) こ$_1$え$_2$てき$_1$て (4) なき$_1$つつをれど$_2$ (5) あふよ$_2$しも$_1$なし

Romanization
(1) wa-Nk-îmô-kô-ni (2) Ap-u-saka-yama-wo (3) kôye-te k-î-te (4) nak-î-tutu wor-e-Ntö (5) ap-u yösi mô na-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT (2) ‘Meet-ATTR-slope-mountain’-ACC (3) cross(INF)-SUB come-INF-SUB (4) cry-INF-COOR exist-EV-CONC (5) meet-ATTR chance no-FIN

Translation
(3) [I] have come crossing (1/2) Apusaka, ‘Mount of meetings’, to meet my dear beloved, and (4) although [I] continue to weep, (6) there is not even a chance of meeting [her].

Commentary

This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

Mount Apusaka is the mountain on the border between old provinces of Yamasirö (nowadays part of Kyōto prefecture), and Apumî (nowadays Shiga prefecture). It was situated on the important transportation road (later Nakasendō tract) that was leading to the Eastern provinces, and there was a barrier separating Yamasirö and Apumî provinces on this mountain. The name of the mountain literally means 'mountain [with the] slope for meeting,' and it is used here and elsewhere in traditional Japanese poetry in a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞) with the verb *ap-* 'to meet.' It was believed that those travelling from the East will soon see their beloved ones after crossing this mountain.

15.3763

本文・Original text

(1) 多婢等伊倍婆 (2) 許登尓曽夜須伎 (3) 須敝毛奈久 (4) 久流思伎多婢毛 (5) 許等尓麻左米也母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) たび$_1$と$_2$いへ$_2$ば (2) こ$_2$と$_2$にそ$_2$やすき$_1$ (3) すべ$_1$も$_1$なく (4) くるしき$_1$たび$_1$も$_1$ (5) こ$_2$と$_2$にまさめ$_2$やも$_2$

Romanization

(1) taNpî tö ip-ë-Npa (2) kötö n-i sö yasu-kî (3) suNpê mô na-ku (4) kurusi-kî taNpî mô (5) kötö-ni mas-am-ë ya mö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) journey DV say-EV-CON (2) word DV-INF PT easy-ATTR (3) way PT no-INF (4) hard-ATTR journey-LOC be.superior-TENT-EV PT PT

Translation

(2) It is easy to talk (1) about a journey. (3/4/5) [But] would a hard and desperate journey be superior to a word? [Certainly, it would not!]

Commentary

This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

The first two lines are identical with the first two lines of 15.3743 (also by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri), even including the script. This is again a possible case of *honkadori* (本歌取り), based on some poem that is no longer extant.

On Western Old Japanese irony constructions *-(a)më ya ~ -(u)ram-ë ya* see the commentary to 15.3585.

Nakanishi (1981: 340) and Yoshii (1988: 332) view 許等尓 in line five not as *kötö-ni* 'word-LOC,' but as *kötö n-i* 'especially.' This is a problematic analysis, because even with the proposed insertion of *tö ip-î-te* between *taNpî* and *mô* in the line four (Yoshii 1988: 322), the line five would make little sense: superior to what? Therefore, I follow the traditional analysis here.

15.3764

本文・Original text

(1) 山川乎 (2) 奈可尓敝奈里弖 (3) 等保久登母 (4) 許己呂乎知可久 (5) 於毛保世和伎母

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration

(1) やまかはを (2) なかにへ$_1$なりて (3) と$_2$ほくと$_2$も$_2$ (4) こ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$をちかく (5) おも$_1$ほせわぎ$_1$も$_2$

Romanization

(1) YAMA KAPA-wo (2) naka-ni pênar-i-te (3) töpo-ku tömö (4) kökörö-wo tika-ku (5) omôp-os-e wa-Nk-îmö

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

(1) mountain river-ACC (2) middle-LOC separate-INF-SUB (3) far-INF CONJ (4) heart-ACC close-INF (5) think-HON-IMP I-POSS-beloved

Translation

(3) Even though [I] am far away, (1) with mountains and rivers (2) between [us], (4/5) think that [my] heart is close, my beloved.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

The first two lines are identical with the lines three and four of 15.3755 (also by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri), even including the script. This is again a possible case of *honkadori* (本歌取り), based on some poem that is no longer extant.

On WOJ *pênar-* see the commentary to 15.3755.

It is interesting that in this poem Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri uses mildly honorific form *omöp-os-* 'think-HON' (misspelled as *omôp-os-* in this poem), which is possible, but not very frequent phenomenon in the address of husband to wife. Cf. also 15.3766 below where the honorific suffix *-as-* is used again by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri to Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê. See also 15.3736, where even more unusual honorific form is used. Another approach to the analysis of *omöp-os-* is suggested by Yoshii, who seems to take it as a causative *omöp-os-* 'think-CAUS,' since he interpretes lines four and five as 'make your heart be close to me' (1988: 332-33). This is attractive, since makes sense sociolinguistically, but hardly does make any sense morphologically, semantically and syntactically. First, there is no causative form *omöp-os- in Western Old Japanese (Vovin 2008a: 861-62), as the only causative form attested is *omöp-as-* (see, e.g. 15.3737 above). Thus, *omöp-os-* can be only a honorific form. Second, the only possible object of causation here is 'heart,' and the verb is 'to think' and 'not to approach.' The causative interpretation would then imply 'make your heart think close,' which, in my opinion, is practically meaningless.

15.3765
本文・Original text
(1) 麻蘇可我美 (2) 可氣弖之奴敝等 (3) 麻都里太須 (4) 可多美乃母能乎 (5) 比等尓之賣須奈

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) まそ$_1$かがみ$_1$ (2) かけ$_2$てしぬへ$_1$と$_2$ (3) まつりだす (4) かたみ$_1$の$_2$も$_2$の$_2$を (5) ひ$_1$と$_2$にしめ$_1$すな

Romanization
(1) ma-sô kaNkamî (2) kakë-te sinup-ê tö (3) matur-i-[i]Ntas-u (4) katamî n-ö mönö-wo (5) pîtö-ni simês-una

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) INT-clear mirror (2) hang(INF)-SUB long.for-IMP DV (3) present(HUM)-put.out-ATTR (4) keepsake DV-ATTR thing-ACC (5) person-DAT show-NEG/IMP

Translation
(2) Long for [me] in your heart, (like hanging (1) a really clear mirror). (5) Do not show to others (4) the keepsake (3) that [I] presented [to you].

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

This poem involves a play on words (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞): WOJ *kakë-* means both 'to hang' and 'to have someone at one's heart.' WOJ *ma-sô kaNkamî* 'really clear mirror' is a permanent epithet (*makura kotoba*, 枕詞) to the verb *kakë-*.

WOJ *sinup-* 'to long for, to yearn' occurs in the *Man'yōshū* very infrequently in comparison to its much more frequent variant *sinôp-*. There are two possible explanations for these doublets. First, WOJ *sinup-* may be a later innovative form that developed from *sinôp-* due to the raising of PJ *o > WOJ /u/, which is sometimes preserved as WOJ /ô/. This preservation is mostly limited to the second syllable of bisyllabic nouns as demonstrated by Hayata (1998), although there are exceptions, and WOJ *sinup-* may be one of them. Second, *sinup-* may be an artifact of the analysis. The syllable /nu/ in this word is written by the *man'yōgana* in Western Old Japanese part of the corpus by signs 奴 (three times) and 農 (once, in 5.802). It is considered that in the *Man'yōshū* both of these signs stand only for /nu/, but never for /nô/, although 奴 can also be used for /nô/ in other texts (Omodaka et al. 1967: 898). This is becomes especially puzzling since we have sinup- in this poem and sinôp- in the

following 15.3766, both composed by the same author. Thus, it is certainly a strange situation that requires further research on the usage of the man'yōgana signs for /nu/ and /nô/. Omodaka believes that the sign 奴 /nu/ is a mistake for 努 /nô/, due to the poor history of transmission, but this is, of course, impossible to prove.

Itō pointed out that the keepsake that Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri presented to Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê is exactly this *ma-sô kaNkamî* 'really clear mirror,' and that it is confirmed by the following poem (1998: 303). It probably was of a small size, so it could be attached to the cords of undergarment.

There was a belief in Ancient Japan that the reflection of a person who looked into a mirror will be preserved there, and, consequently can be seen by another person who looks into this mirror. Thus, *ma-sô kaNkamî* 'really clear mirror' given by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri to Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê plays a similar role to the one that a photograph would be playing in our days. Mirrors also had the role of amulets that have the ability to chase away evil spirits. It looks like that a mirror presented as a keepsake has to be kept away from the eyes of others, since they could also then see the reflection of the giver, which was not desirable and potentially even harmful.

15.3766
本文・Original text
(1) 宇流波之等 (2) 於毛比之於毛波婆 (3) 之多婢毛尓 (4) 由比都氣毛知弖 (5) 夜麻受之努波世

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) うるはしと$_2$ (2) おも$_1$ひ$_1$しおも$_1$はば (3) したび$_1$も$_1$に (4) ゆひ$_1$つけ$_2$も$_1$ちて (5) やまずしの$_1$はせ

Romanization
(1) urupasi tö (2) omôp-î si omôp-aNpa (3) sita-N-pîmô-ni (4) yup-î-tukë môt-i-te (5) yam-aNs-u sinôp-as-e

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) dear DV (2) think-NML PT think-COND (3) bottom-GEN-cord-LOC (4) tie-INF-attach(INF) hold-INF-SUB (5) stop-NEG-INF yearn-HON-IMP

Translation
(2) If [you] think (1) that [I] am dear [to you], (3/4) tie [my gift] to your under[garment] cord, keeping [it there], (5) and yearn [for me] constantly.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3754-3766.

The gift is the mirror mentioned in 15.3765 above.

Although Omodaka et al. define WOJ *urupasi* as 'attractive, graceful, truthful, beautiful (of a view)', in contrast to WOJ *utukusi* 'dear, beloved' (Omodaka et al. 1967: 123, 137), this is probably not quite true, as there are contexts where the meanings of these two words overlap, at least *urupasi* may also mean 'dear, beloved.' Yoshii translates *urupasi* throughout this collection as 'dear, beloved' (MdJ *itosii*), and even adds that *urupasi* is an expression used about man (1988: 336). This is true, since in the Manyōshū one finds expressions like *urupasikî kîmî* 'dear lord.' But there is also *urupasi-N-tuma* 'dear spouse' (referring to either male or female), and as we have seen in the poems above, Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri uses *urupasi* 'dear' to refer to his beloved (see 15.3729 and 15.3755 above). Consequently, it better to conclude that *urupasi* can be applied to both male and female alike. Therefore, the interpretation of the *urupasi* in the line one becomes difficult, and the opinions of Japanese scholars differ on this issue. Thus, Takagi et al. believe that *urupasi* refers to the keepsake (1962: 105), while other commentators think that it refers to Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri himself (Kojima et al. 1975: 95), (Nakanishi 1981: 340), (Omodaka 1984.15: 169), (Yoshii 1988: 335-36), (Itō 1998: 303), (Satake et al. 2002: 463). Since there would be no need to hide the keepsake if it were attractive, but such necessity apparently arises from what have been said about mirrors in the commentary to 15.3765 above, I chose to follow the latter interpretation in my translation.

Postscript to the poems 15.3754-3766
本文・Original text

右十三首中臣朝臣宅守

Translation
Thirteeen poems above are by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri.

15.3767
本文・Original text
(1) 多麻之比波 (2) 安之多由布敝尓 (3) 多麻布礼杼 (4) 安我牟祢伊多之 (5) 古非能之氣吉尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たましひ$_1$は (2) あしたゆふへ$_1$に (3) たまふれど$_2$ (4) あがむねいたし (5) こ$_1$ひ$_2$の$_2$しげ$_2$き$_1$に

Romanization
(1) tamasipî pa (2) asita yupu pê-ni (3) tamap-ure-Ntö (4) a-Nka mune ita-si (5) kôpï-nö siNkë-kî-ni

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) soul TOP (2) morning evening side-LOC (3) receive(HUM)-EV-CONC (4) I-POSS chest painful-FIN (5) love(NML)-GEN thick-ATTR-LOC

Translation
Although [I] receive [your] soul in the mornings and in the evening, my heart hurts, because [my] longing for [you] is [so] intense.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

This poem seems to be quite straightforward, although there are objections to the interpretation of the first three lines as Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê receiving the soul of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri (Omodaka 1984.15: 170-71), (Yoshii 1988: 337-38). It is interesting to note that the new interpretations proposed by these two dissenting scholars are quite different one from another, and both require considerable additions and rewriting of the text. Following my habit of taking the text as given, I follow the traditional interpretation here. The ritual of receiving the soul probably was conducted through the mirror that Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri gave to Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê, which is referred to in the poems 15.3765 and 15.3766 above. If so, this poem could be taken as Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê's direct reply to these two preceding poems. Cf. the similar connection between poems 15.3744 and 15.3745 above.

15.3768
本文・Original text
(1) 己能許呂波 (2) 君乎於毛布等 (3) 須敝毛奈伎 (4) 古非能未之都々 (5) 祢能未之曽奈久

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) こ$_2$の$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$は (2) き$_1$み$_1$をおも$_1$ふと$_2$ (3) すべ$_1$も$_1$なき$_1$ (4) こ$_1$ひ$_2$の$_2$み$_2$しつつ (5) ねの$_2$み$_2$しそ$_2$なく

Romanization
(1) könö körö pa (2) KÎMÎ-wo omôp-u tö (3) suNpê mô na-kî (4) kôpï nömï s-i-tutu (5) ne nömï si sö nak-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) this time TOP (2) lord-ACC think-FIN DV (3) way PT no-ATTR (4) long.for(NML) PT do-INF-COOR (5) sound PT PT PT cry-ATTR

Translation
(2) When [I] think of you (1) this time, (5) [I] only sob loudly, (4) just longing [for you], (3) which is of no use.

Commentary

This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

15.3769
本文・Original text
(1) 奴婆多麻乃 (2) 欲流見之君乎 (3) 安久流安之多 (4) 安波受麻尓之弖 (5) 伊麻曽久夜思吉

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ぬばたまの$_2$ (2) よ$_1$るみ$_1$しき$_1$み$_1$を (3) あくるあした (4) あはずまにして (5) いまそ$_2$くやしき$_1$

Romanization
(1) nuNpa tama-nö (2) yôru MÎ-si KÎMÎ-wo (3) ak-uru asita (4) ap-aNs-u ma n-i s-i-te (5) ima sö kuyasi-kî

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) pitch-black jade-COMP (2) night see(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord-ACC (3) dawn-ATTR morning (4) meet-NEG-INF after DV-INF do-INF-SUB (5) now PT be.regrettable-ATTR

Translation
(4/5) Later on, now [it] is regrettable (3) that at the dawning morning (4) [I] did not meet (2) [my] lord whom [I] saw in the night (1) [dark] like the pitch-black jade.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

On *nuNpa tama* see the commentary to 15.3598.

There was a custom for a woman not to look at the face of her lover when he left her at dawn after the night meeting, remaining (or pretending to be) sleeping, so some scholars treat this poem as a recollection about the meeting in the past, further supported by the word *ima* 'now' in the line five. Thus, Omodaka believes that this poem is a recollection of the last night spent together before the separation (1984.15: 173). However, in Yoshii's opinion, it is more likely that Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê saw Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri in a dream, and regrets that she could not see him in the morning (1988: 339). The key to the understanding the real situation described here, I believe, lies in the correct analysis of line four.

The word *ma* in line four is difficult to explain. All Japanese scholars, with varying degree of certainty, consider it to be related to WOJ *manima* ~ *manima n-i* 'according to,' and/or interpret it as 'situation' (Takagi et al. 1962: 105), (Kojima et al. 1975: 95), (Nakanishi 1981: 341), (Omodaka 1984.15: 172), (Yoshii 1988: 339), (Itō 1998: 310), (Satake 2002: 464). Some also refer to the similar construction *kori-Ns-u ma* 'according to learning from experience,' cited in the *Daishōki* (15.39b), but to the best of my knowledge *kori-Ns-u ma* is not attested in Old Japanese. There are also other problems. First, WOJ *manima* ~ *manima n-i* 'according to' in Western Old Japanese always follows attributive form of verbs and adjectives, genitive case marker *-nö*, or possessive case marker *-Nka*. *Ap-aNs-u* in line four can be either infinitive or nominalized form, but WOJ *manima* ~ *manima n-i* 'according to' never occurs after these forms. Second, if the *ma* or *ma n-i* is an original form as Omodaka suggests (Omodaka 1984.15: 172), it is incomprehensible why it is not found in the earliest Western Old Japanese texts. There is WOJ *-ra ma* 'according to,' frequently found in the *Senmyō* and once in the NK 22, but it uniquely follows the locative case marker *-ra*, and not negative infinitive or negative nominalized form *-aNs-u*. Even if *ma* in this poem is related to *ma* in *-ra ma* 'according to,' the interpretation of *ap-aNs-u ma n-i s-i-te* as 'according to not-meeting' seems to be rather senseless in the given context. *Ma* interpreted as 'situation' would fare better in the context, but here again we face problems. First, while WOJ infinitive *-î* can very seldom modify following nominals, WOJ negative infinitive *-aNs-u* does not have this function, see Vovin (2008a: XXX). Second, apart from this case, we simply do not have the word *ma* 'situation' in Western Old Japanese. Since isolated or rare words in ancient texts sometimes turn out to be loanwords or substratum words, I think about a different possibility. There is Ainu *mak* 'behind, inside,' attested at least from 1850 AD in *Ezo go* in katakana

transcription as マクタ /MAKUTA/, certainly transcribing [mak-ta][46] (Narita 1986: 49). The semantic boundary between 'behind' and 'after' is very thin. In contrast to a noun 'situation' the chances of a quasi-postposition meaning 'after' used with a preceding an infinitive is much higher. There are two possibilities of analyzing line four. Under the first one, the infinitive *ap-aNs-u* is governed by *ma* 'after', thus *ap-aNs-u ma n-i s-i-te* becomes 'after not meeting [you].' For comparison, native WOJ postposition *nöti* 'after' is not attested in the function when it governs the preceding negative infinitive *-aNs-u* or infinitive *-î*. It is attested, however, in this function after gerund *-te*, e.g. *ari-sar-i-te nöti mata ap-am-u* 'after [some] time passes on, [we] will meet again' (17.3933). Certainly, technically infinitives are in fact gerunds like *-te*, so there is possibility that *ma* 'after' could govern negative infinitive *-aNs-u*. But the lack of complete parallelism with *nöti* makes this possibility not very attractive. The second possibility involves the presence of caesura in the line four: *ap-aNs-u // ma n-i s-ite* 'not meeting [you], // afterwards.' This analysis can be supported by the parallel usage of *nöti* after *-aNs-u* when caesura comes between them (this time is coincides with the line break): *kökörö sayar-aNs-u // nöti-nö yö* 'without being impeded by the contents [of orders], in the later age' (19.4164). I think that this second interpretation is correct, and if so, it strongly supports the point of view according to which this poem is a recollection of the meeting in the past, and not seeing Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri in a dream.

15.3770
本文・Original text
(1) 安治麻野尓 (2) 屋杼礼流君我 (3) 可反里許武 (4) 等伎能牟可倍乎 (5) 伊都等可麻多武

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あぢまの$_1$に(2) やど$_2$れるき$_1$み$_1$が (3) かへ$_1$りこ$_2$む (4) と$_2$き$_1$の$_2$むかへ$_2$を (5) いつと$_2$かまたむ

Romanization
(1) ANtima NÔ-ni (2) YANtör-er-u KÎMÎ-Nka (3) kapêr-i-kö-m-u (4) tökî-nö mukapë-wo (5) itu tö ka mat-am-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) ANtima plain-LOC (2) lodge-PROG-ATTR lord-POSS (3) return-INF-come-TENT-ATTR (4) time-GEN meet(NML) (5) when DV PT wait-TENT-ATTR

Translation
(5) When should [I] wait for (4) the meeting [with you] at the time, (1/2/3) when you, who is living at ANtima plain, would come back?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

ANtima plain is located in the vicinity of present-day Ajima town of Takebu city in Fukui prefecture (Itō et al. 1981: 287), (Nakanishi 1985: 417).

15.3771
本文・Original text
(1) 宮人能 (2) 夜須伊毛祢受弖 (3) 家布々々等 (4) 麻都良武毛能乎 (5) 美要奴君可聞

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) み$_1$やひ$_1$と$_2$の$_2$ (2) やすいも$_1$ねずて (3) け$_1$ふけ$_1$ふと$_2$ (4) まつらむも$_1$の$_2$を (5) み$_1$え$_2$ぬき$_1$み$_1$かも

Romanization
(1) MÎYA PÎTÖ-nö (2) yasu i mô ne-Ns-u-te (3) kêpu kêpu tö (4) mat-uram-u mônöwo (5) mî-ye-n-u KÎMÎ kamo

Glossing with the morphemic analysis

[46] Consisting of *mak* 'behind' + locative case marker *-ta*. The form *mak-ta* is also attested in modern dialects (Hattori 1964: 238).

(1) palace person-GEN (2) easy sleep PT sleep-NEG-INF-SUB (3) today today DV (4) wait-TENT2-ATTR CONJ (5) see-PASS-NEG-ATTR lord PT

Translation
(1/4) Although a person from the palace probably waits for [you], (2) without [being able] to sleep easily, and (3) thinking: 'Today, today [he will come!], (5) alas, there is no sign of you!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

The prevalent point of view is that *mîya pitö* refers either to relatives, friends, or co-workers of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri. But, as a matter of fact, any person who served in the palace, like Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê, could still be called *mîya pitö* 'palace person' (Omodaka et al. 1967: 717). Kojima et al.'s observation that the speaker could not use tentative form in in reference to himself/herself (1975: 96) has no grounds in reality, because it could certainly be used by the speaker:

iNtuti muk-yi-te ka a-**Nka wakar-uram-u**
where face-INF-SUB PT **I-POSS part-TENT2-ATTR**
facing what direction **will I part** [with this world]? (5.887)

Thus, although Yoshii does not name Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê directly, I follow his opinion that *mîya pitö* refers to a woman from the palace (1988: 34). This woman could only be Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê herself who referred to herself here as *mîya pitö* 'palace person.'

15.3772
本文・Original text
(1) 可敝里家流 (2) 比等伎多礼里等 (3) 伊比之可婆 (4) 保等保登之尓吉 (5) 君香登於毛比弖

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) かへ$_1$りけ$_1$る (2) ひ$_1$と$_2$き$_1$たれりと$_2$ (3) いひ$_1$しかば (4) ほと$_2$ほと$_2$しにき$_1$ (5) き$_1$み$_1$かと$_2$おも$_1$ひ$_1$て

Romanization
(1) kapêr-i-kêr-u (2) pîtö k-î-tar-er-i tö (3) ip-î-sika-Npa (4) potöpotö sin-i-kî (5) KÎMÎ ka tö omôp-î-te

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) return-INF-RETR-ATTR (2) person come-INF-PERF/PROG-PROG-FIN DV (3) say-INF-PAST/EV-CON (4) almost die-INF-PAST/FIN (5) lord PT DV think-INF-SUB

Translation
(3) Because [they] said (1/2) that a person, who returned [from exile], had come [to the capital], (4) [I] almost died [from joy], (5) thinking: 'Is it [my] lord?'

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

Five exiled people were pardoned in the great amnesty on the fifth day in the sixth month of the twelth year of Tenpyō (740 AD), but Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri was not among them. One can only imagine the disappointment and sadness of Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê.

15.3773
本文・Original text
(1) 君我牟多 (2) 由可麻之毛能乎 (3) 於奈自許等 (4) 於久礼弖乎礼杼 (5) 与伎許等毛奈之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) き$_1$み$_1$がむた (2) ゆかましも$_1$の$_2$を (3) おなじこ$_2$と$_2$ (4) おくれてをれど$_2$ (5) よ$_2$き$_1$こと$_1$なし

Romanization
(1) KÎMÎ-Nka muta (2) yuk-amasi mônöwo (3) onaNsi kötö (4) okure-te wor-e-Ntö (5) yö-kî kötö mô na-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) lord-POSS together (2) go-SUBJ CONJ (3) same thing (4) be.left.behind(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CONC (5) good-ATTR thing PT no-FIN

Translation
(2) [I] would go together (1) with [my] lord, but… (3) [Our] suffering is the same: (4) although [I] was left behind, (5) [it] is no good, either.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

The main difficulty in interpretation is connected with the line three: *onaNsi kötö* 'same thing' and its connection to the text. Most Japanese scholars interpret it as 'whether I went with you, or stayed, it is [painful] all the same' (Takagi et al. 1962: 107), (Kojima et al. 1975: 96), (Nakanishi 1981: 341), (Omodaka 1984.15: 175), (Itō 1998: 312). Yoshii has a special opinion, explaining this line as 'my pain and your pain are the same,' or 'my suffering being in the capital and your suffering being in exile are the same' (1988: 342-43). The first two lines apparently express Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê's desire to go into exile together with Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri. Then the first explanation makes very little sense: if one reads the poem along these lines, it starts to look that Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê was equally concerned about the difficulty of travel and her separation with her beloved, and ultimately chose to stay behind. This certainly does not jibe well with this passionate love story. Thus, I think that only Yoshii's explanation makes sense, and I follow it in my translation.

15.3774
本文・Original text
(1) 和我世故我 (2) 可反里吉麻佐武 (3) 等伎能多米 (4) 伊能知能己佐牟 (5) 和須礼多麻布奈

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがせこ$_1$が (2) かへ$_1$りき$_1$まさむ (3) と$_2$き$_1$の$_2$ため$_2$ (4) いの$_2$ちの$_2$こ$_2$さむ (5) わすれたまふな

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka se-kô-Nka (2) kapêr-i-k-î-[i]mas-am-u (3) tökî-nö tamë (4) inöti nökös-am-u (5) wasure-tamap-una

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS (2) return-INF-come-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR (3) time-GEN for (4) life leave-TENT-ATTR (5) forget(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP

Translation
(5) Do not forget, (1) my dear beloved, (4) that [I] will stay alive (2/3) until [you] return.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3767-3774.

The more literal translation of this poem four will be: 'Do not forget that [I] will keep my life for the time when my dear beloved returns.'

Postscript to the poems 15.3767-3774
本文・Original text
右八首娘子

Translation
Eight poems above are by [Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö] wotömê.

15.3775

本文・Original text
(1) 安良多麻能 (2) 等之能乎奈我久 (3) 安波射礼杼 (4) 家之伎己許呂乎/(5) 安我毛波奈久尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あらたまの$_2$ (2) と$_2$しの$_2$をながく (3) あはざれど$_2$ (4) け$_1$しき$_1$こ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$を (5) あがも$_1$はなくに

Romanization
(1) arata ma-nö (2) tösi-nö wo naNka-ku (3) ap-aNs-ar-e-Ntö (4) kêsi-kî kökörö-wo (5) a-Nka [o]môp-an-aku n-i

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) new interval-GEN (2) year-GEN cord long-INF (3) meet-NEG(INF)-exist-EV-CONC (4) unusual-ATTR heart-ACC (5) I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF

Translation
(3) Although [we] did not meet (1/2) for a long time, (5) I do not think (4) that [I] will change [my] mind.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3775-3776.

On *arata ma-nö* see the commentary to 15.3683.

WOJ *ap-aNs-ar-e-Ntö* is a contraction of *ap-aNs-u ar-e-Ntö*. In contrast to Middle (Classical) Japanese, where contracted negative form *-aNs-ar-* is the only one possible, both uncontracted form *-aNs-u ar-* and contracted form *-aNs-ar-* are attested in Western Old Japanese, but the former is prevalent (Vovin 2008a: 746-48).

The more literal and at the same time palatable English translation of the first three lines is difficult. Pierson has: 'Although I did not meet you in a string of everfresh years' (1963.15: 163). More exactly it should be: 'Although we did not meet as long as the cord of new years.' The length of a year is compared to the length of the cord.

15.3776
本文・Original text
(1) 家布毛可母 (2) 美也故奈里世婆 (3) 見麻久保里 (4) 尓之能御馬屋乃 (5) 刀尓多弖良麻之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) け$_1$ふも$_1$かも$_2$ (2) み$_1$やこ$_1$なりせば (3) み$_1$まくほり (4) にしの$_2$み$_1$まやの$_2$ (5) と$_1$にたてらまし

Romanization
(1) kêpu mô kamö (2) mîyakô-n-ar-i-s-eNpa (3) MÎ-m-aku por-i (4) nisi-nö MÎ-MAYA-nö (5) tô-ni tat-er-amasi

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) today PT PT (2) capital-LOC-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND (3) see-TENT-NML desire-INF (4) west-GEN HON-stable-GEN (5) outside-LOC stand-PROG-SUBJ

Translation
(2) If [I] were in the capital (1) today, too, (5) [I] would be standing outside (4) the Western Imperial Stables, (5) wanting to see [you]!

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3775-3776.

Western Imperial Stables were either close to the house of Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê, or served as a place for meeting. The first explanation is more likely (Yoshii 1988: 345-46).

Postscript to the poems 15.3775-3776
本文・Original text
右二首中臣朝臣宅守

Translation
Two poems above are by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri.

15.3777
本文・Original text
(1) 伎能布家布 (2) 伎美尓安波受弖 (3) 須流須敝能 (4) 多度伎乎之良尓 (5) 祢能未之曽奈久

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) き$_1$の$_2$ふけ$_1$ふ (2) き$_1$み$_1$にあはずて (3) するすべ$_1$の$_2$ (4) たど$_1$き$_1$をしらに (5) ねの$_2$み$_2$しそ$_2$なく

Romanization
(1) kînöpu kêpu (2) kîmî-ni ap-aNs-u-te (3) s-uru suNpê-nö (4) taNtôkî-wo sir-an-i (5) ne nömï si sö nak-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) yesterday today (2) lord-DAT meet-NEG-INF-SUB (3) do-ATTR way-GEN (4) clue-ACC know-NEG-INF (5) sound PT PT PT cry-ATTR

Translation
(2) Without meeting you (1) yesterday [or] today, (3/4) [I] have no clue what to do, and (5) [I] just sob loudly.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3777-3778.

WOJ *taNtôkî* 'clue' is predominantly spelled as *taNtökî* with *otsu-rui* /ö/ (see, e.g. 15.3696), and besides this poem it is spelled with *kō-rui* /ô/ as *taNtôkî* only in 13.3329 and 17.3898. Omodaka et al. believe that in spite of the fact that *otsu-rui* variants are more numerous than *kō-rui* variants, the etymologically correct spelling is with *kō-rui* /ô/ (1967: 431), although they do not provide any explanation. There is also a doublet form taNtukî which definitely proves the original nature of *kō-rui* /ô/, and not *otsu-rui* /ö/, since only the former undergoes the raising *o > /u/. Thus, *taNtôkî* is a relic form that avoided raising. The etymology of this word is from *ta-ni tôk/tuk-î 'hand-LOC be.attached-INF,' as correctly pointed out by Omodaka et al. (1967: 431). Therefore, we learn that the pre-Old Japanese form of WOJ *tuk-* 'to be attached' is *tok-.

15.3778
本文・Original text
(1) 之路多倍乃 (2) 阿我許呂毛弖乎 (3) 登里母知弖 (4) 伊波敝和我勢古 (5) 多太尓安布末侶尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) しろ$_1$たへ$_2$の$_2$ (2) あがこ$_2$ろ$_2$も$_1$でを (3) と$_2$りも$_2$ちて (4) いはへ$_1$わがせこ$_1$ (5) ただにあふまでに

Romanization
(1) sirô tapë-nö (2) a-Nka körömôNte-wo (3) tör-i-möt-i-te (4) ipap-ê wa-Nka se-kô (5) taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN (2) I-POSS garment-ACC (3) take-INF-hold-INF-SUB (4) pray-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM (5) direct DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

Translation
(3) Holding (2) my garment (1) [made] from cloth of the white mulberry tree bark, (4) pray, my dear beloved, (5) until [we] meet directly.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3777-3778.

On *sirô tapë-nö* ‘[made] from the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark, like the white cloth of the mulberry tree bark’ see the commentary to 15.3607.

Although the main meaning of *körömöNte* (misspelled as *köromôNte* in this poem) is ‘sleeve’ (see 15.3591, 15.3691, 15.3709, and 15.3712), it also can mean ‘garment’ itself (see also 17.3954).

Postscript to the poems 15.3777-3778
本文・Original text
右二首娘子

Translation
Two poems above are by [Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö] wotömê.

15.3779
本文・Original text
(1) 和我夜度乃 (2) 波奈多知婆奈波 (3) 伊多都良尓 (4) 知利可須具良牟 (5) 見流比等奈思尓

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) わがやど$_1$の$_2$ (2) はなたちばなは (3) いたづらに (4) ちりかすぐらむ (5) み$_1$るひ$_1$と$_2$なしに

Romanization
(1) wa-Nka yaNtô-nö (2) pana tatiNpana pa (3) itaNtura n-i (4) tir-i ka suNk-uram-u (5) MÎ-ru pîtö na-si-ni

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) I-POSS home-GEN (2) flower mandarin.orange (3) in.vain DV-INF (4) fall-INF PT pass-TENT2-ATTR (5) look-ATTR person no-FIN-LOC

Translation
(1) Will the flowers of mandarin oranges (1) in my garden (3/4) fall and pass away in vain? (5) Because there is no one to look [at them]…

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3779-3785.

WOJ *tatiNpana* ‘mandarin orange’ is a low evergreen tree (3 ~ 4 m, 9 ft 12 in ~ 13 ft 4 in) growing in the wild. It blooms in early summer with five-petal white flowers, and bears yellow fruits from autumn to winter. The fruits are not edible, since they are extremely sour.

The sequence *pana tatiNpana* ‘flowers of mandarin orange’ in the second line contradicts the SOV word order which requires a modifier to precede a head noun: one would expect *tatiNpana-nö pana*, which is also attested in the *Man’yōshū* (five times), but is much less frequent than *pana tatiNpana* (thirty-three times). This unusual word order may indicate that originally Japonic had SVO word order. See also 15.3590, 15.3622, and 15.3646 for the same phenomenon.

15.3780
本文・Original text
(1) 古非之奈婆 (2) 古非毛之祢等也 (3) 保等登藝須 (4) 毛能毛布等伎尓 (5) 伎奈吉等余牟流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) こ$_1$ひ$_2$しなば (2) こ$_1$ひ$_2$も$_1$しねと$_2$や (3) ほと$_2$と$_2$ぎ$_1$す (4) も$_1$の$_2$も$_1$ふと$_2$き$_1$に (5) き$_1$なき$_1$と$_2$よ$_2$むる

Romanization
(1) kôpï-sin-aNpa (2) kôpï mô sin-e tö ya (3) potötöNkîsu (4) mônö [o]môp-u tökî-ni (5) k-î nak-î-töyöm-uru

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) long.for(INF)-die-COND (2) long.for(INF) PT die-IMP DV PT (3) cuckoo (4) thing think-ATTR time-LOC (5) come-INF cry-INF-sound-ATTR

Translation
(3) Cuckoo (5) comes and cries (4) when [I] am deep in my thoughts. (1/2) Do [you] tell [me]: ‘If [you] die longing, die from longing!’?

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3779-3785.

On WOJ *potötöNkîsu* ‘cuckoo’ and its symbolic meaning see the commentary to 15.3754. In the poems 15.3780-3785 we have thesecond type of symbolism indicating that the author’s longing for his beloved increases when he hears cuckoo’s voice.

15.3781
本文・Original text
(1) 多婢尓之弖 (2) 毛能毛布等吉尓 (3) 保等登藝須 (4) 毛等奈那難吉曽 (5) 安我古非麻左流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たび$_1$にして (2) も$_1$の$_2$も$_1$ふと$_2$き$_1$に (3) ほと$_2$と$_2$ぎ$_1$す (4) も$_1$と$_2$ななき$_1$そ$_2$ (5) あがこ$_1$ひ$_2$まさる

Romanization
(1) taNpî n-i s-i-te (2) mônö [o]môp-u tökî-ni (3) potötöNkîsu (4) môtöna na-nak-î-sö (5) a-Nka kôpï masar-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) journey DV-INF do-INF-SUB (2) thing think-ATTR time-LOC (3) cuckoo (4) for.no.reason NEG-cry-INF-do (5) I-POSS long.for(NML) increase-FIN

Translation
(3) Cuckoo! (4) Do not cry without a reason -- (1) when [I] am on journey (2) deep in [my] thoughts, (5) my longing increases.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3779-3785.

On WOJ *potötöNkîsu* ‘cuckoo’ and its symbolic meaning see the commentary to 15.3754.

15.3782
本文・Original text
(1) 安麻其毛理 (2) 毛能母布等伎尓 (3) 保等登藝須 (4) 和我須武佐刀尓 (5) 伎奈伎等余母須

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) あまご$_2$も$_1$り (2) も$_1$の$_2$も$_2$ふと$_2$き$_1$に (3) ほと$_2$と$_2$ぎ$_1$す (4) わがすむさと$_1$に (5) き$_1$なき$_1$と$_2$よ$_2$も$_2$す

Romanization
(1) ama-N-kömôr-i (2) mônö [o]möp-u tökî-ni (3) potötöNkîsu (4) wa-Nka sum-u satô-ni (5) k-î nak-î-töyöm-ös-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) rain-LOC hide-INF (2) thing think-ATTR time-LOC (3) cuckoo (4) I-POSS live-ATTR village-LOC (5) come-INF cry-INF-sound-CAUS-FIN

Translation
(2) When [I] am deep in [my] thoughts, (1) hiding in the rain, (3) a cuckoo (5) comes, and makes [its voice] resound (4) in the village where I live.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3779-3785.

On WOJ *potötöNkîsu* ‘cuckoo’ and its symbolic meaning see the commentary to 15.3754.

WOJ *satô* ‘village, settlement’ here refers to the place of Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri’s exile.

A certain difficulty for interpretation is presented by the causative form *töyöm-ös-*[47] of the WOJ verb *töyömë-* ‘to sound, to resound.’ Almost all Japanese scholars interpret WOJ *nak-î-töyömös-* as MdJ *nak-i-tateru* ‘to sing loudly’ (Takagi et al. 1962: 108), (Kojima et al. 1975: 98), (Omodaka 1983.15: 175), (Yoshii 1988: 352), (Itō 1998: 325). Nakanishi, who follows the same interpretation, even adds that *töyömë-* and *töyömös-* are the same (1981: 343). This is counterintuitive, because such an equation contradicts the Western Old Japanese grammar where transitive and intransive verbs are quite strictly segregated. Therefore, I follow the dissenting interpretation of Satake et al., who translate *töyömös-* as MdJ hibikaseru ‘to make resound’ (2002: 468).

15.3783
本文・Original text
(1) 多婢尓之弖 (2) 伊毛尓古布礼婆 (3) 保登等伎須 (4) 和我須武佐刀尓 (5) 許欲奈伎和多流

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) たび$_1$にして (2) いも$_1$にこ$_1$ふれば (3) ほと$_2$と$_2$ぎ$_1$す (4) わがすむさと$_1$に (5) こ$_2$よ$_1$なき$_1$わたる

Romanization
(1) taNpî n-i s-i-te (2) imô-ni kôp-ure-Npa (3) pötötöNkîsu (4) wa-Nka sum-u satô-ni (5) kö-yô nak-î watar-u

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) journey DV-INF do-INF-SUB (2) beloved-DAT long.for-EV-CON (3) cuckoo (4) I-POSS live-ATTR village-LOC (5) this-ABL cry-INF cross-FIN

Translation
(2) When [I] long for [my] beloved, being on a journey, (3) a cuckoo (4/5) crosses over, crying, from here to the village where I live.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3779-3785.

On WOJ *potötöNkîsu* ‘cuckoo’ and its symbolic meaning see the commentary to 15.3754.

15.3784
本文・Original text
(1) 許己呂奈伎 (2) 登里尓曽安利家流 (3) 保登等藝須 (4) 毛能毛布等伎尓 (5) 奈久倍吉毛能可

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) こ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$なき$_1$ (2) と$_2$りにそ$_2$ありけ$_1$る (3) ほと$_2$と$_2$ぎ$_1$す (4) も$_1$の$_2$も$_1$ふと$_2$き$_1$に (5) なくべ$_2$き$_1$も$_1$の$_2$か

Romanization
(1) kökörö na-kî (2) töri n-i sö ar-i-kêr-u (3) potötöNkîsu (4) mônö [o]môp-u tökî-ni (5) nak-uNpë-kî mônö ka

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) heart no-ATTR (2) bird DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-ATTR (3) cuckoo (4) thing think-ATTR time-LOC (5) cry-DEB-ATTR thing PT

Translation
(3) Cuckoo, (2) [you] are indeed a bird (1) that has no heart. (5) Do you have to cry (4) when [I] am deep in [my] thoughts?

Commentary

[47] Omodaka et al. take *töyöm-ös-* as a transitive verb, and *töyömë-* as an intransitive (1967: 508).

This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3779-3785.

On WOJ *potötöNkîsu* 'cuckoo' and its symbolic meaning see the commentary to 15.3754.

15.3785
本文・Original text
(1) 保登等藝須 (2) 安比太之麻思於家 (3) 奈我奈氣婆 (4) 安我毛布許己呂 (5) 伊多母須敝奈之

仮名の書き下し・Kana transliteration
(1) ほと$_2$と$_2$ぎ$_1$す (2) あひ$_1$だしましおけ$_1$ (3) ながなけ$_2$ば (4) あがも$_1$ふこ$_2$こ$_2$ろ$_2$ (5) いたも$_2$すべ$_1$なし

Romanization
(1) potötöNkîsu (2) apîNta simasi ok-ê (3) na-Nka nak-ë-Npa (4) a-Nka [o]môp-u kökörö (5) ita mö suNpê na-si

Glossing with the morphemic analysis
(1) cuckoo (2) interval for.a.little.while put-IMP (3) you-POSS cry-EV-CON (4) I-POSS love-ATTR (5) heart extremely PT way no-FIN

Translation
(1) Cuckoo, (2) wait for a while. (3) When you cry, (4) my loving heart (5) is extremely helpless.

Commentary
This poem is composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri as indicated in the postscript to poems 15.3779-3785.

On WOJ *potötöNkîsu* 'cuckoo' and its symbolic meaning see the commentary to 15.3754.

WOJ *ita* 'extremely' is not to be confused with WOJ *ita-* 'to be painful.'

The poems 15.3779-3785 on the surface look very repetitive and rather boring from the poetic point of view (with the exception of 15.3779, the first poem in this cycle), but this is to be expected: they signal the beginning of the end of the romance between Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri and Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê, as was already noted in the commentary to the preface to the second collection above. Since these poems by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri remained unanswered, it probably was Sanô-nö OtöNkamî-nö wotömê's initiative to end the relationship. It is quite natural that a person in the state of mental anxiety, like Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri apparently was in this situation, starts to repeat himself.

Postscript to the poems 15.3779-3785
本文・Original text
右七首中臣朝臣宅守寄花鳥陳思作歌

Translation
Seven poems above about flowers and birds are composed by Nakatömî-nö asömî Yakamôri relating his feelings.

Commentary
Poems about flowers and birds reflect Chinese influence. In Chinese tradition these poems start to appear in significant numbers starting from the Tang dynasty.

Yoshii notes that reference to flowers and birds reflects one's anxiety and longing (1988: 357).

END OF BOOK FIFTEEN

Primary sources

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NK	Nihonshoki kayō, 720 AD
HM	Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari, ca. 1064 AD

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