SAIBARA: A STUDY AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE HEIAN PERIOD
FŪZOKU SONG COLLECTION

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ABSTRACT

Saibara 催馬楽 is one of several fuzoku 風俗 ‘folk’ collections preserved as part of the Heian period court music repertoire. The collection preserves 61 songs in its two earliest extant manuscripts, Nabeshimake-bon 鍋島家本 and Tenji-bon 天治本 (12 c.). As a fuzoku collection, Saibara is frequently attributed to regionality and peripheral provinces outside the capital, especially Azuma 東 (eastern provinces). The geographic distribution of the songs reconstructed from regions and place names mentioned throughout the collection are huddled in and around the capital Heiankyō 平安京, with the largest number of songs referring to locations in the Kinai 總内 and Tōkaidō 東海道 and Tōsandō 東山道 regions to the northeast. Speculation based on such historical evidence is both quantitatively and qualitatively limited. In a departure from traditional studies on the collection, using linguistic analysis, this study looks at Saibara in order to shed light on the origins and historical context of the songs--through the language recorded in the text. The primary goal of this study is to give a descriptive analysis of the language of the Saibara songs.

There are several imperatives that drive the research undertaken here. To begin, Saibara is a drastically understudied text in Western literary and linguistic scholarship. This is despite the collection’s potential merits as an early heterogeneous collection of Heian period literature with ties to texts and historical records from as early as the ninth century. The mysterious provenance of the songs has tantalized early and modern Japanese scholars, but conjecture has yet to give way to substantial theories regarding their origins and historical context. There has been something of a renaissance in serious philological work on Saibara recently, with new studies coming out of Japan that engage
the collection as a pre-modern literary work, as opposed to collection of music lyrics (gagaku) (e.g. Fujiwara 2011, Motozuka Wataru 2012). This thesis systematically looks at the writing and language of the text and, based on comparative textual evidence, asserts that the songs recorded in Saibara likely predate the oldest extant manuscripts by at least a century—and further that there is strong evidence for an established transcription system for recording these and other songs from at least the mid-late Nara period.

This study’s analysis is centralized around the orthography, phonology, and morphology of the text in order to illuminate the language that underlies it. In doing this, a rough dating of the (language of the) text, a better understanding of its origins, as well as the transitional linguistic period of the mid-tenth and eleventh centuries can establish a basis for setting the work within a historical context on its own merits. Thus, this thesis can be divided into two sections: the first section gives a description of the history of the collection, including perspectives on the historical context and provenance of the songs (sections 1.1 - 1.3, chapter 3, 5, and 7). In this part I will also be looking at extant manuscripts and recensions, as well as giving an overview of previous scholarship. Chapter six is a comparative study of Saibara and the Man’yōshū, as well as intertextuality between the Kokinshū and Nihon shoki. Chapter eight looks at distinct features of the songs, specifically hayashi kotoba. The second section is a graphemic study of the writing and description of phonology and grammar of the text. In large part, this analysis is done vis-à-vis Old Japanese and Middle Japanese, which I have used as an anchor for my analysis.
This study uses primarily the four oldest extant manuscripts, *Nabeshimake-bon, Tenji-bon, Jinchi yōroku* 仁智要録 and *Sango yōroku* 三五要録, with special attention to those written in *man’yōgana* (*Nabeshimake-bon, Tenji-bon*). Several other manuscripts and early studies are also used as supplementary texts and contrast is provided when relevant. When available, original manuscript facsimiles were used and typescript copies were consulted.
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GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

- Morpheme boundary
. morpheme boundary of portmanteau morphs
C Consonant
V Vowel
* Reconstructed / unattested form
// Phoneme
C Consonant
V Vowel
Ø Zero morph
> Went to…
< … is derived from
<> indicates a character (by reading)
[ ] In glossing, indicates lost phonetic elements in the given form
[ ] In prose, indicates phonetic transcription
lit. Literal meaning / translation
( ) In translation, indicates secondary translation / information not overtly expressed

in translation

TRANSLATION CONVENTIONS

[ ] Not overtly expressed in the original text
lit. Literal meaning / translation
( ) In translation, indicates secondary translation / information not overtly expressed

in translation

A Note On Transcription Conventions

Because this thesis will be dealing with several varieties of the Japanese language, I will be using two separate transcription conventions. Transcriptions of Old Japanese will be done in the style of Vovin (2005), using “N” to indicate prenasalized voiced consonants, i.e., yaNtō [ya^n do] MdJ yado ‘dwelling.’ This convention will hold for in-text transcriptions of Old Japanese and poem transliterations. However, in the comparative chart of Old Japanese and Saibara man’yōgana (table 54), “d,” “g,” “b,” etc. will be used. Middle Japanese and all Saibara forms will be transcribed without the “N” convention, i.e. yado ‘dwelling.’
ABBREVIATIONS

Texts
GM  Genji monogatari
KJK  Kojiki
KKS  Kokin wakashū
KaKS  Kakaishō
MSD  Masuda-bon
MYS  Man'yōshū
NKB  Nabeshimake-bon
NKBT  Nihon koten bungaku taikei
NSK  Nihon shoki
JCYR  Jinchi yōroku
RJGS  Ryōjin guanshō
RJHS  Ryōjin hishō
SGYR  Sango yōroku
TB  Tenji-bon

Grammatical terms
ABL  Ablative case
ACC  Accusative case
ADJ  Adjective
ATTR  Attributive
BEN  Benefactive
CONC  Concessive gerund
COND  Conditional gerund
CONJ  Conjunctive
DAT  Dative case
DEB  Debitive mood
DES  Desiderative
DIM  Diminutive
DIR  Directive case
DV  Defective verb
EMPH  Emphatic particle
EV  Evidential
FIN  Final
FOC  Focus particle
GEN  Genitive case
HON  Honorific
HUM  Humble
IMP  Imperative
INF  Infinitive particle
INT  Intensifier
LOC  Locative particle
NEG  Negative
NML  Nominalizer
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NML</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF/PROG</td>
<td>Perfective/Progressive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUR</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive case</td>
</tr>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>Potential</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREF</td>
<td>Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>Question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RETR</td>
<td>Retrospective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESTR</td>
<td>Restrictive particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>Subordinative gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>Suppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
<td>Tentative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT2</td>
<td>Second tentative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topic particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERM</td>
<td>Terminative case</td>
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**Languages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHN</td>
<td>Modern (Mandarin) Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMC</td>
<td>Early Middle Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMJ</td>
<td>Early Middle Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EOJ</td>
<td>Eastern Old Japanese (8 c. Azuma regional dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMJ</td>
<td>Late Middle Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMC</td>
<td>Late Middle Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Middle Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJ</td>
<td>Middle Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MdJ.</td>
<td>Modern Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>Middle Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OJ</td>
<td>Old Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOJ</td>
<td>Western Old Japanese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Saibara

Saibara 催馬楽 is a genre of accompanied vocal court music from the Heian period. Saibara identifies a corpus of sixty-one songs that were preserved in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. These songs were likely part of a much larger repertoire that was performed in accompaniment with music and dance in the Heian court. Saibara was formalized as a genre of gagaku 雅楽 during the Engi period (901 – 923), but its first mention in text goes back to the Sandai jitsuroku 三代実録, ‘Veritable Records of Three Reigns of Japan’ (901 CE), where it is written that a lady-in-waiting who had risen to the rank of Naishi-no-kami 尚侍, or Fourth Rank court official, Hiroi no joō 広井女王 was proficient at and instructed in the art of Saibara song and dance. This particular entry was dated the tenth month, twenty-third day of Jōgan 1 (859 CE), and was written on the occasion of Hiroi no joō’s passing, where it states that she had surpassed eighty years of age.

As part of a performance tradition, Saibara songs were already being enjoyed by the court aristocracy since at least the ninth century. Outside of Sandai jitsuroku, the practice of Saibara in the court is well documented in the Gyōyūshō 御遊抄 ‘Collection of Court Amusement,’ a diverse collection of diary entries, court records, and imperial histories spanning the course of the tenth century. Gyōyūshō was completed in 1485 and

1 Gagaku 雅楽 (lit. ‘elegant music), or imperial court music and dance which was performed in the Heian courts. Gagaku was originally introduced from China and the Korean peninsula starting from the fifth century. It consists of three basic types, (1) kuniburi no utamai 国風歌舞, Japanese native folk song and dance and Shinto ritual music, (2) komagaku 高麗楽, musical forms introduced from the Korean Three Kingdoms, and (3) tōgaku 唐楽, “Tang Dynasty music.”
documents *Saibara* through excerpts starting from as early as 906 to 1200 CE. There are more than 70 entries documenting *Saibara* in total, offering a glimpse into its popularity in the early Heian period court. The songs are further documented in the *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (1021) and *Saibara ryakufu* 催馬楽略譜 (1738), where it describes the variegated occasions and environments at which *Saibara* was performed.

Songs from the repertoire were sung with musical accompaniment at various events through all four seasons and were especially prevalent at *kōen* 公宴, or court banquets. The song lyrics were not fixed and are described as being flexible, with ample room for spontaneous alterations without strict rules or guidelines for performance (Fujiwara 2011, pp. 20, 21). Lyrics and phrases would often be altered spontaneously and many times deliberately, in order to adjust the content to a particular event that was taking place, i.e. adjusting the lyrics to fit appropriate seasonal metaphors or physical locales, etc. (Harich-Schneider 1952: 403; Fujiwara 2011: 28). Studies on the songs have commented on their deep *min'yō* 民謡 ‘folk’ roots, reflected in both their lyrical content and composition (Konishi 1957; Shinma 1964; Ikeda 1975; Usuda 2000; Fujiwara 2011).

The song contents include love ballads, work songs pertaining to harvesting, planting, and sewing garments, as well as dialogue pieces reflecting a very strong traditional *min'yō* base. Many of the songs also have a decidedly suggestive and sometimes overtly salacious quality provoking some scholars to hypothesize that they are relics from the early *utagaki* 歌垣 tradition, a sexualized harvest ritual celebration where poetic exchange led to orgies.

---

*utagaki* 歌垣 is traditionally interpreted as 歌 ‘song’ and 垣 *gaki* ‘fence,’ meaning ‘fence of songs.’
Based in part on these min'yō qualities, as well as ballads within the Saibara corpus that have resemblances to songs in the Nara period text Man'yōshū 万葉集 (ca. 759) and Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集 (ca. 920), it is generally viewed that Saibara represents traditional folk songs that were passed down orally by commoners, primarily in provinces removed from the capital (Shida 1906; Konishi 1957; Tachibana 1967; Tsuchihashi 1978; Usuda 2000). This is certainly a possibility, especially considering the presence of notably strange phonological correspondences and clearly Eastern Old Japanese features present in some of the songs. But it is unlikely for all or even the majority of songs that do not maintain such a pattern, and in some cases have duplicate poems found in Man'yōshū written in Western Old Japanese. Accordingly, of several genres of accompanied vocal court music that date back to the Heian period, Kagura uta 神楽歌, Azuma asobi uta 東遊歌, and Fūzoku uta 風俗歌, Saibara is generally believed to be the most archaic (Usuda 2000; Konishi 1957). These songs are often suspected of coming from the eastern, Azuma 東, provinces because of songs in the corpus like Adumaya ‘Eastern Hut,’ but these speculations have not given way to substantial evidence in previous studies.

The current Saibara corpus is divided into two sets of songs, ritsu 律 and ro 韵. Ritsu and ro represent high and low pentatonic scales in classical Chinese music (Harich-Schneider 1952: 6). The songs categorized as either ritsu or ro vary depending on the manuscript, but for the most part, the divisions themselves remain. The inclusion of Saibara into the gagaku repertoire at the outset of the tenth century was subsequent to it actively being practiced in the court.
1.2. The Origins Of The Term Saibara

There are several theories on the origins of the term Saibara. Below I will outline the most frequently cited:

(1) According to the Ryōjin guanshō (RJGS), the term Saibara, written with the characters sai 催 ‘to urge forth,’ ba 马 ‘horse,’ and raku 楽 ‘music’ are employed literally to describe the songs that were used to urge forth horses by individuals when bringing tribute to the imperial court. The songs were adored by the courtiers, who adopted them and gave the name Saibara ‘horse urging songs.’

The first attestation in the mid-ninth century is in the Sandai jitsuroku, a text that is written in literary Chinese, as was the standard for imperial histories and official documents in the ninth century. Of the characters, sai 催, mē ~ ma 马, and raku ~ gaku 楽, only the character 催 (sai) is unattested as a man’yōgana phonogram at this time. The first time Saibara 催馬楽 appears is in the tenth century dictionary Wamyōshō 和名抄 (ca. 934) where it is identified as sōjōkyoku 双調曲 ‘pair harmony melody’, or songs in the sixth chromatic scale. The likelihood of this character being used as a phonogram is slim because 催, modern Chinese chuī has the kan-on 漢音 reading sai and go-on 咲音 se, and in this period it does not appear as a phonetic graph in morphemes with those readings. The absence of 催 (sai ~ se) as a phonogram notwithstanding, Old Japanese phonotactics did not allow single morpheme vowel clusters, thus the segment */ai/ would have to be a later result of medial -k- lenition. However, there is no evidence for velar (/k/) lenition before high back vowels before the mid-ninth century. So <sai> Middle Chinese (MC) tshwoj < Old Chinese shwaj would be an exceedingly strange phonogram
considering Old Japanese phonotactics and phonographic writing proclivities. Hence, if this character were being employed phonetically, it would probably be as either se or sa. Ma 马, MC mæX, OC *mraʔ, was used as a phonogram for i (kungana 訓仮名) and ma and mê (ongana 音仮名). Ba is the kan’on reading which was rendered as a result of Late Middle Chinese (LMC) initial nasals became prenasalized voiced stops (/b/ [ʰb]). Allophonic variation of the bilabial nasal /m/ and voiced bilabial stop /b/, a frequent phenomenon which became increasingly common after the Nara period. So the reading would probably be ma or me, at least in the Sandai jitsuroku.

Because of the early attestation of Saibara and the context of the texts in which it is found, I think it is unlikely that Saibara is derived from a phonographic set. A more likely possibility is that the characters were being used as semantograms to describe the type of songs they were. Therefore, I take the explanation given in Ryōjin guanshō as one of the more likely scenarios. Below, I will give an overview of the most popularly cited theories.

(1) According to the Taigenshō (体源抄), the name Saibara was adapted from the first poem in the series, A ga koma ‘my horse,’ which begins with ide a ga koma payaku yukikose ‘set out my stallion, go quickly across.’ The name Saibara is an analogical title developed from the initial two lines of the poem where the person is urging on their horse to go quickly.

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3 For more on kungana and ongana see orthography section.
(2) According to *Wakun no shiori* 和訓栞, the term was developed from a song that was sung when pulling the *shinma* 神馬 ‘sacred horse’ on the occasion of *Daijōsaizai* 大嘗祭.  

(3) In *Kawayashiro* 河社, Keichū writes, during ritual celebrations, when offering the sacred horse, *shinma*, *Saibara* were the songs that were sung to urge the deities to ride the horse and manifest in human form.  

(4) *Kokugaku* scholar Hashimoto Tsuneakira (1755-1805) wrote that the Heian period *Saibara* collection were songs that were added to an already existing *tōgaku* repertoire called “*Saibara,”* which is no longer extant. Newly adopted songs (which constitute the current collection we are dealing with here) were sung to the already existing *tōgaku* “*Saibara” melodies and thus took the name “*Saibara.””  

(5) The *Nihon kogo daijiten* 日本古語大辞典 ‘Dictionary of Classical Japanese’ defines *Saibara* as a derivation from *Sarumera* analogically. According to this explanation, *Sarume* 猿女 derived the variant *Saiba* to which -ra meaning ‘music’ was added. *Sarume* is used in *Kagura* and is performed in ceremonial *Shintō* rituals.  

(6) Fujitani Mitsue (1768-1824), in *Hokuhen zuihitsu* 北辺随筆, speculated that *Saibara* was adapted from *sakipari* in the *Kagura* song, *sakipar-i-ni koromo pa some-m-

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4 Wakun no shiori was a mid-Edo period colloquial dictionary edited by Tanikawa Kotosuga (1709-76).  
5 *Daijōsaizai* was the initial ritual celebration *Niiname matsuri* 新嘗祭 held after the emperor’s enthronement. The newly enthroned emperor presents religiously purified grains from various provinces as an offering to the deities. According to the lunar calendar it was usually held in the eleventh month on the day of the rabbit (fourth cyclical sign in the Chinese zodiac).  
6 *Kawayashiro* 河社 is part of the miscellaneous writings of Keichū (1640-1701), a prolific Buddhist priest and Kokugo scholar.  
7 The above two examples (3, 4) are probably referring to the same event and/or circumstances, however they appear in different texts.  
8 From *Kissōjigo* 橋窓自語
u. Originally saki pari, the Kagura song set Saibari has the same origin and at one point they were all part of the same repertoire (Usuda 2000: 164-66)

The most realistic theories are probably (1) and (5). The likelihood of Saibara being a phonetic spelling of sakibari is slim to none and the fact that it is found in ninth century materials confirms the likelihood of Saibara being a semantographic representation of the song collection, as Ryōjin guanshō posits. Whether this origin is accurate and to what degree it is accurate is unclear, but it is almost certainly a cluster of semantographs with an exact unknown reading. Now the etymology of Saibara is clearly meant to be read as something having to do with urging on horses, which is probably an analogy for people from outlying prefectures bringing tribute to the capital.

1.3. Hiroi-no-Jōō and The Saibara Collection

While very little is known about Hiroi-no-Jōō, it is likely that she came from a family with a tradition of some performative and / or poetic achievement in the Nara period. In the Sandai jitsuroku it states that Hiroi is the descendant of Nihin-no-naga shinnō (二品長親皇) ‘Prince Nagashin of the Second Princely rank. This is likely Naga-no-miko ‘Prince Naga’ (ca. 715) who was the fourth son of Tenmu Tennō (631-686). Poems authored by Naga-no-Miko can be found in Man’yōshū volume I and III (Ise to Tsukushi no tabi) (MYS 1.60, 1.65, 1.73, 2.130). Additionally, Nagata-no-Miko’s father, Kurusu Ō (来栖王) ‘Lord Kurusu’ (681-758) was charged with the duty of heading the bureau of court gagaku in 733. Concurrently he organized an utagaki 歌垣 at the suzakumon 朱雀門 ‘vermillion bird gate’ at Heijō kyō (Nara). In the Shoku nihongi 绍日本紀, in the

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9 This is not an uncontroversially late date for utagaki, a practice thought to have already been abandoned by the Nara period.
second month, first day of the thirtieth year of the sexagenary cycle, Tenpyō six (734), it states:

At the Suzakumon gates, before the imperial palace of the emperor, an utagaki with more than 200 men and women in attendance was viewed. Among them were talented individuals of special distinction. Nagata Ō Seishi (Nagata-no-Miko) ‘Lord Nagata of the lower fourth rank’ Lord Nagata, Kurusu Ō Jushi ‘Lord Kurusu of the fourth rank,’ Kadobe-no-Ōkami ‘Prince Kadobe’ (ca. 745), Nonaka Ō Jugo ‘Lord Nonaka of the fifth rank’ (ca. 745), and others were the event leaders. By way of [everyone] singing in chorus, they performed the songs *Nanipa* (難波) ‘Niniwa (place name)’, *Yamatōbê* (倭部) ‘Yamato section (place name),’ *Asadi para* (浅茅原) ‘field of sparse cogon grasses’, *Pirōse* (広瀬), and *Ya mo sasî*? (八裳刺) 10 ‘stitching eight skirts.’

二月癸巳朔。天皇御朱雀門、覽歌垣。男女二百余人。五品已上有風流者、皆交雑其中。正四位下長田王。従四位下栗栖王。門部王。従五位下野中王等為頭。以本末唱和。為難波曲。倭部曲。浅茅原曲。広瀬曲。八裳刺曲之音。令都中士女縦観。極歓而罷。賜奉歌垣男女等禄有差。

Kurusu’s son, Ōhara Ō (ca. 742), who is also found in the Man’yōshū (17.3952), would have been Hiroi’s paternal uncle and elder. Furthermore, the similarities between the songs performed at the above mentioned utagaki and the Saibara songs *Asamudu* 浅水 ‘shallow water’, *Asamidori* 浅緑 ‘pale green’, and *Nanba no umi* 難波海 ‘sea of Nanba’ cannot be ignored. What is clear is that Hiroi and her family had deep ties with practitioners and offices dealing with Nara period gagaku, and Saibara in particular. This, in turn, allows for further speculation into the broader relationship between Saibara, the court, and perhaps even the ancient tradition of utagaki. Hence, Saibara as a variety of

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10 It is interesting to note that most of the song names here correspond with place names as well; *Nanipa* > Naniwa corresponding to modern day Osaka, *Yamatōbė*, which may be referring to *Yamato-no kuni* or *Yamatōbė*, *bê* 部 here being the marker for a hereditary occupational group during the Yamato period. *Asadi para* is more ambiguous because of its use in poetry as *makura kotoba*, but here it could easily refer to a specific but unknown location. *Pirōse*, probably refers to *Pirōse-no köpori* 広瀬郡 in *Yamato-no kuni*, modern day Nara prefecture.
court music can be reliably traced back to at least the late Nara period, but likely stretches back much further.

1.4. **Saibara And Fūzoku**

*Saibara* is considered to be closely related to the *Fūzoku uta* 風俗歌 song genre.

Commentaries and studies on *Saibara* frequently include *Fūzoku uta* as well. *Gyōyūshō* and *Ryōjin guanshō* also include both the *Saibara* collection and *Fūzoku uta* collection as well. Many of the songs can be seen to fall well into the *fūzoku uta* category but there are many songs that defy this one-dimensional classification. Among the songs *Saibara* shares in whole or in part with the *Man’yōshū* and *Kokinshū*, it is unknown whether they were borrowed from or into these earlier anthologies. Regardless, the result is a panoramic spectrum of literary and folk aesthetics built into the fabric of the collection.

In fact, one of the most identifiable attributes of the *Saibara* collection is its dedication to variety. This overarching heterogeneity is a central feature of the collection, which is not isolated to the song content itself. This variety extends to the very language reflected in the songs, as well as orthographic choices made by the author[s] / manuscript copyists. Linguistically, the songs reflect a language that seems to straddle at least two major historical language stages, Old Japanese and Middle Japanese\(^\text{11}\), and incorporate traditional *chōka* 長歌 and *tanka* 短歌 forms as well as non-traditional / irregular poetic meter.

Even establishing *Saibara* as a form of *fūzoku uta* from outlying provincial areas is problematic. As Fujiwara (2011: 47) notes in his study, although there is correspondence

\(^{11}\) Middle Japanese here is referring more specifically to morphophonological phenomena and lexical items not known to have occurred in the same period.
with the provinces referred to in the *Gakushō ruigoshō: Fūzoku uta* 楽章類語抄・風俗歌 ‘Reference Dictionary of Musical Selections: Folk Songs’ and *Shōtoku-bon koyōshū: fūzoku uta shūi* 承徳本古謡集・風俗歌拾遺 ‘Archaic Songs from the Shōtoku Era:

Gleanings of Folk Songs,’ many of the songs reference the capital and therefore cannot be limited to these outlying provinces exclusively. Looking at the songs from a purely (as much as possible) linguistic standpoint there is no evidence that the songs recorded stem from eastern (Azuma) dialects. In fact all of the songs conform to the linguistic principals of Western Old and Middle Japanese standards. This is not difficult to discern because the text is written almost entirely in the phonetic man'yōgana script.

An excerpt from the *Gyōyūshō* confirms the casual unaccompanied singing of *Saibara* songs: “[W]ithout musical accompaniment at this banquet, the ministers present performed various arts. *Saibara* was among these. A song was chanted together in the house. It is said [the songs] are of an unorthodox nature” (cited in Fujiwara 2011: 41). This excerpt seeks to classify *Saibara* as a ‘folk art,’ maintaining its distinctiveness from the other anthologies. In form and content it is closely related to the *Kagura uta, Azuma asobi uta*, and *Fūzoku uta* collections which are sometimes referred to together as the *shiyō or si no utai* 四謡 ‘four [popular] ballads’ (Konishi 1957: 266). Songs from all four collections were used to different degrees in *gagaku* musical repertoires and the majority of extant manuscripts were transcribed within the Bureau of Court Music (*gagaku ryō* 雅楽寮) (Fujiwara 2011: 115-23). Another related collection, *Imayō* (今栄) ‘songs in the modern style’ are often taken to be the later counterpart to the above collections, which are both assembled in the late Heian period poetic collection *Ryōjin hishō* (稲塵秘抄), which includes *Imayō, Saibara, Kagura, and Fūzoku*. 
1.5. Min’yō And The Saibara Songs

Saibara can be viewed as having gone through two distinct life cycles: (1) Saibara the court song repertoire and (2) Saibara the fūzoku song collection. Of these, the literature can only attest to the former, albeit with wide and pervasive speculation regarding the first. Konishi draws a parallel between Saibara and min’yō 民謡 via its relationship to gagaku vis-à-vis court records and its ultimate transmission and preservation documented therein (Konishi 1957: 167). The term min’yō is itself a calque derived from German volkslied, meaning ‘folk song.’ This is an interesting parallel considering the character of the songs as described in the literature. Even under the classification of “gagaku,”
Saibara is documented primarily at casual court venues. The following excerpt from the Gyōyūshō exemplifies this position:

On the occasion of the imperial visitation to Tōhokuin. Record of Minister Sukefusa. At the residence of the Imperial Consort. There was no musical performance, however the adjutant minister who was in attendance at the banquet initiated the singing of miscellaneous songs. A certain Saibara [song], a certain miscellaneous song, and, again, a certain Kusha\(^{12}\) hymn, which were said to be quite unorthodox.

\(\text{幸東北院資房記。女院御在所。無奏音楽。但於饗座丞相及戶部発雜芸事。}
\text{或催馬楽。或雉哥。或又俱舍頌。奇怪云々。}
\)
\((\text{Gyōyūshō, Chōkin gyōkō, Eishō 6})\) (cited in Fujiwara 2011: 44)

This excerpt dated 1086 clearly describes the unfixed and informal nature of the songs in practice. Min’yō 民謡 ‘people’s songs’ is commonly interpreted as ‘folk ‘music. Still,
The definition of folk music can be an elusive one. Ronald Cohen defines folk music

\(^{12}\) Kusha (俱舎) (Sanskrit Kośa) is probably referring to Kushashū (俱舎宗), a sect of Hinayana Buddhism brought to Japan some time in the Nara period from India via a continental intermediary. The sign 頌 jō can refer to a gatha or hymn (also those found in the shijing (Jp. shikyō 詩経 “Classic of Poetry”)
simply as a musical tradition with unknown origins (Cohen 2006: 57). Another definition given by the International Folk Music Council is based on an evolutionary process of oral transmission (Latham 2002: 107). Other definitions define folk music as any musical tradition associated with the underclass, culturally and linguistically regional in nature (as opposed to central or standard), and being passed through oral tradition. Within the study of folklore, the folk process is the operation by which songs are adapted, re-interpreted, and altered over time in order to better suit changing environments. In consideration of this process, when looking at *Saibara* it is necessary to view it in the perspective of an adapted and probably considerably altered song collection. While it is likely the original melodies were lost early into its induction into the *gagaku* repertoire, the songs certainly had considerable dialectal and melodic variation (Tachibana 1967: 85; Fujiwara 2011: 78). Each song chosen was inevitably representative of whatever region they hailed from—as is the case in the folk process, lyrics were altered and adapted to fit the court environment and the events where the songs were sung. Even if the songs originated in the Nara period, it is not likely they would have maintained their original content. This opinion, however, is disputed by Tachibana who asserts that the songs were not altered from their original state as regional folk ballads (Tachibana 1967: 102). As is the case with modern folk songs, lyrics are subject to fluid and unpredictable change and unknown or outdated lyrics with forgotten meanings are often thrown away leaving only the original melody.

The origins of *Saibara* are not clearly known, but a *terminus ante quem* in the Nara period seems to contradict the language displayed in the corpus, which for the most part reflects typical Heian period morphophonology. Therefore, it is likely *Saibara* underwent
a similar process of adaptation and re-interpretation as described above. Nevertheless, a closer look at the songs reveals grammatical features that could reflect an underlying strata of older Japanese.
CHAPTER 2. PRIMARY SOURCES

There are several major sources that go back to the late Heian period. The two oldest extant manuscripts are Nabeshimake-bon and Tenji-bon. Because Saibara was primarily a musical form and not literature or poetry per se, sources vary in their transcriptions. For instance, the two most readily used sources, Nabeshimake-bon and Tenji-bon are both written in man’yōgana, even though they are both late Heian period manuscripts. There is no direct evidence that they are copies of older manuscripts, however there is wide speculation that they are at least following an archaic manuscript tradition which predates their inscription.

2.1. Nabeshimake-Bon

Nabeshimake-bon (NKB) is a late Heian period manuscript that contains the musical notation for the Minamoto family (Genke family). However, its authenticity as a Genke manuscript is sometimes questioned due to a lack of evidence to support the claim (Usuda 2000: 115; Fujiwara 2011: 53). NKB does not contain a preface or colophone of any kind. Its identification as a Genke tradition manuscript is based on a signature by Prince Munetaka, Munetaka Shin’nō (1243-1274) at the end of the scroll, but so far there is no evidence to support its authenticity (Usuda 2000: 116).

The manuscript is written in primarily phonographic man’yōgana script with some use of logographic characters, i.e. Sinographic characters used for their on’yomi (Sinitic reading). Although these logographic characters are very few and usually used directly to transcribe Chinese loanwords such as dairyau 大領 ‘district chief’ (1.13). The songs are divided by modal groups ritsu and ro. Ro precedes ritsu in the manuscript. There are
twenty-four songs in *ritsu* and thirty-two full songs in *ro* with a total of fifty-six songs recorded, the largest number collected in any one of the extant manuscripts. (Markham 1983: 17).

NKB was found in the holdings of Nabeshima Naoyasu 鍋島直泰 (1907 - 1981). Naoyasu was the eldest son in the thirteenth generation of the Nagaoka Tsunehide branch of the Nabeshima family. The Nabeshima line descends from feudal lords of Saga gun, Hizen-no-kuni, modern day Saga prefecture.

The origins of the Nabeshima clan name remains somewhat unclear but it is known that the Nabeshima line originated from members of the *Genji* imperial family line.\(^\text{13}\) The *Genji* name descended from Emperor *Uda* ’宇田天皇, cf. *Uda Genji* 宇多源氏.

Minamoto-no-masunobu 源雅信 (920 - 993) was the third son of prince Atsumi (*Atsumi shin’nō* 敦実親王) (893 - 967), who was the eighth ordinal prince of Emperor Uda.

Sasaki Tsunekata 佐々木経方 (ca.12 c.) was the oldest son of Sasaki-no-noritsune 佐々木 義経 (1000 - 1058). Naritsune was the son of Minamoto-no Nariyori 源成頼 (976 - 1003), a Heian period noble who was also known by the name Sasaki-no-nariyori.

In modern studies of *Saibara*, NKB has been the most widely used manuscript as the basis for transcription and study of the songs. Usuda (2000) (*Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本文学全集) and Konishi’s (1957) analysis (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系) *Saibara* commentaries are both based on NKB. NKB contains 59 titles, 23 in *ritsu* and 36 in *ro*, recorded in the table of contents. However only 56 songs appear in the body. There are inconsistencies between the table of contents

\(^{13}\) The *Genji* family name can refer to several family lineages all beginning with emperor *Uda genji*. The majority of Uda Genji’s descendants took the Genji name and became members of the imperial family.
and body of the text with regard to the number of songs included. There are three songs that appear in the table of contents but not in the body of the manuscripts (2.6, 2.16, 2.17). Additionally, among the songs recorded, two songs (2.5, 2.7) have missing lines that are recovered in other manuscripts.

2.2. Tenji-Bon

Tenji-bon 天治本 (TB) is the Fujiwara 藤原 counterpart to Nabeshimake-bon, recording the Tōke 藤家 gagaku repertoire. A colophon at the end of the manuscript gives the date 1125 and attributes the text to Fujiwara-no-Yorimune 藤原頼宗. TB seems to serve a purpose slightly different from NKB. There are several songs missing from the text and it is thought to have been a collection specifically for songs that were being sung at the time it was written, excluding unpopular songs or songs that were waning in popularity (Fujiwara 2011: 44-46). TB records sixteen songs in ritsu and twenty-five in ro with a total of forty-one songs. Compare this with NKB’s fifty-six. A colophon to the manuscript gives a list of thirteen songs which “have ceased [to be performed] for as long

14 The names mentioned in the colophon are Horikawa udaijin 堀河右大臣 ‘Minister of the Right Horikawa,’ Ōmiya udaijin-dono 太宮右大臣殿 ‘Lord Minister of the Right Ōmiya, Azechi Dainagon 按察使大納言 ‘Senior counselor [and] inspector general,’ and Fuji dainagon 藤大納言 ‘Senior counselor Fuji.’ Fuji dainagon is recorded in the Tōke reception history (third generation) As Fujiwara Yorimune 藤原頼宗 Usuda, J. (2000). Kagura Saibara Ryōjinhishō Kanginshū, Kogakukan. Yorimune also wrote under the pen-name Horikawa udaijin 堀河右大臣, as appears in the colophon.

Yorimune was known for his poetic prowess and his poetry appears in Goshūiwa-kashū 後拾遺和歌集 (1086) (41 poems). He was further compared with Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 and Taira no Kanemori 平兼盛 where his poems are criticized for being suitable to commoner [aesthetics] in Yakumo mishō 八雲御抄 (13 c.).
as ten years” and were accordingly “not transmitted [in the Tōke] tradition.” 15 There is also a notation next to some song titles that appear in the table of contents but where the lyrics are absent from the text. It states: “The songs are not powerful contemporary songs and therefore their lyrics are not commented on [here]” 16 The term kyōfuka 強不歌 used is strange but the meaning is clear and it is generally interpreted to mean that the songs mentioned were either no longer sung or were no longer popular (Konishi 1957: 97; Usuda 2000: 117; Fujiwara 2011: 76). There are a total of seven such songs that are missing from the body of the text. 17 It is worth noting that all the missing songs in TB contain a notation, dōon 同音, stating that they are sung or played to the same melody as the preceding song (Markham 1983: 22). Based on a comparison with titles found in Genji monogatari and Gyōyūshō, the songs commented on in TB as “not vigorous/compelling” are not found in these sources. Based on this evidence Fujiwara asserts that the songs excluded from TJB were in fact going out of vogue at the time it was compiled (Fujiwara 2011: 19). This might very well be the case, although one point not commented on is that the excluded songs are those that contain some of the most explicit and suggestive lyrics in the collection. Further research will reveal whether there are additional correlations in this area, but I suspect that the text was probably distancing


16 The original language is as follows: 當代強不歌仍不注其詞也 “Presently, [these] songs are not compelling and therefore [we] do not note those lyrics here.”

17
itself from a more archaic tradition of songs that no longer fit their initial context(s) (i.e. the loss of utagaki traditions).

TB represents the Tōke tradition and NKB the Genke--two contemporary texts that theoretically coexisted within the court. It would thus stand to reason that each tradition would seek to create a distinctive collection in order to establish each manuscript’s independence. This is not overtly attempted, instead both manuscripts include the same songs either in the body, or at least in the table of contents. On a musical composition level there are more distinctions between the manner in which the songs were performed than can be seen when viewed for their lyrical content only, but melodic consistency between the two manuscripts is largely maintained. Markham (1983) suggested that both texts were used as singing aids for individuals involved in performing the songs (Markham 1983: 17).

2.3. **Sango Yōroku And Jinchi Yōroku**

*Sango yōroku* 三五要録 (SGYR) along with *Jinchi yōroku* 仁智要録 (JCYR) are the only manuscripts written with melodic notation for the *Saibara* songs. Both manuscripts include song scores for the *gaku biwa* 楽琵琶 ‘lute’ and *gaku sō* 楽箏 ‘zither.’ SGYR and JCYR were compiled by Fujiwara no Moronaga 藤原師長 (1138-1192) at the end of the twelfth century. The songs are grouped by *ritsu* and *ro* modes. They are further divided into upper (*jō* 上) and lower (*ge* 下) scrolls. Both manuscripts constitute four scrolls with *ritsu* and *ro*. The table of contents mirror each other and although they have the same author, JCYR includes Moronaga’s Buddhist name Myōonnin 妙音院 (Markham 1983: 7). SGYR lists 57 songs and provides notations for 55 (21 *ritsu*; 34 *ro*). JCYR contains 54 songs, 21 in *ritsu* and 33 in *ro*. The ordering of songs in both manuscripts is the same and the arrangement of *ro* followed by *ritsu* matches NKB.

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18 The oldest extant copy is dated 1328, giving the date of the original manuscript as 1208 Markham, E. J. (1983). *Saibara : Japanese court songs of the Heian period*, Cambridge University Press.
JCYR and SGYR transcribe all lyrics in *katakana* script and include detailed notations for playing the song scores. These manuscripts are useful insomuch as they provide alternative variants for the lyrics and provide relevant contrast to the other texts in order to create a more cohesive picture of the lyrical variations that were occurring. SGYR and JCYR may represent more contemporary lyrics than NKB or TB, which are likely to be copies of older traced copies. Furthermore, SGYR and JCYR were both clearly composed as descriptions of musical tablature including musical tuning instructions, performance-techniques, and modal preludes (Markham 1983: 7-9).

2.4. **On The Primary Sources**

*Nabeshimake-bon* and *Tenji-bon* stand in contrast to *Jinchi yōroku* and *Sango yōroku*, which constitute the earliest extant *Saibara* manuscripts. *Jinchi yōroku* and *Sango yōroku* came slightly later than *Nabeshimake-bon* and *Tenji-bon* at the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respectively. In many ways they are later counterparts to the earlier manuscripts, staying true to the original inscriptions, albeit with more consistency following *Nabeshimake-bon*. They differ from the original manuscripts in that they transcribe the lyrics into *katakana* and dispense with the original small script musical notations, and small *scriptio plena* vowel length indications. The lyrics are considerably stripped down, while the details of melodic notation and direction for musical accompaniment were augmented. It is possible that the two manuscript couples, NKB and TB and JCYR and SGYR served different purposes, i.e. the former for singing (as suggested by Markham 1983 above) and the latter manuscripts for the music. However,
the simplicity of that conclusion does not account for the glaring discrepancies that do exist.

The dates for NKB as a late Heian period manuscript are unsettled because there is in fact no clear date found written anywhere on the manuscript itself. Other methods of dating the material would be to look at signatures authors. However, if one were to date the manuscript based on the putative authorship of Prince Munetaka, it would have to had been written roughly between 1262 and his death in 1274. Nevertheless, despite the signature, the writing itself is not consistent with Munetaka’s known calligraphic style, as it can be found in the eleventh century writings attributed to him. Furthermore, recent research in radiocarbon dating revealed a *kohitsuji-re* ‘paper fragment’ attributed to Prince Munetaka to be an Edo period forgery (Hirotaka 2004: 374). There is no certainty with regards to the age of the *Nabeshima-bon* manuscript, but it is highly likely that it predates Prince Munetaka by at least 100 years. There are two reasonable scenarios as to the signature. (1) It is a genuine signature by Prince Munetaka’s hand. (2) Prince Munetaka’s signature was faked at some point after the manuscript was produced. (1) is the less likely scenario of the two, due to the lack of corroborating evidence and a reasonable explanation as to why he would sign the manuscript at all. What is curious here is the existence of a conjectural fraudulent signature. Prince Munetaka was a well-known calligrapher who penned several *uta-awase* 歌合 ‘poetry competition’ collections. It is uncertain what if any authority or legitimacy might be gained by Munetaka’s (fraudulent?) signature.
2.4.1. Supplementary sources

There are several songs in TB that do not have their lyrics recorded and where it states that the songs are no longer performed. It seems that many of the songs began to wane in popularity during the Engi (901-23) period and verifyably in the twelfth century (but probably much earlier) began to be supplanted by Imayō 今様 ‘modern songs’ and other more popular styles of court song. One source, although difficult to access, is a section of the Ryōjin guanshō 梁塵愚案抄 ‘Collection of beam dust folly,’ Kuden 口伝 ‘oral transmissions,’ which gives the names and (some) lyrics of several songs not otherwise attested.

2.4.1.1. Kakaishō

Kakaishō 河海抄 is an early Muromachi period (1336-1573) commentary on Genji monogatari by Yotsutsuji Yoshinari 四辻善成 (1326-1402). The full commentary consists of 20 volumes and covers the Saibara songs only incidentally by virtue of the inclusion of some of the songs into Genji monogatari. It encompassed a variety of descriptions pertaining to the composition and final product of Genji and comprised several schools of research on the novel. The significance of this work to the study of Saibara is in its transcription of the songs in Man’yōgana phonograms. Many other manuscripts copy the songs in hiragana or katakana, rendering a graphemic study basically impossible.19 Man’yōgana also gives the text a basis for comparison with other manuscripts written in this script. There are several manuscript traditions. This study

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19 In this regard, hiragana signs no longer reflected historical spelling conventions which allows ko/otsu vowel distinctions in the original (earlier) manuscripts to be visible in later copies—thus disallowing any analysis based on underlying phonology.
takes from the *Shimeishō* 紫明抄 (before 1294) of the traditional *Kawachigata* 河内方 school of Genji research 河内方の源氏学. This stands in contrast to the *Genji monogatari okuiri* 源氏物語奥入 (1233) commentary by Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家.

These two Genji commentaries are the oldest and most essential representatives of the major schools of early scholarship on Genji and related materials and they both offer an important contrast to other *man'yōgana* manuscripts.
CHAPTER 3. EARLY STUDIES AND RESEARCH ON THE SAIBARA SONGS

Ōtake Teiji’s 大竹貞治 (1935) work, Kagura Saibara tsūshaku 神楽催馬楽通釈

‘Commentary on Kagura and Saibara’ is not often mentioned in subsequent studies but it contains some of the most comprehensive early research on Saibara. In keeping with the other studies, Ōtake did a complete commentary on the songs, additionally including a section on the Genke and Tōke manuscript transmission history, a comparative study of the hayashikotoba 雒子詞 ‘orchestra words’, and an examination of the style and form of the songs. In his analysis of the song lyrics Ōtake follows Tachibana Moribe’s early nineteenth century study, Kagura Saibara Iriaya 神楽催馬楽入文 and uses several earlier studies on the songs including Ichijō Kanera’s fifteenth century commentary on the songs, Ryōjin guanshō. Perhaps the greatest fallacy in his work is the fact that he does not use any original manuscripts such as Tenji-bon or Nabeshimake-bon for his analysis and instead relies on secondary sources diminishing the work’s validity.

3.1. Ryōjin Guanshō

Ryōjin guanshō 楠塵愚案抄 is a fifteenth century annotated edition of the Saibara songs by Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良. It is the earliest extant commentary on the songs. The commentary consists of two scrolls, the upper jō 上 being Kagura uta and the lower ge 下 containing Saibara. It is written in a mixture of hiragana and kanji. It was almost certainly rewritten from its original man'yōgana and probably edited in the process.

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20 Hayashikotoba are usually defined as nonsensical euphonic words used in song for the purposes of keeping tempo and filling in gaps between the lyrics being sung and the accompanying music.
Kanera’s commentary and edition of the songs was used extensively in early studies on the songs and is commonly used to supplement other primary sources in modern studies (Tachibana 1841; Imai 1900; Ōtake 1935; Usuda 2000; Hirataka 2011).

3.1.1. Saibara Iriaya

Tachibana Moribe 橘守部 (1781-1849) conducted one of the oldest extant studies on the songs aside from Kanera’s Muromachi period commentary. Moribe comments extensively on the provenance, manuscripts and early studies, and quality of the Saibara songs. He does a complete analysis and interpretation of the song lyrics. Many of the song lyrics commented on in Saibara Iriaya have considerable deviation from the other known texts, but the breadth of his study does not allow for it’s perspective to be tossed out despite a lack of corroboration on the part of some lyrics.

Moribe uses a series of texts quoted throughout his study that extend beyond the commonly referenced materials in other early and recent studies, some of which are remarkably obscure, but many of which were probably preserved in Ryōjin guanshō (Fujiwara 2011: 149). He furthermore provides references to primary Saibara transmission lines that are otherwise unknown and which are probably no longer extant.21

3.1.1.1. Saibara Kō

Saibara kō can be found in Kamo Mabuchi’s (1697-1769) collection of critical literary works (vol. 10). It is one of the earliest critical studies of Saibara by one of the most respected Japanese philologists of the modern era. Kamo offers a full commentary on the majority of songs preserved in Nabeshimake-bon and Tenji-bon. However, songs 2.12,

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21 The primary texts mentioned in Iriaya are Bunjibon 文治本 and Yūkateibon 猶嘉祯本, both of which are not known to be extant.
2.36, and 2.27 are missing. The transcription of song names, format, and commentary largely follows that of Ryōjin guanshō, however, there is also considerable variation from Ryōjin guanshō as well as other manuscripts. Saibara kō is written completely in hiragana, which unfortunately makes it irrelevant for a graphemic analysis.

It seems there are several variant manuscripts of Saibara kō, which conform to Ryōjin guanshō and the other manuscripts to varying degrees, however it is unclear how many of these are still accessible (Fujiwara 2011: 145). It is unclear what original manuscript(s) were used outside of Nabeshimake-bon, Tenji-bon, Ryōjin guanshō, and Moribe’s Saibara iriaya. The variants Mabuchi offers are frequently accompanied by margin notes on the “old” (古) writing, or referring ambiguously to “old books” (古本), “current books” (今本), “one book” (一本), “variant book” (イ本), or “old variant book” (イ古本). It is clear that Mabuchi was using at least one old and no longer extant manuscript, which probably preserved many more forms for the songs in the current extant materials. Evidence for this is found in certain variant written forms he cites. One prime example is his margin note for the line simo pu-i-tar-e-ba ‘down blow-INF-PERF/PROG-EV-CONJ’ “because [the wind] began blowing down” in poem 2.18, for which Mabuchi gives the “old variant” reading of simo puk-er-e-ba ‘down blow-PROG-EV-CONJ’ “because [the wind] was blowing down.” The oldest extant manuscript, TB, has yet another variant, simo pu-i-ker-e-ba ‘down blow-INF-RETR-EV-CONJ,’ “when [the wind] was blowing…” From a linguistic standpoint, puk-er- and pu-i-tar- are the most compatible, neither with a retrospective suffix, like that of TB’s pu-i-ker-e-ba. Contextually, the former forms fit better.
CHAPTER 4. INTERTEXTS OF THE SAIBARA COLLECTION

One of the hallmarks of Saibara is its intertextuality with other Nara and Heian period poetic anthologies. Almost nothing is known about Saibara’s composition, or, perhaps compilation process, however, the diversity of its poetic structure and language forms suggest a temporally and formally heterogeneous collection. The relative abundance of intertextuality in Saibara further strengthens this view. Songs included in the Saibara collection have clearly identifiable lines and phrases from Man’yōshū (after 759), Kokin wakashū (ca. 905), Shoku nihongi (797), and Kojiki kayo (712). The abundance of Saibara’s intertextual references are from the Man’yōshū.

4.1. Saibara And The Man’yōshū

Man’yōshū is the major intertext of the Saibara collection. There are twenty-six intertextual references to the Man’yōshū occurring across eight volumes of the Man’yōshū. This is probably one of the most intriguing and evocative aspects of the Saibara collection, which makes it stand out considerably from other Heian period folk collections. The full breakdown of occurrences can be found in the chart below. With the exception of one poem, MYS 11:2362, and Saibara 2.7, all the songs with Man’yōshū-Saibara parallels are from unknown authors (Fujiwara 2011: 41). While these parallels are not that numerous, it is important to keep in mind the size of the Saibara corpus. Furthermore, the putative origins, medium / venue, content, and composition of the majority of poems in the Saibara collection are vastly divergent from those selected for inclusion in the Man’yōshū. This makes for a perplexing qualitative contradiction in the inclusion of these Man’yōshū songs in the collection. In order to better understand what these resemblances may reveal, it is necessary to briefly outline the Man’yōshū volumes wherein they appear.
Table 1: Total distribution of textual allusions in *Saibara*

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<th><em>Man’yōshū</em> Volume</th>
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Note: Asterisks indicate songs and poems that appear more than once.
There is an equal distribution of Man’yōshū references in Saibara’s ritsu and ro sections. But it is clear that of all 26 instances, there is particular density in volume VII, XII, and XIV. The concentration of intertextual references to poems in volume XIV is interesting, considering the association of Azuma uta ‘eastern songs’ with the Saibara collection and fūzoku in general. The relatively high number of occurrences in volume VII and XI is also interesting for different reasons, which I will elucidate in the next section. However, a compositional breakdown of the volumes that have the highest number of poems with intertextual references in Saibara is necessary to understand what, if any, connections they may have to understanding the historical context of the Saibara collection.

Man’yōshū volume VII contains the highest number of intertextual allusions in the Saibara collection occurring in six songs (5 poems from volume VII). Volume VII’s compiler is not known. It contains 350 poems in the zōka 雋歌, hiyuka 比喩歌, and banka 挽歌 genres. Though the majority of poems are not dated, they are likely from the late seventh or early eighth century. Along with the zōka and hiyuka genres are a series of themed poems such as mondō 問答 ‘question and answer’ poems involving a hypothetical addressee (i.e. MYS 7.1251), and yamatokoto 大和琴 ‘songs on the Japanese zither’ songs applied to the Kagura and other gagaku repertoires.

The majority of poems have anonymous authors. However, among the poems attributed to an individual, volume VII contains a small pool of various authors. The vast majority of poems however are attributed to Kinonoto no Hitomaro, 56 in total. These poems are from the collection Kinonoto no ason Hitomaro kashū 柿本朝臣人麻呂歌
集‘Kakinomoto no ason Hitomaro Poetry Collection’ (abbr. Hitomaro Collection). This is one of several collections included throughout Man’yōshū as kokashū 古歌集 ‘Collection of Old Songs’ (Commons 2003: 34).

Man’yōshū volume XI contains four poems referenced in four Saibara songs. Of these, MYS 11:2362 is identified as a Hitomaro Collection poem. This volume in its entirety is identified as having a distinctly folk flavor (Takagi 1972: 9-11). It is also dominated by logographic writing, especially in the case of the Hitomaro Collection poems.

Volume XII has three songs referenced in the Saibara collection. This volume contains poems on travel and parting and is close in nature to those in volume XI containing mondōka and sōmonka 相聞歌 genre poems. It is believed that the compiler of volume XI also compiled volume XII. Volume XII contains songs that are also said to have a “folk flavor.”

Volume XIV, labeled Azuma uta 東歌 “eastern songs” contains 238 poems organized by genre (zōka, sōmon, hiyuka, banka) and geography. This volume is written primarily phonographically in various Azuma sub-dialects. Of the songs referenced in Saibara, poem 14.3467 does not have any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features (Vovin 2012: 154).

The above Man’yōshū volumes share a few commonalities: (1) the spelling system; all the volumes apply semantographic spelling with very few exceptions. (2) The general composition of the poems: volumes XI and XII have distinctly folk-style poems reminiscent of some gagaku and kagura song varieties. (3) Anonymous authorship: the majority of poems in volume VII, XI, and XII are written by anonymous authors. (4)
Kakinomoto no Hitomaro: *Kashū* poems appear frequently in volume VII, XI, and XII. These three volumes specifically contain songs from the *Hitomaro Kashū*, which I will discuss further in the section below.

### 4.1.1. A glance at shared *Man’yōshū* and *Saibara* songs

The songs appearing in parallel have been looked at as borrowing either from or to the *Saibara* collection, with the majority opinion being that the later *Saibara* collection included songs and lines from *Man’yōshū*. This scenario is easy to imagine considering the environment of court poetry in the Heian period, especially in that of *Saibara*, where songs were maintained and edited in an official capacity in the borough of music. While most scholars have argued for one direction or another, I believe that, to an extent, both theories are accurate. In light of the earliest descriptions of *Saibara*, it is clear that they share a close affinity to the *imayō* and *fūzoku* song collections. In looking at their content as well, it seems likely that they sprung from the same temporal and cultural sources. They also do not generally conform to any poetic conventions of syllable count, which were seemingly solidified in the early Heian or perhaps late Nara period. All these genres of poetry are very fluid and change readily. *Saibara* probably represents a collection of songs that were very popular and as a result were not attributable to an individual in the same way that a fairytale or children’s’ song is not. Phrases, lines, and entire songs would have inevitably spilled over into the literature unencumbered.

Fujiwara (2011) cites more than fifteen individual correspondences that vary from barely constituting any apparent connection, to songs nearly identical to their *Saibara* counterparts. However, in his analysis he does not treat the original orthography in which
the songs were written. The majority of correspondences with *Man’yōshū* are with songs written in primarily logographic script. Some from the *Hitomaro Collection* are “abbreviated form poems” (*ryakutaika 略体歌*), with minimal to no use of phonographs, even for the minimal indication of grammatical elements. Below, I highlight some examples of *Saibara* songs and lines with similarities to others in *Man’yōshū*.

MYS 7.1381

Original text:
(1) Pîrôse NKAPA (2) SODE TUK-U NPAKARI (3) ASA-KÎ-wo ya (4) KÔKÖRÔ PUKAmê-te (5) WA-NKA ÔMÖP-ÈR-Uram-u

Though Pîrôse river is shallow so that [your] sleeves just touch it,
Deepening [my] heart, I think [of you] (7.1381)

Saibara 1.2

Original text:
(1) sapada kapa (2) sode tuk-u bakari ya (3) asa-kere-do (4) pare (5) asa-kere-do (6) kuni-no miya.bito ya (7) taka.basi watas-u (8) apare (9) soko yo-si ya (10) taka basi watas-u

Though Sapada river is shallow to the extent that only the sleeves touch it
Ya! Though it is shallow, people from the palace lay a tall bridge across [it]
*pare*
There is good!
[They] build a tall bridge across [it]!

According to Konishi (1957) *ya* here is an exclamative. In Old Japanese, exclamative particle *ya* is not found following restrictive particle *Npakari*. In Middle Japanese, *bakari*
is closely associated with numeric phrases and numbers expressing approximation or extent. This is not the case in Old Japanese where it is only found once after a numeral. In *Man'yōshū*, *Npakari* is found only twice following the attributive form of a verb. It begins to appear in more significant numbers in Early Middle Japanese; it is found in relative abundance in the *Kokinshū* and even more so in non-poetic writing. The contraction *bakari ya* ‘RESTR EMPH’ is not well attested in later Heian period texts. The restrictive particle *bakari* is found more than 25 times in the *Kokinshū*, but *bakari ya* is not found once. It is attested in later Heian texts, most of which are prose writing. All cases found in *Genji monogatari* can be viewed as having an interrogative and not emphatic function, however.

Because interrogative particle *ya* serves as a general question marker and is usually found in constructions where the hearer’s confirmation is being solicited, it can be found in both sentence-final and non-final positions (Vovin 2005: 1211; Frellesvig 2010: 253). The emphatic particle, on the other hand, rarely appears in sentence-final position in OJ (Vovin 2005: 1262). In the above construction, the verb in the clause preceding *ya* is in adnominal function. Thus, *ya* is referring to the entire clause *sode tuk-u bakari ya* ‘sleeve touch-ATTR RESTR PT ‘only (to the extent that) [my] sleeves touch!’ There is further variation among the *Saibara* manuscripts; the appearance of *ya* only in NSKB and *Ryōjin guanshō* clues us in to the fact that the early composers of these manuscripts accurately or inaccurately viewed this *ya* as an expendible emphatic interjection, which would not significantly alter the poem if it were taken away or added.

Still, an analysis of *ya* as a ‘confirmation soliciting’ particle is still available. The line may be taken as ‘is Sapada river [not] shallow so that only the sleeves touch it?’ This is
perfectly within the realm of possibility considering the following lines and overall context of the poem. Here, however I have chosen to analyze “conservatively” as an emphatic particle, due to the fact that an emphatic, or *hayashi kotoba*, would be a common element throughout this collection.

Only the first three lines of either poem are shared. Line 1 is identical but for the place name. In the *Saibara* poem, line 2 has one extra syllable at the end, an emotive *ya*, a common euphonic word (*hayashi kotoba* 嘆子詞) element in *Saibara* and *min’yō uta*. Line 3 is the final shared line of the poem and the only possible element for any meaningful comparison. The difference between the two lines is the use of the adjectival attributive -*ki* with *wo* absolutive versus the evidential -*kere*-with concessive -*do*. There are not many generalizations that can be made based on this singular difference. Both adjectival attributive + *-wo* and -*kere*- evidential + *-do* concessive can be found in Old and Middle Japanese without a particular preference for either. The distribution of -*ki* + *wo* and -*kere* + *-do* are similar in the *Man’yōshū* and *Kokinshū*.

MYS 10.1102
Original text:
(1) 大王之 (2) 御笠山之 (3) 帶爾為流 (4) 細谷川之 (5) 音乃清也
(1) ÖPÖ KİMİ-NÖ (2) MÎ-KASA YAMA-NÖ (3) ONPÎ n-i s-er-u (4) PÖSÖ TANI-N-KAPA-NÖ (5) OTÖ-NÖ SAYAKE-SA ya
(1) great lord-GEN (2) HON-Kasa mountain-GEN (3) belt DV-INF do-PROG-ATTR (4) thin valley-GEN-river-GEN (5) sound-GEN pure-NML PT

Oh the clarity of the sound
Of those slender valleys and rivers
That form the sash
Which encircles the mountain of Mikasa
Of my great lord’s
(MYS 10:1102)

Saibara 2.6
Original text:
Forge iron

[It] makes a sash of Nakayama (the inner mountains) of Kibi
Nayoya! Raisinaya! Saisinaya!
Makes a sash
Makes a sash
Pare!
Makes a sash

The clarity of the sound of the river and slender valley
Raisinaya! saisinaya
The clarity, the clarity of the sound!

(Saibara 2.6)

There are several lines of repetition in the Saibara song, excluding these, there are a total of 3 consecutive shared lines in the poems. The shared lines are identical and the majority of the Saibara song is a series of hayashi kotoba interjections and chanting line repetitions. Because of the lack of content outside of the Man’yōshū’s shared lines, it seems as though this song was originally adapted from the Man’yōshū poem.

MYS 13.3279
Original text:
(1) 蘆垣之 (2) 末挽別而 (3) 君越跡 (4) 人丹勿告 (5) 事者柵知
(1) ASI-N-KAKÎ-NÖ (2) SUWE KAKÎ-WAKË-TE (3) KÎMÎ KÔY-U TÔ (4) PÎTÔ-ni NA-TUNK-È SÖ (5) KÖTÖ PA TANASIR-E
(1) Reed-GEN-fence-GEN (2) end (edge) INT-separate(INF)-SUB (3) lord cross-ATTR DV (4) person-LOC NEG-tell-EV SUFF (5) thing TOP understand-IMP

[My] lord says [he] will separate the edge of the reed fence and cross over [it]
Do not tell anyone! Bear this in mind!
(MYS 13.3279)

Saibara 2.5
Original text:
(1) asi-gaki (2) ma-gaki (3) ma-gaki kaki-wake (4) tepu kos-u to (5) op-i kos-u to (6) tare (7) tepu kosu to (8) tare ka tare ka (9) kono koto-wo (10) oya-ni mau yokos-i maus-i-si (11) todorok-er-u (12) kono ipe (13) kono ipe-no (14) otoyome (15) oya-ni mau yokos-i-kerasi mo
(1) reed-fence (2) INT-fence PREF-separate(INF) (3) tepu(?) cross-FIN DV (4) carry-INF cross-FIN DV tare (5) DV say-ATTR cross-ATTR DV (6) DV say-ATTR cross-ATTR DV (1) who QPT who QPT (2) this thing-ACC (3) parent-LOC say(HUM) to speak negatively about-INF say(HUM) do-INF-PAST (4) thunder-PROG-ATTR (5) this house-GEN (6) younger brother’s wife (7) parents-LOC say slander-INF-RETR-SUP EMPH

Saying [I] will divide and tepu(?) cross true reed fence
The true reed fence
The reed fence
Saying [I] will carry [you] across it
Who, who was it that went to slander me [by] telling of this to [my] parents? [My] sister in law, of this family, of this family, [who] has such a resounding [reputation] It seems [she] has told [my] parents to slander me!
(Saibara 2.5)

These poems are not only sharing lines but also seem to compliment each other in the form of a single narrative where the Man’yōshū poem is the first part and Saibara 2.5 the second. Saibara’s line (2), ma-gaki, is written 末加之 in phonographic script and the Man’yōshū poem is written 末挫別而 in semantographic script. But the first character is shared. While this may be a coincidence, the character 末 can be read as both ma in its phonetic reading or as suwe in its Japanese (semantic) reading. Because the second character in the Man’yōshū poem 搔 ‘scratch’ is not found as a phonogram and the poem itself is clearly written in a primarily logographic register, Man’yōshū’s suwe gaki cannot
be viewed as intensifying prefix *ma* on a grammatical or compositional level. Still, *ma-gaki* written with the character 末 as opposed to the more frequent 万 *ma* is could be an orthographic choice reflecting the author’s conscious allusion to MYS 13.3279, which is nevertheless structurally different. The clarity of reference to MYS 13.3279 is strengthened by line 1, which both *Man’yōshū* and *Saibara* begin with the phrase *asi gaki* “reed fence.”

There are many possible scenarios that could lead to the type of related phrasing of references that are shared between *Man’yōshū* and *Saibara*. It is possible that the songs in this category result from organic and pervading currents of language in oral song and / or poetry that manifested in such related references like [w]are tachi nurenu ‘I have become wet standing here’ (MYS 2.107, SB 1.6). But another more plausible possibility is that the shared lines and phrases were subsequently borrowed from MYS into *Saibara*. The likelihood of this scenario is strengthened by the often comic rewording of sentimental *Man’yōshū* songs. Some songs appear to be versions or renditions of *Man’yōshū* poems:

*MYS 7.1847*

Original text:

(1) 淺緑 (2) 紫 懸有跡 (3) 見左右二 (4) 春楊者 (5) 目生来鴨
(1) ASA MÎNTÖRI (2) SOMĒ-KAKĒ-TAR-I to (3) MĪ-RU MANTE-ni (4) PARU-NŌ YANANKĪ PA (5) MOYE-N-I-KĒR-U kamō
(1) shallow green (2) dye-hang-PROG-INF DV (3) see-ATTR until-LOC (4) spring-GEN willow TOP (5) to bud-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN FOC

As far as I can see [when [I] look at the cloth] being dyed in pale green and hung [on the branches]
The spring willow is budding.
(MYS 7.1847)

23 This can also be interpreted as ‘we’ in the context of the poem.
Saibara 2.24
Original text:
(1) 安左美止利 (2) 己以波奈太 (3) 曾女加介太利止毛 (4) 美留万手爾 (5) 太万比可留 (6) 之太比可留 (7) 新京朱左可乃 (8) 之多利也奈支 (9) 万太波太為止奈留 (10) 前栁安支波支 (11) 奈天之己可良保比 (12) 之太利也奈支
(1) asa midori (2) ko-i panada (3) some-kake-tar-i tomo (4) mi-ru made-ni (5) tama pikar-u (6) sita pikar-u (7) SINKYAU suzaka-no (8) sidar-i yanagi (9) mata pa ta.wi to nar-u (10) SENZAI akipagi (11) nadesiko kara[a]popi (12) sidar-i yanagi
(1) shallow green (2) deep-ATTR light indigo (3) dye-hang(INF)-PERF/PROG-INF CONJ (4) see-ATTR TERM-LOC (5) jewel shine-ATTR (6) below shine-ATTR (7) new.capital vermillion.bird-GEN (8) hang down-INF willow (9) again TOP paddy.freshwater (pool) be-FIN (10) greens autumn bush clover (11) hollyhock (12) hang-INF willow

Though it is dyed and hung pale green and deep indigo [cloth]
As far as [I] can see, it looks like (lit: looks to be) the hanging willow of the vermillion gate
of the new capital, which shines [like a] jewel and shines down
Or it is the autumn bush clover greens, hollyhock and hanging willow of the freshwater paddies
(2.24)

The Saibara song appears to be referencing the original Man’yōshū song in three distinct lines, asa midori “pale green,” some kaketari “is being dyeing,” and miru made ni “as far as [I] see.” But the Saibara song is making a parody of the original poem, commenting on the abandonment of the “new” capital, sinkyau.

The instances of logographic characters in lines 7 and 11 are notable because they are five of less than ten total logographic characters used in the entire collection. They stand out considerably. Their use in this poem becomes apparent in contrast with the Man’yōshū poem by virtue of its inherent subversive nature. The lines in question yield the phrases “the [overhanging willow of the] vermillion of the new capital [or perhaps the paddy field of] overgrown [fall bush clover, pink hollyhock, and overhanging willow]” apparently referencing the sincere nostalgia of the original poem in sarcastic jest.
4.1.2. Kinomoto no Hitomaro and Saibara

The largest cluster of Saibara-Man’yōshū parallels in Man’yōshū volumes VII, XI, and XII reflect the distribution of songs from the Kinomoto-no-Ason Hitomaro kashū in Man’yōshū. The largest collection of Hitomaro Kashiū songs is found in volume XI with 161 poems. The full distribution is as follows: 24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MYS Volume</th>
<th>XII</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>XII</th>
<th>XIII</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Kashiū poems</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
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When compared to Table 3 below, with the exception of one parallel poem appearing in volume XIV, the Saibara-Man’yōshū parallels correlate exclusively with poems from the Hitomaro Kashiū.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>MYS Volume</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>XI</th>
<th>XII</th>
<th>XIII</th>
<th>XIV</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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</table>

It is clear from the conspicuous appearance of the Kashiū poems that they were held in high esteem by the compilers of Man’yōshū. Commons (2009: 34) notes that this is especially true in volume VII, where the poems are indeed heading most of the zōka 雜歌 sections, thus reflecting veneration paid to Hitomaro as one of the great and respected poets of the age. If the dates of his birth and death are accurate (662-710), Hitomaro would have been a contemporary of the primary compiler of the Man’yōshū, Ōtomo no

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24 chart adapted from Commons (2003: 34)
Yakamochi’s father Ōtomo no Tabito (665-731). This may point to the reasoning behind the inclusion of Hitomaro’s poems as venerated ‘old songs’ in the *Man’yōshū*.

There are 84 poems attributed directly to Hitomaro himself, but these are distinct from those quoted from *Hitomaro Kashū*. It is not known whether the songs in the *Hitomaro Kashū* were actually composed by him or not. There is a theory that Hitomaro did, in fact, not author the bulk of these poems, but that he collected them in his travels. The recitation of Hitomaro’s songs before travel poems in some *Man’yōshū* volumes further suggests that Hitomaro’s name was at least superstitiously associated with safety in travel (Commons 2009: 1). While this does point to some connection between Hitomaro and the *Saibara* collection, or perhaps more aptly, ancient *kayō*, early *min’yō* (via travelling entertainers?) poetic traditions, more investigation is necessary to substantiate this idea.  

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25 Complementary to this, is the reference to several specific geographic locales. Cross referencing these unorthodox phonological occurrences with the referenced locations can help us to better understand what regional dialect we may be seeing in a particular song (cf. following section)
CHAPTER 5. GEOGRAPHY OF THE SONGS

Thirty-five of the *Saibara* songs contain references to specific geographic locations in Japan. These locations are spread widely stretching as far north as Gifu, as far south as Hiroshima, and to Shiga and Aichi prefectures to the East and West (Figure 1). The questionable accuracy of the textual references notwithstanding, the spread of the songs suggests that they did in fact come into the court (via tributes?) from several outer provincial areas in the early period. With the obvious caveat that these provinces are not nearly as far-flung from the capital as the eastern (*Azuma*) songs collected in *Man’yōshū* volume XIV (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Map of locations indicated in the *Saibara* collection
The majority of songs indicate provinces in or around the capital Heijōkyō平城京 modern Kyoto, most in the areas along the Tōkaidō東海道 ‘east sea road. Tōkaidō encompasses the Goki shichidō五畿七道 “five capital provinces and seven districts (lit: roads).” Tōsandō refers generally to the eastern mountain region and stretches through the center of Honshū from as far west as modern day Shiga prefecture and northeast to modern Ibaraki prefecture. However, Saibara does not indicate anything farther than modern day Aichi. Figure 2 is a map of the Azuma provinces, which include all the locations indicated in Man'yōshū volume XIV.
Figure 2: Map of Azuma provinces

26 Chart adopted from Kupchik (2011)
There is no geographical overlap between the *Azuma uta* and *Saibara* songs based on geographical references in the text. Their distribution is complementary according to the written records. This is despite the intertextual references which show volume XIV’s *Azuma uta* “eastern songs” with the second highest density of poems after volume VII. The tenuous connection of *Azuma uta* with *Saibara* notwithstanding, *Saibara*’s geographical distribution can be understood when compared with textual evidence from the *Nihon shoki*.

“With no limitation as to the distance or proximity of their provinces, [they] invited able singers.”

The above excerpt is from the *Ryō no shūge* 令集解, a ninth century commentary on the *yōrō* code 養老律令 or *yōrō ritsu ryō* originally written in 718 CE. The full excerpt describes the *utamai no tsukasa* 雅楽寮 governmental management system of song and dance under *ritsu ryō* 律令. This early description of the origins of *utamai no tsukasa* 楽官 ‘office of music’ corroborate descriptions of court *Saibara*’s genesis as *fūzoku uta* in *Ryōjinhishō* and *Ryōjin guanshō*. In an entry dated 675, an excerpt from *Nihon shoki* lists the provinces where song, dance, and other talent were collected under the auspices of the imperial bureau of music to perform and instruct within the confines of the court. The provinces as they are listed in *Nihon shoki*’s *Tenmuki* 天武紀 ‘Tenmu chronicles’ (672-686) are: Yamato 大倭国, *Kawachi* 河内国, *Settsu* 播津国, *Yamashiro* 山背国, *Awaji* 淡路国, *Tamba* 丹波国, *Tajima* 但馬国, *Ōmi* 近江国, *Ise* 伊勢国, *Mino* 美濃国, *Owari* 尾張国, *Wakasa* 若狭国. Of all these locations, the area with the highest density is *Tōsandō*.

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27 Original text: 不限国遠近 取能歌人耳
This strengthens the likelihood of finding a strong influence of eastern style song and dance in early imperial court music. When compared to areas referred to in *Saibara* songs these locales have congruence beyond the likelihood of coincidence.

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28 The historical provinces of Tōsandō are: Ōmi 近江, Mino 美濃, Hida 飛騨, Shinano 信濃, Kōzue 上野, Shimotsuke 下野, Musashi 武蔵, Mutsu 陸奥, Dewa 出羽.
Table 4: Saibara and Tenmuki 1: Locations shared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nihon shoki (Tenmuki)</th>
<th>Saibara</th>
<th>Song</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yamato no kuni (大倭国)</td>
<td>Katsuragi (葛城)(^{29})</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asukawi (飛鳥井)(^{30})</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawachi no kuni (河内国)</td>
<td>Ishikawa (石川)</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
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<td>Settsu no kuni (播津国)</td>
<td>Naniwa no umi (難波海)</td>
<td>2.36</td>
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<td>Yamashiro no kuni (山背国)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tazima no kuni (但馬国)</td>
<td>Irusa no yama (伊留左の山)</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōmi no kuni (近江国)</td>
<td>Mi Kurusu, Mikurusu no hara (御来栖, 要津の原)</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hashiriwi</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ōmi (近江)路</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shinohara (篠原)</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ise no kuni (伊勢国)</td>
<td>Ise no umi (伊勢)</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Takekawa (竹河)</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kawaguchi (河口)</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suzukagawa (鈴之川)</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mino no kuni (美濃国)</td>
<td>Itsunuki kawa (伊豆貫河), Mushiroda (菰田)</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minoyama (美濃山)</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owari no kuni (尾張国)</td>
<td>Simatuda (島つ田)</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{29}\) There is also a placename, Katsuragi, in Kawachi province, which it is possible this poem is referring to as well. However, as the birthplace of the Soga clan (蘇我氏), it seems more likely this location is speaking of Yamato province.

\(^{30}\) Poem 1.8 only has a passive and ambiguous reference, 安須加井爾 asukawi-ni “at the well at Asuka / at Asukawi.” This can be referring to Asuka 飛鳥 in Yamato, Yamashiro, or Kii provinces where Asuka is a known placename (Usuda 2000: 129)
Table 5: Saibara and Tenmuki 2: Locations not shared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nihon shoki (Tenmuki)</th>
<th>Saibara</th>
<th>Saibara Song #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Awaji no kuni (淡路国)</td>
<td>Kii no kuni (紀伊国)</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanba no kuni (丹波国)</td>
<td>Samatsu (薩摩)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakasa no kuni (若狭国)</td>
<td>Kibi no kuni (吉備国)</td>
<td>2.6, 2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mimasaka (美作)</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mikawa no kuni (美河国)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Echizen (越前)</td>
<td>1.14, 1.18, 1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miyako (都)</td>
<td>1.15, 1.25, 2.24, 2.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Tables 4 and 5, there are a total of 9 corresponding locations out of a total 12 cited in Tenmuki and 16 in Saibara. Furthermore, all 13 locations are referenced in the Engishiki 延喜式 (927), with the exception of Awaji (< apaNti). The majority of these areas coincide with those Saibara songs with identifiable locations. This is cause for speculation and this evidence is considered by Konishi (1957: 62-65). With other sources agreeing with this analysis, it is likely that, at the very least, these were the areas where many of the Saibara songs originated some time in the Nara period.32

31 The characters used in these charts reflect only the presumed locations that the songs in Saibara are referring to. The songs are written almost exclusively in phonographic writing with the exception of titles. Consequently, when the locations do not occur in the title of a song the Sinographs for that location are applied based on the corresponding palcename. I.e., Saibara 2.24, Miti no kuti 道口 “mouth of the road” has the line takepu-no kopu-ni 太介不乃已不爾 “takepu-GEN provincial office-LOC.” This is thought to correspond to Takefu (武生) of ancient Echizen no kuni 越前国, modern day Fukui prefecture. In this case, pudipu in the original text is rendered as 武生 in the chart.

32 I surrender also that the provenance of these songs cannot be divorced from the historical narrative and socio-political environs within which these texts were conceived. What this may prove is, not that the songs necessarily came from these locales, but instead that these locations merely represented a conceptual space outside of the court (and representations thereof), which facilitated a particular orientation around the text.
Fujiwara (2011: 53-55) views these statistics as supporting the idea that the songs collected as Saibara were not limited to outlying provincial areas but also represent so-called “fūzoku uta” from the capital. Furthermore, Fujiwara cites the intertextuality and phrasing that is reflected in poems from *Man’yōshū* and the *Nihon shoki kayō* “Archaic songs of the *Nihon shoki.*” The relationship between Saibara and fūzoku is clear, but the intertextual evidence is dubious.
CHAPTER 6. FEATURES OF THE SONGS

There are many distinct features found in the Saibara collection, which has them stand out from both traditional vernacular poetry collections (i.e. waka) and non-native (i.e. Chinese) poetic traditions of the early-mid Heian period. This chapter will be looking primarily at the hayashi kotoba, a feature Saibara shares in common with the other fūzoku collections. Hayashi kotoba deals in content and perhaps context, however other distinct and notable features found in the orthography and language of the text will be dealt with in succeeding chapters as they come (e.g. orthography, phonotactics).

6.1. Hayashi Kotoba

One of the hallmarks of Saibara and other collections in the folk genre is the use of hayashi kotoba 吼子詞, ‘concert words.’ Hayashi kotoba are euphonic exclamations described in most modern scholarship as nonsense words inserted in order to maintain or play with the song rhythm and poetic meter (Mabuchi 1906; Konishi 1957; Usuda 2000). They frequently appear in fūzoku uta, Kagura uta, and Azuma asobi uta among other folk genre song collections. In some cases there are closely related utterances shared by the texts, i.e. the hayashi kotoba oke is found in both Saibara and Kagura uta and [a]pare is found in both Saibara and Azuma asobi uta (pare[na]). There are several styles and variations that occur across texts, most of which are commented on by Japanese scholars (Ōtake 1935; Tachibana 1967; Origuchi 1972; Usuda 2000; Chiaki 2011). They are not viewed as having any semantic value, however there is disagreement

33 There are some phrases and utterances which are clearly serving the same function as hayashikotoba in that they are serving as rhythm-keeping interjections or some brand of emotive expressive effect. However, I do not include them in the above chart if they occur only in a single poem, i.e. soyo ya which only appears in the song Sakurabito.
in this area. In some cases it is possible to trace back an original meaning to the banter words, but since they occur in interjectory positions between phrases and in positions that would yield inappropriate contexts within the songs, it is clear that they are not used for their value as lexical units with specific delineable meaning. Nevertheless, in some cases it seems that words are identified as *hayashi kotoba* in escape of a troubling or insurmountable analysis. Some of the banter words used in *Saibara* and *Kagura uta* are unmistakable meaningless exclamations clearly used as either emotive devices or rhythmic accompaniment. Therefore, in a departure from the tradition of wide-net categorization of *hayashi kotoba*, here, I view them separately as (1) “*hayashi kotoba*” which appear as words with a perceptible or traceable meaning, at least on the diachronic level, and (2) genuine *hayashi kotoba* which are clearly rhythmic vocalizations or emotive vocalizations. While both categories are utilized as ‘banter words,’ in the sense that, in most cases, they do not have directly\(^{34}\) relevant semantic value, on the diachronic level they should be viewed and analyzed as being two distinct categories with fundamentally unrelated elements within the songs.

*Hayashi kotoba* are not often attributed much significance in the general interpretation of the songs and are considered sometimes to be a way of marking the possible orienting region of a song or groups of songs tied together through the utterances.

\(^{34}\) Hayashikotoba can have more remote semantic value or symbolic value relevant to a series of poems or entire collection, but carries no *direct* meaning within a single poem, line, or phrase.
Table 6: All hayashi kotoba that appear in the Saibara collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hayashikotoba</th>
<th>Songs</th>
<th>Appearance in other Collections</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a]pare</td>
<td>1.1, 1.2, 1.11, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.6, 2.8, 2.9, 2.15, 2.16, 2.17, 2.18, 2.21</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakimudati[ya]</td>
<td>1.15, 1.19, 1.24, 1.20, 1.25, 1.21</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oke[ya]</td>
<td>1.9, 1.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokoyosi[ya]</td>
<td>1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayo[ya], raisina[ya], saisina[ya]</td>
<td>2.7, 2.6</td>
<td>Kagura (Atime no waza)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soyo[ya]</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toutou</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarari, rari, tataririrari/tataririrari</td>
<td>2.29, 2.31</td>
<td>Fūzoku uta</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]ooositoto,^{35} [t]ooositomuto</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>Kagura (Opo miya)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarintana</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na totoyasi[ya]</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphatic hayashi kotoba shared by nearly all the songs are ya. There is a major statistical jump from the most frequent interjection ya and the next most numerous, [a]pare.

[a]pare appears most commonly in songs at the beginning of the ritsu section, but is much less limited in its occurrences than sakimudati, the next most frequent hayashikotoba. Sakimudati appears in a cluster of songs at the end of the ritsu. Sakimudati and [a]pare never occur together in the same poem. There thus appears to be some level of systematicity to interjectory phrases used in the songs, but the true significance and / or specific usage of such phrases has been lost.

Ultimately, there are several contextual elements that can be gleaned from these phrases. (1) The use of hayashi kotoba sets these particular song collections apart from those that do not employ them. They thus categorize the collection as distinct from those that do not employ them. (2) They further create categorical distinctions between

^{35} Teteniya teteni ya
individual songs within the collection. (3) They imbue the text with orality, and establish an intertextual relationship with other song collections and individual songs within a single collection, thus establishing a broader context for the songs.

Hayashikotoba appear with wide variation in terms of their frequency and consistency. There are some songs that utilize hayashi kotoba for an entire stanza or even in the majority of lines of a song. In contrast, there are songs where hayashikotoba is completely absent. Saibara songs with parallel lines in other collections frequently have added hayashikotoba and rhythmic interjections included throughout. Magane puku has a parallel poem in Kokinshū (20.1083) where a five line poem is stretched into fifteen, comprised of six lines of banter words, five lines of repetitions, and the remaining five lines constituting the parallel poem found in Kokinshū.36

6.1.1. Apare
Fifteen out of a total seventeen times apare introduces a repetition line or lines. Apare can be preceded by the locative -ni and genitive -no. In all other instances it appears after nouns, verbs in attributive -u, concessive gerund -domo, final -u, nominalizer -i, adjective gerund -mi, nominalizer -sa, restrictive particle bakari, subordinative gerund -te, and coordinative gerund -tutu.37 Apare therefore maintains a considerably wide distribution of preceding particles and adjectival and verbal suffixes. In terms of the phonological realization of apare, it is likely that Old and Early Middle Japanese still had intial p-.

However the evidence for medial -p- in Early Middle Japanese strongly suggests it had

36 In line (1), the place name is different
37 An important but often overlooked or understated consideration in this type of analysis is the syntax of poetry / song, which can leave the syntactical position of an interjection, or exclamation like this debatable. In this analysis I am assuming that the syntactical environment where apare is found is relevant and significant to understanding its function.
already elided to either -f- or -w- by the tenth century. It is therefore unclear what the precise pronunciation was in the text we are dealing with, but it is reasonable to think that it was in fact the later reflex of medial –p-, -w-, e.g. [aware].

Apare is not limited to the Saibara collection, it appears in several early texts outside of saibara and folk song genre lyric collections and is attested from as early as the seventh and eighth centuries (Omodaka 1967: 33; Osamu 2011: 415). However, irrespective of these external comparisons, a precise definition of apare within the Saibara corpus is not explored in any of the modern commentaries. Mabuchi, Ōtake, Nishitsunoi, and Konishi do not contain any commentary on the word at all. Usuda (2000) defines apare as an exclamatory expression of the sentiments of joy and sorrow, essentially following the definition given in the Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten ‘Japanese Dictionary by Period: Premodern Edition’ (Omodaka 1967: 36; Usuda 2000: 123). This kind of broad definition of apare can be imprecise because of the specificity with which it is employed in this particular text and it is precisely this definition which will be ventured here.

There are two basic perspectives on the meaning and provenance of apare. (1) That it is derived from the word pare MdJ hare (晴れ) ‘clear; open; fresh,’ and (2) that it is etymologically related to the modern Japanese word aware (哀れ) ‘pity; sympathy; pathos; grief.’

Regarding the first case, in Mikagura 御神楽, or court Kagura (in contrast to sato Kagura 里神楽 ‘town Kagura’), hare indicates an exalted chamber or grounds where Kagura and other religious ceremonies would be performed. Analogous to this, hare is

38 Martin (1987: 388) suggests that the actual pronunciation was appare, due to it’s clearly the emphatic nature of usage.
also used to signify purity or spiritual cleanliness, as exemplified by the term *haregi* (聴着) ‘pure garment,’ garments used in formal religious ceremonies\(^{39}\) (Nishitsunoi 1941: 1-2). Nishitsunoi further speculates that the term *hare* by analogy is being used to mean “naked” as well. This perspective is largely based on *utihare no asobi,* an outlawed ritual song and dance performed in antiquity at Yaeyama in the Shuri district of modern day Okinawa prefecture. *Hare no asobi* was a ritualistic dance performed by nude young maidens\(^{40}\) (Nishitsunoi 1941: 4-8). Also positing an etymological relationship between the interjection *apare* and *pare* ‘clear’ Hirataka, taking this line of thought, further asserts that *pare* is an abbreviated form of *ama pare* (天晴) ‘heavens open’ or ‘clear heavens’ (Hirataka 2011: 415). What is apparent from this school of thought is that the interjection *pare* should be viewed as having religious significance through the practice of ritual celebrations. If this is correct, it gives further credence to the idea that *Kagura* and *Saibara* can (in some form) be traced back to *utagaki* or other archaic religious traditions.

It is the latter definition that is most frequently cited.

The second case seems equally as plausible as the first, but with a different line of development. Mabuchi describes *apare* as an expression of lamentation and praise (Mabuchi 1906: 175). Martin also defines *apare* as ‘sympathy; pity’ and as an interjection (Martin 1987: 388). Mifuyu cites several examples in which *apare* is used to express both lamentation and jubilation in texts outside of *Saibara* (Osamu 2011). No concrete evidence is presented, however, in advance of any of the above conjectures. The

\(^{39}\) Nishitsunoi (1941) interprets *haregi* (< *pare-N-ki*) as ‘splendid’ or ‘elegant’ garments, which is probably more accurate in the general context of its modern meaning ‘to dress up [in formal clothes].’ Still, I choose to translate and interpret it as ‘pure garment’ because of the clear religious overtones involved in the ceremonies where the garments were worn.

\(^{40}\) For a further discussion of the practice of *hare no asobi* in Okinawa and the uses of *hare,* see Nishitsunoi (1941) *Furoku* 附録 pp. 1 - 10.
fundamental problem with both of the above analyses is that there is no way to reconcile the two allomorphs *apare* and *pare* reasonably. *Apare* appears in both its theoretical full and abbreviated forms with close to equal distribution, both appear in similar compositional positions, either introducing or dividing two repetition lines, and both appear frequently in the same songs. Still, an abbreviation of the adjectival noun *apare* ‘pathos’ as *pare* would only be possible if there is a morpheme boundary occurring between *a* and *pare*. Unfortunately there is no known prefix *a*- in OJ or later varieties of Japanese. Consequently, it is difficult to follow Mifuyu’s suggestion that *apare* represents three distinct morphemes, *a*, *pa*, *re*. Where *a* is an independent exclamatory interjection *a* (> NJ *aʔ*) ‘oh; ah’ preceding the interjection *pa*. *Re* is compared with the long form of pronouns in *re*, i.e. *are/ware* ‘I’ and *kore* ‘this,’ and Early Middle Japanese distal *kare* ‘that.’ There is still dispute regarding the origins and (archaic) function of *-re*. Vovin (2005) suggests that the extended form *ware/are* developed from the plural suffix *-ra* plus case marker *-i, ra+i > re* (Vovin 2005: 220). Frellesvig (2010) on the other hand suggests that the extended forms developed as an innovation in EMJ and became more productive through the course of MJ (Frellesvig 2010: 139). In any case, suggesting that the putative obsolete pronominal suffix *-re* can be employed outside of pronouns would be fallacious in any respect. Furthermore, the use of an emphatic *re*, not to mention an emphatic suffixal *-re* of any kind is unfounded anywhere in OJ or EMJ texts.

It is also necessary to question the orthographic dimensions of *apare* versus *pare*. As mentioned above, medial *-p*- had probably already gone to *-w*—before /a/ in the tenth century and initial *p*- was either still *p*- or had weakened to bilabial (non-sibilant) fricative *f*- [ɸ]. Thus, the consistent writing of *apare* with 波, OJ *pa*, EMJ *fa*, and never 和, *wa*, suggests that the realization may still have been a bilabial stop or fricative. Furthermore, the above hypothesis that *apare* and *pare* were considered a single word with a full (*apare*) and abbreviated (*pare*) form only stands if medial maintained *-p*- or *-f*- at the time of the transcription, but this is unlikely based on what we know about
Japanese phonology from the tenth century. This means that synchronically there would have been no conscious relationship between *aware* and *fare*.

### Table 7: Occurrences of *apare* and *pare* by song

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>apare</em></th>
<th><em>pare</em></th>
<th>shared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>A ga koma</em></td>
<td><em>Ana taputo</em></td>
<td><em>Sapada gapa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Taka yama</em></td>
<td><em>Magane puku</em></td>
<td><em>Aratasiki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kono toko</em></td>
<td><em>Yamasiro</em></td>
<td><em>Mume ga e</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Takekapa</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kapaguti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ki no kuni</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kono toko (Nisi)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occurrences of *pare* are almost double that of *apare*. This is an awkward distribution if *pare* is truly an abbreviation of *apare*. They also do not frequently appear in the same songs (3/10 for *pare*). Of the songs that have either *apare* or *pare*, *A ga koma*, *Sapada gapa*, *Aratasiki*, *Mume ga y/e*, *Kapaguti*, *Makane puku*, *Yamasiro*, *Ki no kuni* all have corresponding lines and phrases in *Man’yōshū*, *Kokinshū*, and *Nihon shoki*. Outside of the *hayashi kotoba*, nearly all of the songs maintain perfect *tanka* forms, which is far from consistent in the *Saibara* collection.

Another important consideration is the morphological environment in which they mutually appear. The chart below shows all occurrences of *apare* and *pare* with preceding suffixes. Looking at Table 6 it is clear that these two words do not often appear in similar environments. The only vowel that *apare* does not appear after is /e/, where *pare* appears, however there is only one instance of this. *Apare* appears after morpheme final vowel /a/, which means there was no vowel coalescence, which is very common in all the historical varieties of Japanese. This in turn may speak to the pace of singing, which seemingly would have been slow and deliberate enough to maintain distinct realizations of final and initial /a/ in consecutive words.
Additionally, the consistency with which \textit{apare} and \textit{pare} are written is notable when compared to other \textit{hayahsi kotoba}, which can vary considerably from manuscripts to manuscript. This indicates a level of care in transcribing these particular words and suggests that they were not interchangeable linguistic elements in the text. \footnote{The same likely applies to the performative aspect of the songs}

Interestingly, the accent patterns for \textit{apare} ‘pity’ (3.5b < 3.4) and \textit{pare} ‘clear’ (2.3), as well as their verb forms \textit{aparemu} (A/B) and \textit{pareru} (A), are all in consistent and compatible low registers (Martin 1987: 388, 685), thus allowing for speculation into an etymological relationship. Even if this is somehow the case diachronically, on a synchronic level it is basically impossible to prove and probably an exercise in futility to attempt to do so. Thus, in a departure from the tradition, I view \textit{apare} and \textit{pare} as two distinct interjectory words, \textit{apare} and \textit{pare}. Each with a putative etymological relationship to \textit{aware} and \textit{hare} ‘clear; open.’ Still, although they may be distinct, because they have near-identical functions in the text, I will analyze them together here.

It is statistically significant that \textit{apare} and \textit{pare} appear almost exclusively before repetition lines. This further strengthens the point of view that \textit{apare} and \textit{pare} are used as emphatic interjections, without a semantic element. They would otherwise not be able to serve as a break between repetition lines or between two otherwise connected words or phrases. There is no quantifiable evidence to suggests that \textit{apare} or \textit{pare} have any adherence to songs of a specific type or aesthetic, in particular. It is worth noting, however, that the majority of songs where they appear are those with near-identical variant poems in other (literary) collections.

\textit{apare} appears once as the final element in a phrase in a line variant from \textit{Nabeshimake-bon}, but this is the only such occurrence. I thus view \textit{apare} and \textit{pare} as
interjections with the specific function of breaking up and introducing repetition lines in the text. Still, because of the transparency of the word *apare* and its prevalence in Nara and Heian period poetic anthologies, I consider it to have an ambient influence on the sense of the songs as well. Tachibana gives a cursory analysis of both sword, stating that they “help” along the context of preceding lines, as well as assist in maintaining the tempo when singing (Tachibana 1967: 109). So I maintain an agnostic view of the interjection in both linguistic and literary terms. The peripheral or ambient semantic influence of *apare* will be commented on in the proceeding analysis, where I will treat each occurrence independently on its own merits. It is nevertheless clear that there is an influence on the context in many cases, and that *apare* cannot be relegated to a simplistic categorization of interjection.

**Table 8: *apare* with preceding particles and preceding verbal and adjectival suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>panazono-ni pare</td>
<td>Adjectival nominlizer –sa</td>
<td>Kepu no taputo-sa pare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>sakikusa-no apare</td>
<td>Subordinative gerund –te</td>
<td>paru kake-te pare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>ka-ku si koso pare</td>
<td>Concessive gerund –do</td>
<td>asa-kere-do pare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td>paru pi suro apare</td>
<td>Concessive gerund –domo</td>
<td>mamor-e-domo apare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adjectival gerund –mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Infinitive -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Final –u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
Set out my stallion
Go quickly across to matuti mountain
Apare
To matuti mountain
Pare
Go to matuti mountain, to the person who waits [for me]
I want to go and quickly
Apare
[I want to] go and quickly see [her]

With a total of three, this song has the highest density of occurrences of *apare* and *pare*. It is also one of only three songs with both *apare* and *pare* appearing together in the same song. In total, there are two instances of *apare*. In line four, *apare* introduces the first repetition line in the song, line five, *matutiyama*. The second, occurs in line nine and appears proceeding the uninflected adjective *paya* ‘quick.’ In *Nabeshimekebon*, line eight and nine are parsed so that line eight *yukite paya* appears visibly separate from following, *apare*. That is to say, it seems to have been inscribed so as not to be confused with *pare* in consideration of the final vowel *a* from *paya*, occurring just before the initial vowel *a* in *apare*. It again breaks the preceding line from the following line, which is a repetition and continuation of the latter, i.e. *maturamu pito wo [yukite paya…] [apare] yukite paya mimu* ‘go to the person who waits for me, I want to see her quickly.’

The only instance of *pare* appears in line six, introducing the repetition line *matuti yama*. 
(1) sode tuk-u bakari ya (2) asa-kere-do (3) pare (4) asa-kere-do
(1) sleeve stick-ATTR RESTR EMPH (2) shallow-EV-CONJ (3) pare (4) shallow-EV-CONJ

Though it is shallow
Pare!
Though it is shallow so that only [my] sleeves touch
(1.2)

Pare is the only hayashi kotoba that appears in this song. It is placed before a line
repetition (line 4) and after the concessive gerund -do.

Not between two repetition lines:

(1) ma-sira-ra n-o pama-ni (2) or-i-wi-ru kamome (3) pare (4) sono tama mote-ko
(1) INT-white-? DV-ATTR beach-LOC (2) descend-INF-ATT seagull (3) pare (4) that jewel PREF-come(IMP)
Seagull who came down and is on the pure white beach
pare
bring [me] that jewel!
(2.5)

(1) ma-sira-ra n-o pama-ni (2) or-i-wi-ru kamome (3) pare (4) sono tama mote-ko
(1) INT-white-? DV-ATTR beach-LOC (2) descend-INF-ATT seagull (3) pare (4) that jewel PREF-come(IMP)
Seagull who came down and is on the pure white beach
pare
bring [me] that jewel!
(2.5)
The rough fence of the border!
Though [they] protect it
Pare!
[I] came through [it] and slept [with her]!

(2.9)

Summoning spring
Pare!
Though [the bush warbler] cries summoning spring
Snow continues to fall
Apare!
Soko yosi ya
Snow continues to fall

Apare in line five is not following a repetition line.

(2.3)
(1) today-GEN precious-NML EMPH (2) past FOC (3) pare (4) past FOC (5) thus-INF QPT exist-INF-RETR-TENT-ATTR QPT (6) today-GEN precious-NML (7) apare (8) there good-FIN EMPH (9) today-GEN precious-NML

Oh the magnificence of today!
The past as well
Pare!
The past as well
Was it thus [as well]?
Oh the magnificence of today!
Apare!
There is good!
Oh the magnificence of today!
(2.1)

Both apare and pare appear before a repeat line in this song.

(1) 与吕川与末天尔 (2) 安渡礼 (3) 曾己与之也 (4) 与吕川与末天尔
(1) yorodu yo-made-ni (2) apare (3) soko yo-si ya (4) yorodu yo-made-ni
(1) ten-thousand generation-TERM-LOC (2) apare (3) there good-FIN EMPH (4) ten-thousand generation-TERM-LOC

For ten thousand generations
Apare!
There is good!
[For] ten thousand generations
(2.2)

Apare soko yosi ya is treated by Ōtake as a single hayashi kotoba (Ōtake 1935: 154).

Soko yosi ya does not appear anywhere in the text without apare preceding it. Ōtake does not give any specific reasons for his choice to view this as a single interjection, however it is likely that in his compendiary treatment of hayashi kotoba he saw no reason to create extraneous distinctions. Nevertheless, apare is clearly a distinct and autonomous word from soko yosi ya within the text, and I treat them separately in this study. I also gloss and translate all instances of soko yosi ya on the basis of it being a transparent and analyzable construction.
6.1.2. Sakimudati[ya]

*Sakimudati* ya appears a total of seven times in the text. Ōtsu Takehisa posited a geographic correspondence of songs that incorporate the *hayashi kotoba sakimudati ya* as appearing only in songs from Ōmi 近江, Echizen 越前, and Ise 伊勢 provinces. He further suggests a pervading literary theme of separated lovers’ reunion (Ōtsu 1967: 12, 19). Like *[a]pare, sakimudati ya* appears in a cluster of songs at the end of the *ritsu* section.⁴² These songs are further distributed throughout a larger group (songs 1.14 - 1.24) that include the most explicitly erotic, but all of which maintain the theme of sex, courtship, and / or sexual innuendo.

*Sakimudati* ya cannot be found anywhere else in the Nara or Heian period literary corpus. The meaning of *sakimudati* as a single word is not specifically known. Harich-Schneider (1952) in her study of the *Saibara* song *Koromogae* translates *sakimudati* as ‘elegant young courtier; fair knight’ (Harich-Schneider 1952: 400). However, her understanding seems to be influenced by her comparison with the love songs of German poet Walther von der Vogelweide. *Kimidati* appears several times in the *Nihon shoki* as the native reading for 君王 ‘lord king’ 公達 ‘noble attain,’ 王宗 ‘king lineage,’ 天宗 ‘king lineage,’ and 諸王 ‘many king.’ Omodaka et. al (1967) thus defines it as *sōshitsu* 宗室 ‘imperial family; royal blood line’ (Omodaka 1967: 246). In other sources, *kimudati* is explained as *hatso onbin*⁴³ (撥音便) for *kimitati* (Osawa 1998: 57). *Saibara* actually represents the earliest attestation of *kimudati* written in phonographic script.

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⁴² *Sakimudatiya* appears in the following *ritsu* in the following song order number: 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, and 24.

⁴³ *Hatsu onbin* is a generic term for phonetic changes involving reduced forms from nasal assimilation, i.e. *tob-i-te* ‘fly-INF-SUB’ > *to-N-de* syllable.
Consequently, it is probable that later recensions of *Nihon shoki* prescribed the reading ‘*kimudati*’ because it was the only reading available to the editor(s) at the time. In fact, the only extant *Nihon shoki* sources for the sections in which the kunten ‘*sakimudati*’ exists, *Jingō kogū* 神功皇后 (kandai 9) and *Kōgyoku tennō* 皇極天皇 (kandai 24), is *Kitano-bon* 北野本 and *Toshoryō-bon* 図書寮本, late-twelfth and mid-fourteenth century manuscripts respectively. Needless to say, even by the mid-twelfth century most major phonological changes commonly found in Middle Japanese would have already been in full swing. Consequently, the most likely scenario is that *kimudati* is derived from *kimitati* via nasal assimilation, where elision of the high back vowel /i/ after nasal /m/ triggered nasal assimilation of /t/, subsequently prenasalizing it. Thus, *kimitati* [kimitati] went to *kimudati* [ki⁴m⁴dati]. *Kimudati* 支无太知 is written phonographically with *mu* (無/卒) due to orthographic restrictions on writing the consonant cluster /nd/.44

In conclusion, *sakimudatiya* contains three segments, emphatic *sa*, *kimi* ‘lord,’ plural suffix -*tati*, and emphatic particle *ya*. Within the text, *sakimudatiya* always appears in this form, so it is treated here as a single *hayashikotoba* and not as it can be parsed diachronically. The usage of *sakimudatiya* in *Saibara* as a lexical banter word will be described below.

There are no cases where a direct relationship between *sakimudatiya* and the context of the poem are reconcilable, therefore I identify it as a lexical banter word, used as an emphatic interjection. The level of systematicity and limited distribution of *sakimudatiya*

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44 Japanese orthography used a uniformly syllabic phonogram system with /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and then CV pairs. At the time there was no precedent for transcribing /m/ or /n/. Separately, /nd/ may have also been realized as a prenasalized consonant *n*d/. The same restrictions would apply to this segment as well, because by the mid-Heian period the phonographic spelling system for the most part no longer reflected voicing distinctions.
is notable and invites speculation into its significance beyond that of a simple banter word. In all but one case (see Koromogape, below), sakimudatiya appears as the final element in the last line of all the songs in which it appears, so it effectually signals the conclusion of the song. Its recoverable definition can be roughly translated as ‘hey [you] lords!’ and it was probably used as an evocative expression for the purpose of call-and-response.

Examples:
(1) ボえよ之 (2) 止不良比久問也 (3) 沙支牟太知也
(1) seisoko s-i (2) toburap-ni k-uru ya (3) sakimudatiya
(1) news do-INF (2) ask-NML-INF come-ATTR EMPH (3) sakimudatiya

Give me news [of her appearance]
[For] [I] will come asking!
Sakimudatiya!
(2.14)

(1) 止之加波 (2) 左之久之毛奈之也 (3) 左支无太知也
(1) tor-i-sika-ba (2) sas-i.gusi mo na-si ya (3) sakimudati ya
(1) take-INF-RETR/EV-CONJ (2) stick-NML.comb FOC no-FIN EMPH (3) sakimudati ya

Because [he] took them I have no more decorative combs
(1.19)

(1) 己知之 (2) 万知也世奴良牟 (3) 之乃々乎不々支也 (4) 左支无多知也
(1) ko mot-i (2) mat-i-yase-n-uram-u (3) Sino-no wo-pupuki ya (4) sakimudati ya
(1) child hold-INF (2) wait-INF-become.thin(INF)-PERF-TENT2-ATTR (3) Sino-GEN DIM-butterbur EMPH (4) sakimudati ya

You have probably become emaciated waiting [for me] [and] rearing [our] children
Dear butterbur of Sino!
Sakimudati ya!
(1.20)

(1) 己吕毛加戸世无也 (2) 左支无太知也 (3) 和可支奴波 (4) 乃波良之乃波良 (5) 波支乃波乃须利也 (6) 沙支牟太知也
(1) koromo.gape se-m-u ya (2) sakimudati ya (3) wa-ga kinu pa (4) no.para Sino para
(5) pagi-no pana.zur-i ya (6) sakimudati ya
(1) clothing.change(NML) do-TENT-FIN QPT (2) sakimudati ya (3) I-POSS garment TOP (4) field.plain Sino.plain (5) bush clover-GEN flower.rub-NML EMPH (6) sakimudati ya

Shall [we] change [our] clothes? Our garment[s] are pressed with bush clover flowers [from the] fields and plains, the Sino plains Sakimudati ya!

(1.21)

(1) 安波川乃波良乃 (2) 美久留須乃 (3) 女久里乃宇津良加良世无也 (4) 左支无多知也
(1) Apadu-no para-no (2) mi-kurusu-no (3) meguri-no udura kar-as-em-u ya (4) sakimudati ya
(1) Apadu-GEN field-GEN (2) HON-kurusu [chestnut grove]-GEN (3) vicinity-GEN quail hunt-CAUS-TENT-FIN QPT (4) sakimudati ya

Perhaps [I will have my baby falcon] hunt quails around the chestnut grove of Apadu field Sakimudati ya!

(1.24)

(1) 和礼波安利止 (2) 於也爾万宇之太戸 (3) 己々呂安比乃加世也 (4) 左支无太知也
(1) ware pa ar-i to (2) oya-ni maus-i-tabe (3) kokoro ap-i-no kaze ya (4) sakimudati ya
(1) I TOP exist-FIN DV (2) parent-DAT say-INF-HON(IMP) (3) heart meet-NML-GEN wind EMPH (4) sakimudati ya

Tell [my] parents I live! Things are going [my] way!45 Sakimudati ya!

(1.24)

6.1.3. Oke

Oke appears a total of four times in just two songs, 1:9 and 1:10. Oke appears once in 1:9 and three times in the following song, 1:10. Ōtake presumably views oke and okeya as two distinct hayashi kotoba because oke always appears with a following ya in 1:10 and as oke in 1:9 (Ōtake 1935: 154). I agree with him that these two elements are separate and

45 Heart-meeting wind!
should be treated as such. However, I view *oke* as a banter word and *ya* as an emphatic particle.

Due to limitations of quantity, it is difficult to say what kind (if any) contextual, aesthetic or linguistic effects *oke* may have had, which was specific to the poems and environments in which it appears. Both songs in which it appears do not contain any other banter words. Furthermore, based on the fact that *oke* and *oke ya* are found in abundance in the *Kagura uta* collection, as well as the content of the two songs in which they are found, which deal with nature themes, it is likely that they were originally part of a *Kagura uta* set or some form of religious ritual song and dance traditions.

(1) 安須加為尔 (2) 也止利波春戸之也 (3) 於介 (4) 可介毛与之 (5) 美毛比毛左牟之
(1) asuka.wi-ni (2) yador-i pa s-ube-si ya (3) *oke* (4) kage mo yo-si (5) mi-mopi mo samu-si
(1) Asuka.wel-LOC (2) temporary.dwelling-NML TOP do-DEB-FIN QPT (3) *oke* (4) shade FOC good-FIN (5) HON-jar FOC cold-FIN

Should [we] stay at Asuka well?

Oke
There is good shade
The water is cool
(1.8)

(1) 安乎也支乎 (2) 加太以止尔与利天也 (3) 於介也 (4) 宇久比春乃 (5) 於介也 (6) 宇久比春乃
(1) awo yagi-wo (2) kata ito n-i yor-i-te ya (3) oke ya (4) ugupisu-no (5) oke ya (6) ugupisu-no (7) nup-u to ip-u kasa pa (8) oke ya (9) ume-no pana kasa ya
(1) green willow-ACC (2) single thread DV-INF twist-INF-SUB EMPH (3) oke ya (4) bush.warbler-GEN (5) oke ya (6) bush.warbler-GEN (7) sow-ATTR DV say-ATTR umbrella TOP (8) oke ya (9) plum-GEN flower.umbrella EMPH

Twisting the green willow [vines] into a single thread!
Oke!
The bush warbler
Oke!
[The umbrella] known to be sown by the bush warbler
Oke!
Is the plum blossom umbrella!
6.1.4. Soyo[ya]

Soyo[ya] appears four times in a single song in the collection. However, it appears numerous times as hayashi kotoba in Ryōjin hishō as well as Wakan rōeishū (和漢朗詠集) (1013). Soyo[ya] is composed of two discernable morphemes, emphatic ya and concert word soyo. Although soyo[ya] is limited to a single song, where it appears followed by ya, soyo appears as the first element in songs 1-11 of Ryōjin hishō’s Nagauta and Koyanagi sections, essentially confirming the apparent independence of soyo and ya. The following two examples are the sections from song 2.4 in which soyo ya appear:

(1) 你看可戸利己無也 (2) 曾与也 (3) 安春可戸利己卒 (4) 曾与也
(1) mi-te kaper-i-ko-m-u ya (2) soyo ya (3) asu kaper-i-ko-m-u (4) soyo ya
(1) look(INF)-SUB return-INF come-TENT-FIN EMPH (2) soyo ya (3) tomorrow return-INF-come-TENT-FIN (4) soyo ya

[I] will look and return!
Soyo ya!
I will return home tomorrow
Soyo ya!
(2.4)

(1) 安春毛左祢已之也 (2) 曾与也 (3) 左安春毛左祢已之也 (4)曾与也
(1) asu mo sane ko-zi ya (2) soyo ya (3) sa asu mo sane ko-zi ya (4) soyo ya
(1) morning FOC certainly come-NEG/TENT EMPH (2) soyo ya (3) sa tomorrow FOC certainly come-NEG/TENT EMPH (4) soyo ya

[You] will certainly not return tomorrow!
Soyo ya!
No, [you] will most certainly not return tomorrow!
Soyo ya!
(2.4)

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47 This is arguably the sole example of a semantogram in kundoku. However 見 is also used frequently as a phonograph for mi in man’yōgana.
6.1.5. Nayoyo[ya]

Nayoyo[ya] appears in two consecutive songs, both of which contain relatively heavy use of hayashi words. It is notable that nayoyo[ya] also appears as hayashi kotoba in some imayō songs as well (cf. Ryōjin hishō).

(1) Kibi-no nakayama (2) obi n-i s-er-u (3) nayoyo ya (4) raisinaya
(1) Kibi-GEN Nakayama (middle mountain) (2) waist.wrap DV-INF do-INF-PROG-FIN
(3) nayoyo ya (4) raisinaya
[The valleys and rivers] make a waist wrap [of] Nakayama (middle mountains) of Kibi
Nayo ya!
Raisina ya!
(2.6)

(1) Koryo-GEN cross-NML-GEN (2) melon 48 make-NML (3) nayoyo ya (4) raisinaya
Melon cultivator from (lit: who crossed over from) Koryo 49
(2.7)

6.1.6. Saisina[ya]

Saisina ya appears in Makane puku (2.6) and Yamasiro (2.7); the same two poems in which nayoyo[ya] appears. These two songs have a ratio of 6:16 and 11:25 hayashi lines respectively. Both nayoyo[ya] and saisina[ya] appear together in both poems, which is cause for viewing them as a set hayashi phrase, nayoyasaisinaya. Ōtake is the only study that treats them as a single unit (Ōtake 1935: 154). The only evidence for a break between nayoyo and saisina would be ya, which if viewed as an independent emphatic

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48 Uri ‘melon’ is probably referring to the particular genus Cucumis melo, Makuwa. The Cucumis genus has a variety of physical types, but they fall under the higher classification Cucurbitacae, which can be indistinguishable from cucumbers. In the twelfth century, Mino-no kuni (modern day southern Gifu) became a popular growing area for cucumbers.

49 Several lines form this song are omitted in Nabeshimake-bon, including nayoyo.
particle would create a natural break between the two phrases. I thus follow the majority
and break them as two separate *hayashi* phrases.

(1) 己末乃和太利乃 (2) 宇利川久利 (3) 奈々与也 (4) 良伊之奈也 (5) 左以之名也 (6) 宇利川久利 (7) 宇利川久利
(1) koma-no watar-i-no (2) uri tukur-i (3) nanayoya (4) raisinaya (5) saisinaya (6) uri tukur-i (7) uri tukur-i
(1) Koryo-GEN cross-NML-GEN (2) melon cultivate-NML (3) nayoya (4) raisina (5)
saisina ya (6) melon cultivate-NML (7) melon cultivate-NML
    Melon cultivator from Koryo
    *Nayo ya!*
    *Raisina ya!*
    *Saisina ya!*
(2.7)

(1) 支比乃名加也万 (2) 於比尔世代留 (3) 奈与也 (4) 良伊之奈也 (5) 左以之奈也
(1) Kibi-no nakayama (2) obi n-i s-er-u (3) nanayoya (4) raisinaya (5) saisina ya
(1) Kibi-GEN Nakayama (middle mountain) (2) waist wrap DV-INF do-PROG-FIN (3)
nayoya (4) raisinaya (5) saisina ya
    [The valleys and rivers] make a waist wrap [of] Nakayama (middle mountains) of
    Kibi
    *Nayo ya!*
    *Raisina ya!*
    *Saisina ya!*
(2.6)

6.1.7. *Soyo[ya]*

*Soyo[ya]* appears twice in one song, *Sakurabito*. The second occurrence of *soyo[ya]*
appears before a separate section in the song, which is divided into a man and woman’s
part.

Examples:
(1) 之末川多平 (2) 止万知川久礼留 (3)見天可戸利己无也 (4) 曾与也 (5) 安春可戸利
己牟 (6) 与与也
(1) sima-tu ta-wo (2) to mati tukur-er-u (3) mi-te kaper-i ko-m-u ya (4) soyoya (5) asu
kaper-i ko-m-u (6) soyoya
(1) island-GEN/LOC paddy-ACC (2) ten paddy make-PROG-FIN (3) see(INF)-SUB
return-INF come-TENT-FIN EMPH (4) soyoya (5) morning return-INF come-TENT-
ATTR (6) soyoya
    [They made] ten blocks from island paddies
    [I] will [go] take a look at [them] and return home
soyoya!
[I] will return home tomorrow
soyoya!
(2.4)

6.1.8. Toutou

Toutou appears in Agemaki four times, creating a break between 1 and 2, 3 and 5, and 6 and 7, and then as the final line (line 9).

(1) agemaki ya (2) toutou (3) piro bakari ya (4) toutou (5) sakar-i-te ne-tar-e-domo (6) marob-i-ap-i-ker-i (7) toutou (8) ka-yor-i-ap-i-ker-i (9) toutou
(1) agemaki EMPH (2) toutou (3) fathom RESTR EMPH (4) toutou (5) separate-INF-SUB sleep-PROG-EV-CONC (6) roll-INF-COOP-INF-RETR-INF (7) toutou (8) INT-approach-INF-COOP-INF-RETR-INF (9) toutou
Agemaki!

Toutou
Just a fathom!

Toutou
Though [we] slept separated [by just a fathom]

Toutou
We rolled together

Toutou
[We] drifted to each other

Toutou
(2.32)

6.1.9. Tararirari ~ tatarirari

Tararirari, and tatarirari ~ tararirari appear together in two songs, Tanakawi and Opopmiya. Tararirari only appears in Jinchi yōroku and Sango yōroku and therefore is a variant of the hayashi phrase. Tenji-bon has tarirari while Nabeshimake-bon has tatarirari. The majority of other manuscripts have tararirari, following Nabeshimake-bon, but changing /r/ for /t/. This suggests that the rhythm pattern of the song does not follow Tenji-bon, which has one less syllable than Nabeshimake-bon, tararirari as opposed to tarirari for Tenji-bon. The other manuscripts changed the transcription to /r/,
in all likelihood because when they were being sung they were probably very difficult to distinguish.

(1) 川女川女安己女 (2) 己安己女 (3) 太利良利 (4) 太奈加乃己安己女
(1) tum-e tum-e akome ٥٠ (2) ko-akome (3) tarirari (4) Tanaka-no ko-akome
(1) gather-IMP gather-IMP (2) DIM-young maiden (3) tarirari (4) Tanaka-GEN DIM-young maiden

Gather them gather them young maiden (who wears an akome underegarment)!
Dear young maiden
Tarirari
Young maiden of Tanaka
(2.31)

(1) 左也女乙无太利 (2) 多良利也輸太名
(1) s[a]-ayame٥١ ko [u]m-u-dar-i (2) tarari yarintana
(1) PREF-ayame child birth-INF-PERF/PROG-FIN (2) tarari yarintana

٥٠ When warn by men, akome is a crimson undergarment between the shitagasane and hitoeginu, or ‘unlined garment,’ in decorative court garb. When warn by women, it is the layer of garment worn between the underwear—directly touching the skin—and the outer layer. It is typically warn by young girls. Akome as used here came to refer to young girls via this definition.
٥١ Ayame (菖蒲), acorus calamus, and ayame (漢女), an analogous expression meaning ‘Chinese women’—or progeny thereof—residing in Japan. There are several explanations for the use of this word here.

Ayame 菖蒲 ‘iris’ is an aquatic perennial monocot. Acorus was used as a traditional medicinal plant in Chinese medicine. From the Nara period, the culturally significant iris was used as part of a fifth month celebration (May 5) Tango no sekku (端午の節句 or 菖蒲の節句), or Boy’s Day Celebration, where the health and vitality of boys and young men was prayed for. Ayame (漢女) comes from a hereditary title given to clans that emigrated to Japan from China, the ayauji (漢氏). It is probably also connected to a metaphorical construction from the word aya ‘weave; design’ and me < mê ‘woman’ signifying women from the continent who came and introduced various foreign arts and crafts to Japan in the early period.

Usuda (2000: 162) interprets this line to indicate an ayame (漢女) woman, meaning a woman who is of continental descent, or of the ayauji bloodline. Konishi (1957: 409) also interprets aya as’asso in explaining this as a testament to the popular rumors of Chinese women giving birth. In contrast, Moribe interprets this to be the fifth month celebration mentioned above. The overall meaning of the poem does not require the analysis proposed by Usuda (2000) and Konishi (1957). Ayame appears four times in Man’yoshu III, VII, VIII, and X. Logographic instances are written with the characters,菖蒲 and all but Volume VII are read ayamé-N-kusa. Volume VII has the characters 漢女 (ayame) ‘China woman.’ I follow Moribe in interpreting this as ayame, the fifth month celebration. This analysis is based primarily on the preceding prefix sa- which has been shown to indicate locations, events, and objects associated with the ritually important fifth-month, satsuki (Gluskina 1979: 99-110. Cited in Vovin 2005). May fifth would have also been a very auspicious date for a male child to be born.
A[n ayame] child was born
Tarari yarinta!
(2.33)

6.1.10. [T]ösitoto ~ t[o]ösitonto

[T]ösitoto, t[o]ösitonto are hayashi kotoba found in the song
Katuragi. Tonto is one of the few examples of innovative man’yōgana use. Old Japanese
did not have consonant clusters, so there was no need for phonograms that transcribed
them. However, in the Middle Japanese period, with the development of the reduced N <
mu, they became necessary. The most common practice was to write m, or N with a
phonogram for mu. This case is one case where a character that ends in nasal n is used
instead, 屯 ton, from CHN zhūn < MC trwin, toositonto. This suggests that the scribes
were well aware of this type of innovative use of phonographic characters to transcribe
elements otherwise not part of the conservative script. This also calls into question uses
of mu phonograms to transcribe reduced onbin forms, i.e. kimudati [kiːdəti?], [kindati?]
< kimitati, when other means of representation were available.

(1) 末之良太末之川久也 (2) 於之止々 (3) 止於之止々 (4) 之可之天波 (5) 久爾曾左
可江无也 (6) 和伊戸良曾 (7) 止美世无也 (8) 止之屯止 (9) 於々之屯止 (10) 止之屯止
(1) ma-sira tama siduk-u ya (2) ositoto (3) toositoto (4) sika s-i-te pa (5) kuni zo
saka[y]e-m-u ya (6) wa ipe-ra zo (7) tomi se-m-u ya (8) tositonto (9) oositonto (10)
tositonto
(1) INT-white jewel sink-FIN EMPH (2) ositoto (3) toositoto (4) that do-INF-SUB TOP
(5) land FOC flourish-TENT-FIN EMPH (6) I home-PL52 FOC (7) fortune do-TENT-
FIN EMPH (8) tositonto (9) oositonto (10) tositonto

The pure white pearl sinks!

Ositoto
Toositoto

If it is [done] this way, the land will flourish! Our houses will have fortune!

52 It was also pointed out to me that this could be the Old Japanese dative-locative -ra which
can be found in the Man’yōshū, Nihon shoki, and Senmyō. In that case, the translation would be:
“…the land will flourish and I will make a fortune at home” (Vovin, PC)
6.1.11. Yarintana

Yarintana appears once in song 2.33. There is some disagreement in the manuscripts regarding the exact form. This song does not appear in Tenji-bon, and the only manuscript with man’yōgana spelling in this case, is Nabeshimake-bon. Nabeshimake-bon spells the syllable /ri/ with the disyllabic character 輪 rin ‘wheel,’ clearly showing that the final element was nasal /m/ or /n/. Jinchi yōroku has tariritari タリリタリ.

Example:

(1) opo miya-no (2) nisi-no ko-mudi-ni (3) ayame ko [u]m-u-tar-i (4) s[a]-ayame ko m-u-tar-i (5) tarari yarintana

(1) great palace-GEN (2) west-GEN small-road-LOC (3) ayame child to birth-INF-PERF/PROG-FIN (4) PREF-ayame (sweetflag) child to birth-INF-PERF/PROG-FIN (5) tarari yarintana

On a narrow road west of the great palace, [a woman] birthed an ayame child

Tarari yarintana

[A woman] birthed a fifth month ayame child

(2.33)
CHAPTER 7. ORTHOGRAPHY

Saibara does not employ a great diversity of characters. Syllables are usually rendered with the same man’yōgana throughout the texts with maybe one or two variations. The oldest Saibara manuscripts utilize mimetic writing, transcribing vowel length, presumably as a kind of singing guide, i.e. ise no-o umi no ki-i-yoki-i nagisa ‘the pure beach of the sea of Ise.’ This is very atypical of Nara period texts, but the Heian period does see some transcription of vowel length such as this in writing--albeit primarily in dictionaries. Saibara’s orthography also does not indicate voicing distinctions. The script uses primarily signs with voiceless consonants (i.e. signs used for both prenasalized voiced and voiceless consonants in OJ) to transcribe syllables with both voiced and voiceless consonants. In fact, the only prenasalized voiced phonograms with initial prenasalized voiced consonants used in Saibara are 度 do [ⁿd], 自 zi [ⁿz], and 太 da [ⁿd]. So, although some man’yōgana that indicate prenasalized voiced consonants are used, they are all used interchangeably throughout the collection. For example, 加 ka is not used for prenasalized voiced in OJ, but it is used in Saibara (2:17) in the phrase kura gaki 久良可支 ‘storehouse fence.’ This lack of voicing distinction in the orthography is another feature typical of Heian period writing.

Beginning from the latter half of the Nara period, Japanese iting system made some gradual shifts which eventually gave way to several major orthographic transitions. One of these major developments is the development of phonographic man’yōgana into the hiragana syllabary. As mentioned above, the two oldest manuscripts, Nabeshimake-bon (NKB) and Tenji-bon (TB) are traditionally identified as written in the phonetic-syllabic
Man’yōgana 万葉仮名 script. Man’yōgana, ‘syllabary of the Man’yoshū,’ is a historical term for Sinitic signs employed phonographically to transcribe Japanese syllables. The term man’yōgana can be understood generally as representing the varieties of phonograms employed before the development of simplified graphemes, i.e. the hiragana 平仮名 script (Frellesvig 2010: 14). The characters employed to render Japanese sounds in the man’yōgana system were initially borrowed from China via a Korean intermediary, and the sounds that approximated Japanese syllables were employed without regard to their semantic values. For example 家 “house, family” modern Mandarin jià < Middle Chinese kae was used as an Old Japanese phonogram for ké. Other examples from text are 波奈 pana ‘flower,’ 比登 pîtô ‘person,’ and 美気 mîkê ‘wine.’ This type of phonogram, based on Chinese readings or ongana 音仮名 ‘sound-based character,’ is distinct from kungana 訓仮名 ‘reading-based characters,’ which are ultimately derived from native readings of Sinitic logographs. It is a two step process where the Japanese word associated with the logograph is read, i.e. 三 ‘three,’ EMC sam, would be read as mi (OJ mî) ‘three’ and then (2) used as a phonograph for the syllable mî without regard to its meaning in Japanese, i.e. 三諸 mi-moro ‘HON-chamber’ where the honorific prefix mi- is written in kungana. Kungana, however, is relatively infrequent outside of the Man’yōshū.

The term man’yōgana is sometimes broadly applied to logographic varieties of writing in the Man’yōshū and other texts but this is an overgeneralization of the term. In the Man’yōshū, logographic varieties of script vastly outnumber phonographic and
there are varying degrees of density and application style that make them an extremely versatile writing form.

Evidence stretching from as early as the sixth to eighth century suggests that there were both phonographic and logographic as well as mixed logographic-phonographic scripts already in use (Lurie 2004: 272-3; Frellesvig 2010: 14). Nevertheless, in the earliest literature the most abundant form of prose writing was in that of logographic-primary and Hentai kanbun 变体漢文. The resurgence of phonographic writing between the tenth and eleventh century that saw the burgeoning of hiragana for vernacular poetry was the point of departure for the eventual wholesale displacement of man’yōgana as the primary mode of inscription for vernacular poetry. Thus, the appearance of Tenji-bon and Nabeshimake-bon in the eleventh and twelfth century written almost entirely in man’yōgana strongly suggests a manuscript tradition stretching back to an earlier period. The following section will further illuminate the type of writing appearing in Tenji-bon and Nabeshimake-bon.

7.1. Cursivity and the Classification of Saibara’s Man’yōgana

While the writing in the earliest manuscripts (man’yōgana phonograms) is generally considered a straightforward aspect of the orthography in Tenji-bon and Nabeshimake-bon, because of the yet dubious understanding of the text, especially its putative ninth century origins, it is important to clearly set the manuscripts within the historical context.

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53 These “mixed scripts,” include phonograph-supplemented logographic writing as found frequently in the Man’yōshū as well as the distinct Senmyōgaki 宣命書 ‘edict style’ found in the Norito and Senmyō.

54 Hentai kanbun is a Japanized form of classical Chinese which is written in Chinese with loose conformity to Japanese syntax and acts primarily to facilitate vernacular readings of Chinese texts.
of Japanese writing, by clarifying the writing itself in terms of more subtle gradations of
cursivity and simplification that ultimately compose the transition from man’ yōgana to
hiragana. Because the development of hiragana is exactly that, a development, it is
sometimes possible to establish a more specific collocation within that transition.

The hiragana script developed as a practical and natural mode of expedient (and
perhaps aesthetic) writing. Hiragana is the cursive, or sōsho 草書 ‘grass writing’ style of
man’ yōgana. In parallel, there were already existing abbreviated cursive writing styles
found in China for hundreds of years. These were not necessarily the precursor to
hiragana, but were highly cursive forms of writing that were most certainly familiar to the
Japanese. Kaisho 楷書, a square; block style writing, more closely resembles full form
man’ yōgana characters for its unconnected, clear, fully formed shapes. Looking at the
Saibara manuscripts, the writing style of Tenji-bon and Nabeshimake-bon are clearly
distinct from each other in terms of their mutual levels of cursivity. However, it certainly
cannot be classified as being written in sōsho. The characters are clearly represented and
fully formed. Still, when compared to other manuscripts with manuscripts predating the
Heian period, Saibara stands out as much more cursively handled. Nevertheless, while it
would be simple to argue that the intermittent level of cursivity in the manuscripts
suggests a transitional period towards simplified cursive writing, because of the lack of
other manuscripts that are written in man’ yōgana and the kaisho styles of both texts, to
me it seems that Tenji-bon and Nabeshimake-bon are both manuscript copies which
probably go back to at least the Nara period.

55 Seeley notes specifically the calligraphic forms exhibited by the famous Chinese
caligropher Wang Xinzhi and the early hiragana / sōsho form of me 閃 and pu ぷ (Seeley 1991: 71).
Abbreviated forms resembling hiragana are found in kunten glosses from as early as the ninth century (Seeley 1991:65). Further, linked cursive and abbreviated forms closely resembling modern hiragana appear in considerable numbers from the late-ninth century, culminating with the Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集 ‘Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs,’ the first native poetry anthology ordered and sanctioned by the emperor with preface and contents written in primarily hiragana script (ibid: 74). Seeley further defines the development and identification of the shapes of hiragana as the extent to which cursivity affects the shape of individual constituent signs (Seeley 1991: 72). Therefore, there is a distinction to be made where the writing of an individual manuscript can determine the temporal placement of that particular copy, however, conversely, looking at the orthography, or writing system, it is possible to reveal elements of received precedent such as spelling conventions and distinctive usage of logographic and phonographic symbols etc. In the case of Saibara, there are only two extant sources (Tenji-bon and Nabeshimake-bon) that clearly form the basis of the majority of the subsequent texts. Consequently, it is necessary to look at both the orthography and writing style of the individual copies as well as the orthography of the text overall.
Both Tenji-bon and Nabeshimake-bon display clear, spaced and unabbreviated characters akin to man’yōgana, nothing close to the highly abbreviated and cursivized forms of hiragana texts of the same period. Interestingly, however, Nabeshimake-bon displays much clearer forms with all strokes formed consistently throughout, whereas Tenji-bon has subtle but consistent short-cut strokes throughout thus displaying a visibly higher level of cursivity in the characters.

7.2. Varieties of use in Sinitic Phonograms and Semantograms

Fundamentally, for logographs, semantic content is primary and phonetic realization secondary. The distinction between logographs read for their original Chinese and those read for their equivalent native Japanese readings are seion 正音 ‘true sound’ and seikun

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56 Nabeshinake-bon is taken from the Kōeki zaidan hōjin Nabeshima hōkoukai chōkōkan [Historical museum of the Nabeshima Foundation] website (http://www.nabeshima.or.jp/collection/index.php?mode=display_itemdetail&id=56). Tenji-bon is a facsimile of Tenji-bon Saibara shō (Koten hozon so, 1926) made by the author.

Seikun is most common in Nara period texts, which would utilize Sinitic logographs to be read for their equivalent Japanese words / phrases, ignoring the Chinese readings. They constitute the vernacular or kundoku 訓読 (KD) readings of Chinese texts as well. I.e., 山 Middle Chinese (MC) srean, KD yama ‘mountain,’ 人 MC nyin KD pītō ‘person’, 大君 MC daH kjun KD öpō kīmī ‘great lord [sovereign]’. The above examples are kundoku (KD) readings of Sinitic characters. The seion reading would have the same signs, 大君 read as daikun in modern Japanese (MdJ), which is the Japanese rendition of the Chinese dái jūn < MC daH kjun. In contrast, Sinitic logographs are essentially Sino-Japanese borrowings, not dissimilar to the abundant examples found in modern Japanese, i.e., 大臣 daijin ‘minister,’ hōshi < popusi 法師, ‘[Buddhist] monk.’

Kundoku was the most common way to read texts written in Chinese (cf. kanbun kundoku), especially in native poetry, which frequently employed Sinitic logographs until the Heian period. Thus, drawing a line of distinction, kundoku is the reading of Sinitic characters for their semantic and not phonetic value and seikun is the reading of logographs for both their phonetic and semantic values. From the ninth century, Chinese as a written language became more prevalent in the court and it was during this period that seikun became increasingly common (Frellesvig 2010: 158).

Miyake (2003) identifies five strata of Sinographic readings in Japanese.\(^{58}\) System A: a theoretical pre-Suiko period system based on early Late Old Chinese (LOC) (ca. 4 c.), System B: the initial script introduced via Paekche based on the Late Old Chinese or

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\(^{58}\) Vovin (2005) categorizes man ’yōgana into two essential varieties, variety A and variety B. Variety A is based on an a variety of Early Middle Chinese conditioned by Korean and variety B is based directly on Late Middle Chinese, with variety B being limited to the Nihon shoki (Vovin 2005; Mori 1991; Miyake 2003).
Sino-Paekche (ca. 400 CE), System C: Suiko period inscriptions based on early Early Middle Chinese (EMC) (c. 500 CE), \(^{59}\) and System D: post-Suiko inscriptions based on Early Middle Chinese or other Sinoexenic variety, \(^{60}\) and System E: a system based on Late Middle Chinese (Miyake 2003: 11-23). Although there is some overlap, Miyake’s divisions coincide with the introduction of spelling systems and revisions of those spelling systems reintroduced over the course of three hundred years. Paekche scholars introduced a Sinoexenic writing system to Japan in waves from the early fifth century to the Suiko period (592-628 CE) (systems A, B, C), diplomatic missions to Tang began in the seventh century and introduced new, revised systems\(^{61}\) constituting (system C, D, and Go-on), and later missions to Sui China yielded the late Kan-on 漢音 Sino-Japanese readings. This illustrates well the close connection and “productive” nature of pre-Nara and Nara period orthography to their continental sources (Miyake 2003: 52-54).

Beginning from the mid-Nara period, a gradual process of decline in phonographic transcription was the result of a larger shift towards preference for Classical Chinese writing, reaching its height in the early ninth century. It was during this time that Japanese writing changed significantly and the system of man’yōgana employed in the Nara period began to develop into a static, simplified system, i.e. the kana syllabary (Miyake 2003; Frellesvig 2010: 158). In the resurgence of Japanese writing in the tenth

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\(^{59}\) Attestations given for systems A, B, and C are as follows: *Inariyama* (ca. ?471/531) and *Eta Funayama* (ca. late 5 -6 c. CE) sword inscriptions and the *Suda Hachiman* shrine mirror inscription 隈田八幡神社人物画像鏡 (c. 503)

\(^{60}\) Miyake (2003) believes this stratum is likely based on some variety of Sino-Paekche or other Korean intermediary and were “revised” readings based on phonemic changes in Middle Chinese. Readings were largely based on Go-on.

Sources are as follows: *Kojiki* (712 CE), *Shoku nihongi* (797), *Fudoki* (714 CE), *Bussokuseki no uta* (752 CE), *Man’yōshū* (759 CE)

\(^{61}\) Miyake notes that system D was likely through a Korean source (Miyake 2003: 22)
century, man'yōgana phonograms went largely into disuse and simplified kana 仮名 syllabograms frequently appeared in place of man'yōgana (Frellesvig 2010: 178-179).

Saibara stands out from other early Heian period texts because of its use of man'yōgana. The collection also contains several logographs, which have no attested kundoku readings. None of the man'yōgana texts have kunten, so there is no absolute certainty with regards to how these were meant to be read. However it can be assumed that they were Chinese borrowings read in their Sino-Japanese pronunciations. This was rare in non-poetic texts of the Nara and early Heian periods, avoided for the most part in native poetry until the late Heian period. Thus, although Saibara has been traditionally viewed as being written in a primarily phonographic register with some use of Chinese characters read in their seion, an important distinction is overlooked; the wholesale absence of kundoku in the collection. Hence, Saibara includes Chinese borrowings, but all readings are Sino-Japanese. There are no clear instances of logographs being rendered in kundoku. In all likelihood, these Sinitic logographs were loanwords used in everyday speech with fully assimilated Sino-Japanese pronunciations. This is further reason to consider Saibara a completely vencular text, adhering as closely to sound values as is possible.

7.3. Sino-Japanese Vocabulary In The Songs
While there are instances of kungana being used, i.e. 女 for me, 木 for ki, etc., there is not the same level of complex and creative word play that can be found in the Man’yōshū or Kokinshū. The writing is simple and straightforwardly phonographic for the most part. But there are instances of logography and some instances of sinographs not attested in any texts with kundoku reading gloss, amounting essentially to kanbun-derived kanji 漢
(Chinese characters in Sino-Japanese readings) logographs (Saibara 1:13, 1:25). One instance of the character 衝 ‘skirt’ is disputed. Usuda (1957) transcribes this as syau following Jinchi yōroku and Sango yōroku, which both attest the Sino-Japanese reading (kan’on 漢音) reading syau. However, other manuscripts have mo, the Japanese reading (kun’yomi 読み). Because of the context of the poem which is describing a monk’s outfit, it is more likely that we are dealing with the foreign term for a Kasama, or monk’s surplice, which would have been read in its Sino-Japanese syau. However, contrary to this, the rest of the poem does not contain any Chinese words and the honorific prefix preceding it omu- is the reduced form of ofo[N]- < opo + mî ‘great + HON,’ is a native honorific that appears in Heian period texts. OFo[N]- is the grammaticalization of opo ‘great’ and prefix mî-, which was then reduced to oFoN- and on-. This is in contrast to go- which would probably be a more familiar set as go-shau. Nevertheless it is one of the few instances of logographic character usage in Saibara. In line 7 there is another logographic spelling, popusi ‘monk.’ si is an early borrowing but popu is a Chinese Buddhist term for monk or teacher of the dharma.

Example:
(1) OrFail之天良乃 (2) 於以祢須美 (3) 和加祢須美 (4) 於牟裳都无川 (5) 介左川无川 (6) 介左川无川 (7) 法師＝末字左亦 (8) 師＝末字勢 (9) 法師＝末字佐亦 (10) 師或末字勢
(1) nisi dera-no (2) oy-i nezumi (3) waka nezumi (4) omuSYAU tum-u-t-u (5) kesa tum-u-t-u (6) kesa tum-u-t-u (7) POPUSI-ni maus-am-u (8) SI-ni maus-e (9) POPUSI-ni maus-am-u (10) SI-ni maus-e
(1) west temple-GEN (2) old-NML rat (3) young rat (4) HON-skirt chew-INF-PERF-FIN (5) surplice [kasaya] chew.through-INF-PERF-FIN (6) surplice [kasaya] chew.through-INF-PERF-FIN (7) priestLOC say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (8) priest-LOC say(HUM)-IMP (9) priest-LOC say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (10) priest-LOC say-IMP

The young rats and old rats of the western temples are chewing through skirts

62 法師 popusi / pousi (MdJ) hōshi is a ‘Buddhist Master,’ or ‘priest,’ distinct from the lesser sō (僧) ‘monk’
[They] are chewing through surplices
[They] are chewing through surplices
[I] will tell the priest
Tell the priest!
[I] will tell the priest
Tell the priest!
(1.25)

Usuda (2000) has *omu-shau*, saying that this is the correct *on'yomi* reading of the character. He cites *Sango yōroku*, which has ōshō and the same song in *Katsura-bon*, which has pōsau (Usuda 1957: 168). 裕 mo is attested as a *kungana* phonogram for /mo/. Based on the usage of logograms throughout the song, I follow Konishi (1957) and interpret 裕 as *syau* (CHN) ‘skirt’ here.

Usuda (20000) further comments that *tumutu* is an altered form of *tumitu* ‘chew-INF-PERF-FIN.’ Konishi (1957) just explains it as ‘to eat completely’ but does not give any further explanation. A *u* ~ *i* alternation for the infinitive would be exceedingly strange, unless after a negative -(a)z- ~ -(a)n-. It would also be a hapax legomenon, as it is not found anywhere else in this or other texts. *Nabeshimake-bon* is missing this song and the only phonographically written manuscript is *Tenji-bon*, which has *tumutu* (都无川). Both *Jinchi yōroku* and *Sango yōroku* have two variants of this line. *Jinchi yōroku* has *tumutu* (ツムツ) (variant 1) and *tuutu* (ツウツ) (variant 2). *Sango yōroku* has *omu-syau mimutu kesa tumutu* (オムシヤウミムツ ケサツムツ) (variant 1) and *pousau tumutu kesa tumutu* (ホウサウツムツ ケサツムツ) (variant 2). *Ryōjin guanshō* and other early sources have *tundu* (つんづ).

*Tumutu* and *tundu* probably represent the same underlying form, [tu₃du]. I will go into a more detailed explanation of this form later, so I will only treat it minimally here, however, in brief, this form is the result of nasal assimilation after loss of high back
vowel /i/ after /m/. This yielded either a nasal Ū⁶³, [tŪḏu] or N [tundu]. Because there were no phonograms available to represent /n/ or /m/ without a following vowel, i.e. /no/, /nu/, or /mo/, /mu/, scribes frequently transcribed /N/ with signs for either /mu/ or /u/. /mu/ is attested in Tenji-bon, Jinchi yōroku (variant 1), and Sango yōroku (variant 1 and 2). /u/ is attested in the Jinchi yōroku’s second variant tuutu [tuŪdu]. This was an unwieldly but common way to write the form.

7.4. Graphemics

The majority of tenth century literary texts are written in kana, essentially in hiragana, the abbreviated form of ma'n'yōgana phonograms, and kanji, characters used logographically. Many of the manuscripts are written in cursive sōsho 草書 ‘grass writing’ and semi-cursive gyōsho 行書 ‘linear writing’ styles. The polyphonic principle is in effect for both Nara and Heian period writing, meaning several characters can be used to transcribe a single syllable. Still, the characters used can vary considerably in several ways. (1) The character reading (as described above) can change depending on the period when it was adopted. For instance, the character 人 ‘person’ EMC nyin (>Mandarin rén) has the go-on (ca. 5, 6 c.) reading nin EMC and the kan-on (ca. 7 - 9 c.) reading zin based on Late Middle Chinese (LMC) ʰzīn. This change is a result of developments in the Chinese language between the Liang, Chen, Sui, and high Tang (ca. 700 -) dynasties. (2) There is variation between the different layers of borrowings as well, i.e. 法 was initially borrowed as popu (go-on) from MC pjop, but internal Japanese changes affecting initial (-p > f > h) and medial (-p- > f > Ø) -p-produced the modern reading hō. (3) Phonograms can lose distinctions previously held; certain strata of

⁶³ Or vowel nasal Ū according to Frellesvig (2010: 195)
phonograms were used strictly to transcribe prenasalized voiced or voiceless consonants, but in later periods lost the distinction, i.e. ʰᵹ ‘able’ was used to transcribe ka in OJ, but started to also be applied freely to prenasalized voiced ga [ŋa] in EMJ. (3) The quantity of phonograms can differ greatly in number depending on the text and time period. The phonograms used to transcribe texts in Old Japanese are considerably more numerous than those typically used later in the Heian period as man’yōgana became more streamlined.

The phonemes used to transcribe Saibara are all characters common to the Heian period, most of which form the basis for the cursive hiragana script. Still, by the tenth century, the vast majority of texts were written in cursive script. The fact that the oldest Saibara manuscripts (Nabeshimake-bon and Tenji-bon) employ man’yōgana is significant and probably suggests an old transmission predating the extant manuscripts. In looking at the Saibara script it is important to keep in mind the characters used and the number of character variation for each syllable. As can be seen in the chart, Saibara’s phonograms are (1) considerably less numerous than the variety of man’yōgana used in Nara period texts, (2) the characters used are the same ones that later became the cursive hiragana and abbreviated katakana scripts, and (3) there is no use of disyllabic characters and also very few appearances of logo-phonographic kungana characters.

7.4.1. Kō-otsu vowel distinctions in the orthography

There were vowel distinctions in Japanese for /i/ ([i] vs [ɨ]) and /e/ ([e] vs [ye]) after k, m, p, and distinctions for /o/ ([o] vs [ǝ]) after s, t, k, n, p, m, and y. I.e., ko₁ [ko] ko₂ [kə].
These distinctions are maintained in Nara and pre-Nara period orthography indicating that Old Japanese contained seven vowels,\(^{64}\) /i/, /ɨ/, /u/, /e/, /əy/, /o/, /ə/, /a/. This is in contrast to modern Japanese which only has five, /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/. These vowel distinctions were categorized into type A (kō-rui) and type B (otsu-rui) syllables. Kō-rui and otsu-rui are traditional divisions\(^{65}\) originally put in place to draw clear distinctions between Old Japanese and Middle Japanese vowels where the OJ series merged as /i/, /e/, and /o/ in EMJ (Vovin 2005: 18).

There are several methods for transliterating the kō-otsu distinctions. Here, I will be indicating them using the Modified Mathias-Miller notation where necessary (for details see §10.2):

**Table 9: Modified Mathias-Miller OJ transcription system**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kō/otsu (A/B type syllable)</th>
<th>Modified Mathias-Miller</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kō-rui</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otsu-rui</td>
<td>ɨ [i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kō-rui</td>
<td>ê [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otsu-rui</td>
<td>ɵ [ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>e [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kō-rui</td>
<td>ô [o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otsu-rui</td>
<td>ə [ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>o [o]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kō-otsu distinctions were expressed exclusively through the phonographic *man’yōgana* script. So, a study of the graphemes employed in the *Saibara* manuscripts is

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\(^{64}\) *otsu-rui* (type B) syllables were a diphthong [əy] (cf. Miyake 2003). Nevertheless these are often viewed as eight distinct “vowel phonemes” (Frellesvig 2010: 32).

\(^{65}\) Texts written in Eastern Old Japanese such as the *sakimori-uta*, ‘border guard songs’ may be considered an exception because EOJ had either lost *kō/otsu* distinctions much earlier than Western Old Japanese, or never had them at all.

\(^{66}\) Chart adopted from Frellesvig (2010: 32)
necessary to better understand the time period of their transcription. These distinctions slowly collapsed as the Nara period progressed and are only seldom found in texts later than the ninth century. And even within those texts that maintain the distinctions, there is considerable vacillation between those written with historically accurate spelling and those that are not. In investigating the orthography of *Saibara*, a Heian period text, it is critical to know whether these distinctions are present or not, because they can tell us with some degree of certainty, how far back the manuscripts go.

Some *kō-otsu* distinctions remain intact statistically. For instance, the highest percentage of syllables that are accurately spelled are *otsu-rui no*₂ and *kō-rui ki*₁, with *no*₂ being the genitive or defective verb, i.e. *ise-no₂ umi* ‘the sea of Ise,’ *taka n-o₂ ko*₂ ‘baby hawk’ (lit. ‘hawk which is a baby’). *Ki*₁ being the final -*k* of quadrigrade verbs plus -i infinitive. It looks as if *kō-otsu* distinctions are maintained in these syllables, but throughout the text, the most frequent characters used to write the syllables *no* and *ki* are 乃 (no₂) and 代 (ki₁). Also, *no*₂ genitive and ...-*ki*₁ infinitive are two of the most common language forms in the text. Based on this, it is difficult to say anything conclusively. The strongest likelihood is that we are dealing with spelling conservatism.

The apparent breakdown of *kō-otsu* distinctions in the text is indicative of a Heian period transcription. And although this is generally thought of as marking the transition from Old Japanese to Early Middle Japanese, it is also known that *kō-otsu* distinctions were already breaking down in the Nara period and that it was probably conservative orthographic conventions that upheld them statistically (Bentley 1997; Miyake 2003). Additionally however, *Saibara* exhibits the frequent appearance of *onbin* ‘euphonic’ changes (This will be described in detail in the section on morphophonemics), which break
the phonotactics of Old Japanese and display increasing prevalence in texts from the
ninth century on.

The linguistic classifications of Japanese are roughly based on political shifts. I.e. the
demarcation of Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese is at the beginning of the Heian
period. And the start of the Kamakura era in 1200 CE is where the division between EMJ
and LMJ is commonly drawn. The way these categories are presented can be
misleading. Ancient Japan presumably had a number of dialects coexisting at the same
time throughout the archipelago. Naturally, geography played a large part, so a dialect
spoken at the northern tip of Honshu would differ greatly from one that was spoken in
Kyushu, but they would all ultimately go back to proto-Japonic. Movement of the capital
from Heijōkyō, modern day Nara, to Heiankyō, modern day Kyoto would have initiated the gradual change from the Asuka dialect in Nara to the new dialect of
Heiankyō (approx. 41 km from the old capital Nara). So changes reflected in writing
between these two periods may not be one of chronological progression, but instead a
changeover of the capital dialect based on movement to a new location. They thus might
represent two distinct coexisting dialects with a different progression from proto-
Japanese. This is reflected in forms such as Western Old Japanese (WOJ) sugus- and
EMJ sugos- ‘to pass’ which reflects MJ conservativism with regard to *o > u raising.

There were 2 prevailing factors that contributed to some of the major changes
observed in Early Middle Japanese literature, (1) the calligraphic hiragana script and (2)
a dramatic increase in the amount of materials written in Classical Chinese. These factors

67 Martin 1987 follows the common linguistic division used by most Japanese scholars, jōdai
上代 (Old Japanese), chuko 中古 (Early Middle Japanese), and chuse 中世 (Late Middle
served to obscure our picture of the ninth century, which is presumably when we would observe the most dramatic linguistic changes associated with the changeover form Asuka (Nara) to the Heiankyō dialect.

The collapse of kō-otsu vowel distinctions in the Heian period is one of the defining factors that separates Old Japanese from Early Middle Japanese. Whether this was actually a gradual collapse of the distinctions or the eventual supplanting of Western Old Japanese with another dialect that had already lost them is not known. As it stands, the regular maintenance of kō-otsu distinctions is not observed after the early tenth century. There is some evidence that kō-otsu distinctions began to collapse in the syllable /mo/ some time in the eighth century (Frellesvig 2010).

As can be seen in the chart, kō-otsu distinctions in the Saibara manuscripts are clearly breaking down. To begin, many of the kō-otsu syllables are not present in the text. Furthermore, among the syllables that have both kō and otsu variants in WOJ, there is rarely more than a single phonogram occurring for each, and one of the distinctions is frequently in much lower distribution than the other. The following chart presents Saibara syllables which have phonograms in both kō and otsu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>kō-otsu phonograms</th>
<th>otsu-otsu phonograms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kō-rui</td>
<td>otsu-rui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phonogram</td>
<td>occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>度</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro</td>
<td>路</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above three syllables, /ko/, /to/, and /ro/, are the only ones with statistically significant numbers. According to the chart above we can view the language recorded in Saibara as having lost kō-otsu vowel distinctions after s, p, m, and y while maintaining
the distinction after k, t, and r. It is well known that /ko/ was the last syllable to lose the
distinction and so it is appropriate that it is represented here with a near equal
distribution. The 2 to 36 distribution of kō-rui rō and otsu-rui rō, however, would have
certainly been lost long before the Saibara manuscripts were copied. It is possible that
/to/ maintained its kō-otsu distinction through the ninth century. The occurrence of
morphemes with otsu-rui tō vastly outnumber those with tō, so a 12:67 ratio could be
viewed as maintaining kō-otsu distinctions in /to/ syllables. But again, the misspellings
point to a collapsing of kō-otsu distinctions in this syllable.

Although statistically the orthography reflects accurate spelling of kō-otsu vowels
overall, the occurrence of kō-rui syllables is less than half the entire corpus. Hence, the
accuracy of kō-otsu distinctions must to be viewed independently. The above chart
clearly shows that phonograms in kō are used considerably less than otsu in /to/ and /ro/,
where /ro/ in kō-rui (rō) is only used twice in a single song. This suggests to me that the
orthography inadvertently maintained kō/otsu distinctions statistically, because of the
wider distribution of morphemes with syllables in otsu as opposed to those in kō
occurring in the text. However, before drawing such a conclusion, it is important to
consider the only exception to this rule, the syllable /ko/. /ko/ in kō-rui (kō) and otsu-rui
(kō) have nearly even distribution throughout the text. Below I will highlight all
occurrences of /ko/ and /to/ syllables in the text.
7.4.2. **ko syllables**

/ko/ can be found maintaining kō-otsu distinctions in manuscripts up to the late tenth century\(^68\). There are only 2 phonograms used for /ko/, one in kō-ruĩ ko 古 kō and the other in otsu-ruĩ 古, kō. The phonograms are frequently used to spell morphemes in both kō and otsu with varying inaccuracy. /ko/ is spelled correctly 23 times and incorrectly 24 times, making a nearly even distribution. However, there are some words that are not misspelled even once throughout the entire corpus and others that vary depending on the song or manuscript. The below chart lists frequently occurring words with the syllable /ko/ and their spelling variations.\(^69\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>NKB</th>
<th>TB</th>
<th>KF</th>
<th>GM</th>
<th>KS</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>MSD</th>
<th>Hist. spell</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonogram</strong></td>
<td>古</td>
<td>己</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>己</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>己</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>己</td>
<td>古</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō ‘child/young (girl)’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō ‘small’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnō ‘this’</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōko ‘there’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō- ‘come(INF)’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōso ‘FOC’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokoro ‘heart’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kō ‘girl, child’ appears a total of 15 times and is spelled correctly only twice in NKB and MSD. Kō ‘small’ has a similar distribution, being misspelled 11 out of 14 times (it is

\(^68\) Some *Kokinshū* manuscripts can be seen preserving kō-otsu distinction statistically in the late tenth century. Vovin, personal communication

\(^69\) kō-otsu spellings represents correct etymological spelling for the words in the chart.
only spelled correctly once in each manuscript). Because kô ‘child, girl’ and kô ‘small’ probably derive from the same word diachronically it is possible to include both in the same category. In contrast, sôkô ‘there,’ is spelled accurately 100 percent of the time in all manuscripts. Kösô ‘FOC’ is spelled accurately 23 out of 26 total occurrences, and ko- ‘come(INF)’ 19 out of 20 times.

The syllable /ko/ appears 75 times in the corpus. Of these 75 occurrences, 5 are ambiguous, meaning they appear in morphemes that are not attested in earlier texts and / or do not appear in man’yôgana spelling anywhere else. Other than these few exceptions, the distribution of morphemes with the syllable ko and their etymologically correct spellings are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kô-otsu syllable</th>
<th># of unique morphemes</th>
<th>Total # of occurrences</th>
<th>Correct spelling</th>
<th>Incorrect spelling</th>
<th>Accuracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kô</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kô</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One quarter of the morphemes in kô-rui are spelled accurately while those in otsu-rui are spelled correctly more than 85 percent of the time. However, there are only 20 instances of morphemes in kô as compared with 48 in otsu. Respectively, kô syllables have 65 percent accuracy and those in otsu have 87.5 percent. This gives an indiscriminate picture of overall 69 percent accuracy for the syllable ko. This suggests that Saibara has a conservative upper boundary of at least the later tenth century. This further suggests that, while the text itself may be a late copy, it probably is a version of a much earlier manuscript that goes back to the Nara period, when the transcription would
reflect orthographic vowel distinctions more readily. The following chart further divides the spelling accuracy of each manuscript calculating all occurrences of kō-rui (劬) and otsu-rui (مون).
7.4.3. *to* syllables

/to/ syllables are written with the characters 度 tô and 止 tö. There can be considerable manuscript variation in *Saibara* depending on the song and / or manuscript. Because of this, in my treatment of the syllable *to* I will be looking at all occurrences as they are divided by manuscript and including all of them as individual occurrences. The below chart presents the statistics on all occurrences of the character 度. As the above chart shows, this sign is used in a 12:67 ratio with 止. They differ on two accounts diachronically, (1) 度 is primarily used to transcribe the prenasalized voiced dental consonant /d/ while 止 is used for voiceless dental /t/, and (2) 度 is used to transcribe kō-rui dô while 止 is used to transcribe otsu-rui syllable tö.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Historical spelling</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2 NKB</td>
<td>左介礼度</td>
<td>sak-er-e-do</td>
<td>separate-PROG-EV-CONC</td>
<td>-dô</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3 NKB</td>
<td>毛可度</td>
<td>moga to</td>
<td>DESP DV</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3 KKS</td>
<td>毛可度</td>
<td>moga to</td>
<td>DESP DV</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3 GM</td>
<td>毛可度</td>
<td>moga to</td>
<td>DESP DV</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9 NKB</td>
<td>万毛礼度</td>
<td>mamor-e-domo</td>
<td>protect-EV-CONC</td>
<td>dômo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.25 NKB</td>
<td>伊毛可々度</td>
<td>imo-ga kado</td>
<td>beloved girl-POSS gate</td>
<td>kadô</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.25 KKS</td>
<td>伊毛可々度</td>
<td>imo-ga kado</td>
<td>beloved girl-POSS gate</td>
<td>kadô</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.25 KKS</td>
<td>世奈可々度</td>
<td>sena-ga kado</td>
<td>beloved-POSS gate</td>
<td>kadô</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.25 GM</td>
<td>伊毛可々度</td>
<td>imo-ga kado</td>
<td>beloved girl-POSS gate</td>
<td>kadô</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.25 GM</td>
<td>世奈可々度</td>
<td>sena-ga kado</td>
<td>beloved-POSS gate</td>
<td>kadô</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The chart shows all instances of the sign 度 as it is used in the Saibara collection. The historical spellings are determined by the oldest phonographic OJ texts (KJK, NSK, MYS). 度 was used primarily for prenasalized voiced kō-rui dō syllables in KJK, NSK, and MYS. Its use as a voiced syllable /do/ in Saibara is maintained in all instances but one. In fact, song 1.3 notwithstanding, every occurrence of 度 is a voiced dental syllable, /do/. This is worth noting because, although 度 was used for both prenasalized voiced and unvoiced syllables in OJ, it was more prevalent as a phonogram for prenasalized voiced. This could suggest that this sign was still being used to write prenasalized voiced syllables in Saibara. This would however be a very unique situation for the Heian period, where voicing distinctions are not typically indicated in the literary texts. Still, the restricted distribution of 度 is a clue as to its conscientious employment. Poem 1.3 notwithstanding, there is at least an awareness of the sign 度 being used for voiced dental /d/ and, possibly, also the distinction associated with kō and otsu-rui at the time it was written.

The chart further reveals that within the 12:67 distribution ratio of 度 tō and 止 tō, 度 is spelled correctly 7/12 times, or, 58 percent of the time. These statistics are encouraging for viewing the Saibara orthography as maintaining kō-otsu distinctions in dental stops before /o/. Misspellings of kō-otsu distinctions in /to/ syllables are found in Man’yōshū as well. However, in the case of tør- ‘to hold’ and tör- ‘to grab,’ this has been convincingly

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71 度 was used for both kō-rui dō and otsu-rui dō, but probably goes back to EMC dak, so its primary and probably initial use was in voiced syllables.
shown by Bentley (1997) to be the result of a semantic distinction in the lexemes being transcribed. In this case, however, it must be noted that there are abundant misspellings of words that have no such historical precedent. For example, the defective verb *to* and concessive gerund *-do* have no history of being misspelled in OJ texts, but are both misspelled in *Saibara*. There are furthermore examples where the same word is spelled correctly and then misspelled in the following line, i.e. *kado* ‘gate’ in poem 2:25 (NKB line 1) *imo-ga kado* 伊毛可々度 ‘beloved girl-POSS gate’ is spelled correctly with *kō-rui dō* (度), and in the following line, *sena-ga kado* 世奈可々止 ‘beloved-POSS gate’ it is spelled incorrectly with *tō* (止). In this case, there are two other attestations of the song in phonographic script in *Genji monogatari* and *Kakaishō*, which interestingly both spell the second occurrence in line (2) correctly (世奈可々度). Even though they also make a cardinal error in poem 1.3 (column 3, 4) where NKB does not. This points to at least the beginning of a breakdown of *kō-otsu* distinctions of voiced / voiceless /to/ and /do/ in all the manuscripts cited in the chart above.

As mentioned above, 3 out of 6 of the occurrences are from a single song (1.3). And these three instances represent the most troubling. The other 2 are incorrect spellings, but they share the feature of voicing in common.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Total # occurrences of 止</th>
<th>Use in OJ kō-rui morphemes</th>
<th>Use in OJ otsu-rui morphemes</th>
<th>Accuracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NKB</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KakS</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KF</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above chart shows that NKB is second only to KaKS with 87 percent accuracy according to the historical spelling of the syllable /to/ is spelled correctly 87 percent of the time followed by Tenji-bon, with 85 percent. These numbers are in contrast to Genji monogatari at 73 percent, and Saibara kofu with 64 percent. This evidence strongly points to kō-otsu distinction being maintained in the syllable /to/ in the Saibara collection.

In light of the above evidence, although well beyond the mathematical likelihood of coincidence, I believe that kō-otsu distinctions for /to/ were, at best, in the process of breaking down, and that the preservation of the distinctions are primarily a result of (1) the low occurrence of /to/ syllables in kō-rui and (2) scribal conservatism.

It seems that there is some maintenance of kō-otsu distinctions, enough to assert that (1) the manuscripts are copies of originals probably going back to the Nara period and that (2) the distinctions are maintained on the part of scribal conservatism. Column 3 (1:3) NKB has 止.

The following chart is an exhaustive list of phonograms used in Saibara with those used in Old Japanese texts. For simplicity I have used the divisions from Vovin (2005), excluding type B phonograms because they are only used in the Nihon shoki. In my treatment of the Saibara phonograms I have used both the Nabeshimake-bon and Tenji-bon manuscripts. I also included an exhaustive list of characters in the chart. I do not however include the phonograms found in other collections such as Saibara kofu (催馬楽古譜), Munetaka Shinnō (den) saibara setsu (宗尊親王 (伝) 催馬楽切), Kakaishō (河海抄), and shūchūshō (袖中抄). The reason for this is because they only preserve a handful of songs respectively, and in some cases are written in a man’yōgana script with
hiragana interspersed throughout the transcription. Furthermore, the writing in these texts does not seem oriented towards performers of the songs, as can be seen from their lack of ballad-specific margin notations and indication of vowel length in transcription. Therefore, the context of these manuscripts seems to be distinct from Nabeshimake-bon and Tenji-bon and accordingly they deserve separate treatment.
Table 17: Comparative chart of Old Japanese and *Saibara* phonograms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>OJ Man'yōgana Type A</th>
<th>Saibara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>阿 安 英</td>
<td>安 阿</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>伊 夷 以 怡 異 移因印ښ</td>
<td>伊 以</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>于 汗 宇 有 羽 鳥雲</td>
<td>宇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>衣愛亜依</td>
<td>衣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>意於隱淤 忆乙憶鰥</td>
<td>於</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加 迦 可 賀 詎 玻賀架嘉甲甘敢</td>
<td>可 加</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kî</td>
<td>支 匠 吉 岐 愛 积企</td>
<td>支</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kî</td>
<td>纪 纖 貴 奇 驛 蓼寄字歸</td>
<td>幾 木</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>久 玖 口 群 苦 丘九鳴君</td>
<td>久</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kê</td>
<td>祺 家 計 鳥介 奚谿偮係結</td>
<td>家 計 介</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kê</td>
<td>氣既稀壌舉</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kô</td>
<td>古故庫高顧姑 孤姑</td>
<td>古</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō</td>
<td>己 許 巨 居 去 處忌幹</td>
<td>己</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>何我賀河蛾</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gî</td>
<td>芸祇岐伎</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gî</td>
<td>疑 宜 義</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu</td>
<td>具遇群隅群</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gê</td>
<td>下牙雅夏</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gê</td>
<td>義 宜 湯</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gô</td>
<td>胡呑候後虞</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gö</td>
<td>其期基凝</td>
<td>語 (1)72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

72 This character is not found as a vernacular phonogram in any other Nara or Heian period texts and so is presumably a ‘neutral’ transcription for voiced velar /g/ in the syllable /go/. However,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sa</th>
<th>佐 沙 作 左 者 柴娑紗草 匡 讚 尺 積</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 狭 獬 羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>斯志之師 紫新四子思司芝詩 旨寺時指此至次死 儂事詞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 為 磯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>須 周 酒 洲 州 珠主数</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 醉賀棲渚 為</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>勢世西奇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 濟湍背舟追 disyllabic: 瞻 [semî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sō</td>
<td>蘇宗祖素</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 尺 麻</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sō</td>
<td>曾所僧增則</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 裏背其苑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za</td>
<td>射 蔭 邪 奢 社 謝座</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi</td>
<td>自 士 慈 尽 時 寺仕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zu</td>
<td>受授聚殊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zō</td>
<td>是</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zō</td>
<td>俗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō</td>
<td>叙存序賊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>多太他丹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 田 手</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>至 知 智 懇 陳 珍直</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 道千乳路血 茅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disyllabic: 珍 [tinu] 直 [tikî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>都豆通追川</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 津 齋</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>弓 氏 提 天 帝 底提代</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 手 価 直</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disyllabic: 点 [temu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō</td>
<td>刀斗都土度</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kungana: 戸聴門利艶 速</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō</td>
<td>止等登騰得</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

among the manuscripts there is disagreement as to whether this is a phonogram or whether it should be read as go “speak” in the Chinese kambun reading of the phrase rongo “Annalects.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>character</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>kungana:</th>
<th>disyllabic:</th>
<th>notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>陁 太</td>
<td>[tökō] 得</td>
<td>[tökō]</td>
<td>太</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dī</td>
<td>𢟹治地</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dū</td>
<td>𢞧</td>
<td>[dumi]</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>提 代 传 殿 田 低泥墨風</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>度 渡 土</td>
<td>度</td>
<td>度</td>
<td>度</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>𢯺</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>𢞐</td>
<td>[nami] 繆</td>
<td>[nami]</td>
<td>奈 那 名</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>玉 迹 仁 日 日 而尼耳人</td>
<td>耳 尔 爾</td>
<td>耳 尔 爾</td>
<td>耳 尔 爾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>奴怒怒濃農</td>
<td>奴 怒</td>
<td>奴 怒</td>
<td>奴 怒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>尼斂泥吸年</td>
<td>祢 尼</td>
<td>祢 尼</td>
<td>祢 尼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>𢯄</td>
<td>野</td>
<td>野</td>
<td>野</td>
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<td>𢯀</td>
<td>荷 笑 鍠</td>
<td>荷 笑 鍠</td>
<td>荷 笑 鍠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>波 播 � didFinish</td>
<td>波 者</td>
<td>波 者</td>
<td>波 者</td>
</tr>
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<td>𢞋</td>
<td>[paka] 理</td>
<td>[paka]</td>
<td>理</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pī</td>
<td>非斐彼悲飛</td>
<td>非</td>
<td>非</td>
<td>非</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>布 不 敷 富 府 赋否負福</td>
<td>布 不</td>
<td>布 不</td>
<td>布 不</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pē</td>
<td>平 弊 霸 劃 敵 陞便反弁</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pē</td>
<td>𢭭</td>
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<td>戸 户 戸</td>
<td>戸 户 戸</td>
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<td>pō</td>
<td>菩 本</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
<td>〇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pō</td>
<td>富 朋</td>
<td>富 朋</td>
<td>富 朋</td>
<td>富 朋</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73 This character is attested as za in Adumaya. It is not attested anywhere else with this reading and has the MC reading nrij. It is probably a scribal error for לילה sa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>kanji</th>
<th>pinyin</th>
<th>content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>富保宝番蕃朋倍抱方凡品</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 某 穝 火</td>
<td>保</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā</td>
<td>婆伐</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bì</td>
<td>毘鼻毗婢</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bì</td>
<td>備肥</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu</td>
<td>夫父部扶</td>
<td>disyllabic: 服[buki]</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bè</td>
<td>辨便别</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bè</td>
<td>倍</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bò</td>
<td>煡</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǐ</td>
<td>弥美民</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 三御見水参視</td>
<td>美見</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǐ</td>
<td>微未味尾</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 身 実 简</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>卑武无模務無謀鶴蒐</td>
<td>disyllabic: 目 [muku]</td>
<td>卑无</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mè</td>
<td>賣怡馬面</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 女 婦</td>
<td>女</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mè</td>
<td>米梅迷味</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 目 眼</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td></td>
<td>毛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò</td>
<td>母</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>毛母茂文聞忘蒙歟聞門勿木物</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 裳薰哭喪裙 disyllabic: 物 [moti]</td>
<td>母裳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>夜移賜耶益野楊也</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 屋八矢箭</td>
<td>也夜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu</td>
<td>由喻遊油</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 弋湯</td>
<td>由遊 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>延叡曳遙要</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 兄江枝吉</td>
<td>江衣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yò</td>
<td>用欲容</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 夜</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yò</td>
<td>余与予餘余</td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 世吉四代</td>
<td>与余</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>羅良浪楽邏</td>
<td></td>
<td>良</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74 This phoneme is only attested once.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disyllabic:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>理利里隣</td>
<td>理利里輪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru</td>
<td>留流琉類</td>
<td>留流</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>禮例列烈連</td>
<td>礼例</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rō</td>
<td>過路巫楼</td>
<td>路</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rō</td>
<td>吕侣里</td>
<td>吕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和丸</td>
<td>和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 輪</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disyllabic: 丸[wani]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi</td>
<td>韋諸位謂</td>
<td>為</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 井 猪居</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>恵廼慧個</td>
<td>恵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 画坐座喰</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo</td>
<td>乎袁鳥遠怨 呼越</td>
<td>乎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kungana</em>: 小尾少麻男 雄緒絨疎</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disyllabic: 越[woti]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several things that become clear when looking at the chart. (1) Representation of voicing distinctions is completely ignored; the vast majority of *man’yōgana* representing (prenasalized) voiced syllables are not used and *man’yōgana* reserved for voiceless consonants in OJ are used freely as both voiced and voiceless. This mirrors the early-to-mid Heian lack of voicing indication in the orthography. It is furthermore part of a wider trend beginning in the Heian period writing where brevity began to take precedent over accurately representing the phonology of the language. This was the beginning of a larger trend towards simplification which gave way to the cursive *hiragana* syllabary (Frellesvig 2010: 163). (2) The number of phonograms used to transcribe a given syllable is limited as compared to *man’yōgana*. There are scarcely more than two or three characters used for each syllable. The polyphonic principle has been in place since the introduction of writing to Japan, but there are varying degrees of plurality depending on the particular text. *Man’yōshū* employs a wide variety of
characters, compared with the *Kojiki*, which exhibits more brevity in this area. The phonograms used in *Saibara* are graphically simple and contrast greatly with the *Nihon shoki*, which often employs difficult and complicated characters where more simple ones were available. Most of the characters used to transcribe *Saibara* are also in the small pool of graphs, which developed into the cursive *hiragana* script. This is not uncommon in Middle Japanese texts and, as mentioned above, is part of the trend of simplification occurring in the MJ period. (3) The syllables /ye/ and /e/ are used interchangeably and ambiguously, suggesting that the distinction between /ye/ and /e/ was already lost. (4) *Kō-otsu* vowel distinctions are only present in the syllables /ki/, /ko/, /to/, /pi/, /no/ and /ro/, but only statistically significant in /ko/ and /to/.

A closer look at the text reveals that statistically, *kō-otsu* distinctions have been largely maintained throughout. While there is no absence of spelling errors, the majority of phonemes are spelled correctly according to OJ standards. Where this becomes problematic is when we consider the size of the corpus and types of morphemes. Statistically, *otsu-rui ō* is more common than *kō-rui ō* to begin with. In addition, genitive possessive *nō* and defective verb *n-ō* are both spelled with *otsu-rui ō* and these two morphemes represent some of the most frequent ones in the song corpus and in Old Japanese as well. Conversely, there are only two misspellings of *otsu-rui ō* for *kō-rui ō*, but on the other hand there are only three instances where *kō-rui ō* would be appropriate. *Saibara* is in this respect statistically misleading and the information has to be viewed holistically. Accordingly, I have chosen to interpret the graphemic evidence as showing upper and lower boundaries for the *Saibara* script. Meaning, according to the text’s
adherence to etymological spellings, Saibara cannot be viewed as being older than the early ninth century or younger than the late tenth century.

7.4.4. Ye syllables in the text
Manuscripts show loss of contrast between /ye/ and /e/ by the mid-tenth century. This loss was the final stage in the gradual elision of palatal glide /y/ before vowels in Early Middle Japanese. Signs for /ye/ and /e/ are both used in the text, but their used varies by manuscript. Nabeshimake-bon uses the phonogram for ye, 汱 exclusively, while Tenji-bon uses the sign for e, 行 without exception. Interestingly, both signs are used as the exclusive man’yōgana for /e/ and /ye/ throughout the text, including small-script vowel length indicating signs, i.e. 毛止之介柾支 motsosige’ki ‘luxuriant growth (lit: ‘root’’) (NKB 2.33) and 毛止之介柾支 motsosige’ki ‘id’ (TB 2.33). The consistency of ye/ versus /e/ suggests that there was no contrast. The other manuscripts do not offer much contrast, because there are only a few examples in phonographic spelling and the majority of these sources probably followed either Nabeshimake-bon or Tenji-bon. With this caveat in mind, however, it should be noted that the majority of variants (Genji monogatari okuiri, Kakaishō) have ye where Tenji-bon has e. There are only three examples of ye / e in the text. All of these examples are in morphemes that have historical spelling with ye in OJ. Hence, either Nabeshimake-bon or Tenji-bon is correct 100 percent of the time. But the occurrence of ye 汱 in small-script in Nabeshimake-bon reveals that it was probably not ye, as this would not be suitable to transcribe a preceding /e/, as in the form 支万世”*

*kimase yeeye (NKB 2.22) versus yuki kosee...
believe the graphemic evidence does not support a /ye/ ~ /e/ contrast, but that in the
case of Nabeshimake-bon, ye is preserved as a result of scribal conservatism.

7.4.5. Deviant and anomalous phonograms
The following is a chart of the divergent man’yōgana forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonogram</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Song</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>輪</td>
<td>rin</td>
<td>2:28, 2:31 (NKB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丹</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>2:8 (TB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>論</td>
<td>ron</td>
<td>2:23 (NKB, JCYR, SGYR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>語</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>2:3 (NBSKB, NTYR, SGYR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one instance of phonographic usage of 耳 for ni. There are very few occurrences of this character being used as a phonogram in general with just 3 attestations in Man’yōshū (12.2946, 13.3811, 19.4220) and none in Nihon shoki, Kojiki or Senmyō. Of these occurrences, it is notable that in Man’yōshū volume XIX the phonogram 耳 ni appears in a poem with several other unorthodox phonograms which, as Ōno Susumu notes, are rare for volume XIX (NKBT: 254). While this is a rare and more archaic reading of the character, the usage is unique, occurring only once. In Saibara, this character appears in Tenji-bon and not Nabeshimake-bon. Most of the phonograms match syllable-for-syllable between the two texts. This makes the divergent character even more strange and surprising in the context. In transcription, there is only one difference

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75 As mentioned above ni is sparsely attested. Susumu attributes this to the archaic nature of the ni reading, stating that, because ni was not the “new” Sino-Japanese (jion) reading, 耳 was not employed as a phonogram for ni.

The phonograph 耳 is found once in the Nihon shoki representing Nsi in its kan’on reading (cf. zi). 耳 is a palatal consonant MC nyiX which, as a type-B syllable, is thought to have developed a /j/ glide in the transition to EMC. EMC nyiX is tentatively reconstructed as OC *n(h)a(ʔ) representing some kind of vowel length distinction, (lack of) pharyngealization, or prefix in OC (Pulleyblank 1984; Starostin: 2012).
between the two manuscripts—the adjective *sukosi* ‘be small’ in TB has the form *suko-i* in NKB. Adjectives underwent a regular change where medial -s- dropped in the final suffix -si. Subsequently, it should be to be a later form than *Tenji-bon*’s *sukosi*. The possibility that this song in *Tenji-bon* is an earlier inscription than *Nabeshimake-bon*, which does not have this aberrant phonogram, only provides another clue as to why the sign is found here. There are two realistic possibilities considering the use of this character in *Saibara*. (1) While it is rare in earlier texts, 耳 is used in later manuscripts in its cursive form to represent *ni*. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that it was used to write /ni/. However, assuming intent on the side of the scribe, a single solitary appearance of the character still leaves much to be understood. (2) A second possibility is that it is being used in its more typical form as a logograph for *nomi* ‘only’ or in this case ‘just as far as.’ So, 耳 is serving as the phonogram for /ni/ but is also serving to mark the logographic function as *nomi* ‘just’ or ‘only.’ This is the inverse of the polyphonic principle where a sign can serve as both a phonogram and semantogram. There is further evidence to support this in *Man’yōshū* where 耳 doubles as a phonogram and logogram for *nōmî-ni.*76 In full, the poem is as follows:

(1) namuba-GEN sea (2) namuba-GEN sea (3) kog-i P INF climb-ATTR (4) DIM boat big boat (5) Tukusitu TERM-LOC (6) now be small climb-IMP (7) Yamazaki TERM-LOC

[We] row small boats and big boats up to Namuba sea [Row them] to Tukusati

76 A few examples can be found in the following *Man’yōshū* poems: 3:455, 3:470, 4:592, 4:714, 4:752, 7:1236, 7:1325, 8:1629, 8:1660.
Now climb a little more to Yamazaki!
(2:4)

The context of the poem supports the usage of _irq as the logographic representation of the restrictive particle nomi, or at least the sentiment of it.

Whether inscribed intentionally or copied as such, an awareness of the logographic usage of _irq as nomi suggests knowledge of or reference to pre-Heian period orthographic / literary norms. Being that the large majority of usage of this character was as a vernacular logograph for nomi, if unintentional, this may be an example of habitual inscription of this character to represent the restrictive particle made via the closely related word nomi. This gives additional credence to the theory that Saibara reaches back to the Nara period.

However, another more immediate revelation here is that this usage, distinct in its logographic dimension to the overtly phonographic usage of this character, might not stand out in another collection, but Saibara prides itself on inscriptive brevity to the point where it seems overtly transcriptive. The literary abstinence of the text sets a monochrome backdrop for the colorful usage of even a single character being utilized multi-dimensionally. It furthermore would contradict Saibara as a text of music lyrics stemming from oral folk songs. In that, word play of any kind limited to text-based interpretation would be meaningless in a primarily oral performance-based composition. Still, it seems less plausible to say that this character, used only once in all extant Saibara manuscripts is somehow gratuitous.
CHAPTER 8. PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Old Japanese and Middle Japanese is based on the syllabic
man’yōgana script. Man’yōgana is attested from the early appearance of proper nouns
and place names recorded on swords and mirrors from as early as the fifth century to the
phonographic written materials from the eighth century. While writing was much more
abundant in the Heian period than in any before it, much of that material is not in
phonographic script. However, because of the abundance of kunten and other materials, it
is with some confidence that the phonological systems of MJ can be described. OJ has
also been reconstructed using both Japanese and Chinese materials. There are some gaps
in information regarding the phonological system of Paekche, which is considered to
have, at least initially, introduced writing (in both phonographic and logographic varieties
of Sino-Xenic) to Japan.

8.1. Consonants

The consonantal system of Saibara is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labials</th>
<th>Dentals</th>
<th>Palatals</th>
<th>Velars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t t̂</td>
<td></td>
<td>k k̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>voiceless fricatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced fricatives</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td></td>
<td>r r̂</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table presents all consonants that appear in the language of Saibara. The
influx of Chinese loan words and phonetic and phonemic changes that occurred internally
contributed to dramatic changes between the OJ and EMJ consonantal system.
In OJ, prenasalized voiced consonants and /r/ never appeared word-initially (Vovin 2003: 12; Vovin 2005: 40). This was not the case with loans. The heavy importation of Chinese loanwords facilitated this change along with internal Japanese changes. None of the consonants appear in word or syllable final position.

As can be seen from the chart, Saibara reflects a closer consonantal system to MJ than to that of OJ, but does not contain all the elements of either. This is natural due to the size of the corpus. Saibara exhibits an imbalanced phonemic system as compared to MJ. The dental voiceless palatalized stop /tʲ/ is attested, but not the voiced dental palatal /dʲ/. Again, while there is the palatalized hissing fricative /sʲ/, the voiced component /zʲ/ is missing. It is the same story for /kʲ/, */gʲ/.

8.1.1. Labials

/p/: voiceless bilabial stop [p]. /p/ occurs in initial and medial positions and before all vowels. While it is clear that /p/ was in fact a bilabial stop [p] and not bilabial fricative [f] in the OJ period, the question of when /p/ reached the stage /f/ remains debated. There is little transcriptional evidence available for this particular change, due to the use of the already codified man’yōgana script, which was already in serious decline in this period.

77 As mentioned in the graphemics section, voicing distinction were not indicated in the orthography, making it difficult to judge voicing based on the man’yōgana texts. I used supplemental texts that indicate voicing to draw the above conclusion.
being replaced by the cursive hiragana form. It is possible /p/ remained a bilabial stop [p] in initial position only through the tenth century. Staying within the confines of the
Saibara corpus, there are some cases of confusion between medial -p- and -w- albeit in the majority of cases, -p- is preserved as /p/. This points to some temporal heterogeneity in the songs. Medial -p- is already seen in decline in the mid-tenth century where signs for -p- and -w- in medial position start to be confused (Frellesvig 2010: 205).
Contemporary sources from the eleventh and twelfth century show -p- -w- confusion. The oldest Saibara manuscripts being from the eleventh and twelfth century, it is unlikely medial -p- was realized as [p]. Instead, its relatively stable preservation is probably a result of a conservative copying tradition. It is also possible we are looking at a transitional stage where, at least in select manuscripts / songs, -p- is maintained, with the probable allophonic realization of /p/ as /w/ in medial position. This adds further credence to the idea that the oldest Saibara manuscripts (TB and NKB) are indeed reflecting at least a substratum of pre-twelfth century Japanese.

In initial position, p- is thought to have survived longer than in medial. Probably some time in the tenth century initial p- went to bilabial fricative f-. This change is more difficult to discern because there were no signs that indicated f [ɸ] in the orthography and there were not mergers that occurred as a result of p- > f-. Frellesvig (2010: 205) posits that /p/ had occlusive [p] and fricative [ɸ] variants until it went to ultimately to f in Late Middle Japanese. This is, however, a very late date, based primarily on the lack of evidence to the contrary. One of the only early Japanese sources for p- > f- is from the monk Shinran’s Shittan sōden (悉曼相伝), which describes Japanese phonology in the

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78 -w- is sometimes written with the phonogram for u (宇)
twelfth century vis-à-vis the study of Sanscrit. In the Early Middle Japanese period, medial -p- gave way to -f- and later went to -w- and -Ø- in some environments, i.e. upe > ufe > ue ‘above,’ omopu > omof[w]u79 > omou ‘[I] think,’ taputòpu > tautou ‘exalted’.

Initial p- went to f- in EMJ, pì > fi ‘day,’ paru > faru ‘spring.’ p > f, although it is not reliably reflected in the written materials until Late Middle Japanese (LMJ) with the Romanized transliteration of Japanese found in the early Christian materials.

There continues to be disagreement about whether /p/ went to /f/ in medial position as early as the eighth century. It is clear, however that medial -p- was indeed going to -w- by the mid-tenth century and probably in out text as well. For further discussion see the section on phonology: labials.

/b/: bilabial voiced stop [b] with possible phonetic realization as [m̩b], especially in medial position. /b/ does not occur in word initial position in the Saibara collection. It is attested only in medial position. Many of the cases of /b/ are a result of nasal assimilation or syllable reduction. Examples: namuba [nanba] (< nanipa) ‘Nanba [place name]’ (2.36), piro bakari ‘just the width of two spread palms’ (2.32), taubete (< tamapîte) ‘drink and,’ tobari (tô-N-par-i) ‘curtain’ (2.22).

/m/: voiced nasal labial [m]. /m/ occurs before all vowels in initial and medial positions. /m/ also appears in a reduced form mu, which manifests as nasal /N/.

Examples: tumutu [tumdu/tuNdu] ‘chewing,’ mudu [mdu/Ndu] ‘water,’ tomi semu ya ‘make a fortune’ (2.20), muko ‘groom; lover’ (2.2), miru made ni ‘as far as [I] see’ (2.24), mina ‘all’ (2.27), pazime ‘beginning’ (2.2).

/w/: voiced bilabial glide [w]. There is no graphemic evidence to posit that /w/ occurs before /u/ at any point in the history of the Japanese language, However, it is likely that it

79 -w- could not expressed in the orthography, but it is likely this was the underlying form.
did in fact occur before /u/ in some early forms, but that it was not distinct in the orthography because of the absence of the syllable /wu/ in the borrowed Korean writing system (Bentley 2001: 18). Also, the OJ variation between mawos- and mawus- ‘to speak’ and in later forms when loss of medial -p- gave way to medial glide -w- (> Ø), i.e. omopu > *omowu > omou ‘to think.’ was likely to have had /wu/ hidden in the under representative orthography. /w/ occurs in syllables in initial and medial position.

Examples: ware ‘I’ (1.13), wi ‘well’ (1.7), weute ‘become drunk’ (2.28), wo-bune (< woN-pune) ‘small boat’ (2.36), awo ‘blue; green’ (2.23).

8.1.2. Dentals

/t/: dental voiceless stop [t]. /t/ occurs in initial and medial position before all vowels.

Examples: tare ‘who’ (2.22), tono ‘palace’ (2.21), sita ‘below’ (2.24), tatereba ‘when [they] rise’ (2.18), ti tose ‘a thousand years’ (2.2), tumutu ‘chewing through’ (1.25).

/tʃ/: voiceless dental palatalized stop [tʃ]. This phoneme only appears once in the Saibara collection in the Chinese loan, tyau (幃) ‘screen’ (2.22).

/d/: in OJ, /d/ was realized as prenasalized voiced [ⁿd] with possible allophonic variation of [ⁿd] and [d] (Miyake 1999: 421). It is likely that it still was prenasalizedⁿd in EMJ, at least in medial position. And, most probably, it was so in the language of Saibara as well. Deciphering voicing in Saibara can be challenging because it is not marked in the orthography of most manuscripts. I made my judgments based on two criteria. (1) Historical precedent: if a word is attested as voiced in other texts where it is clearly shown in the orthography. (2) Manuscript comparisons: looking in other Saibara manuscripts that have voicing indications in the orthography. /d/ appears in front of all
vowels. Examples: *wodi* ‘old man’ (2.14), *idete* ‘come out and’ (2.9), *todorokeru* ‘thundering’ (2.5), *panada* ‘indigo’ (2.19).

/ɾ/: voiced alveolar flap [ɾ]. /ɾ/ does not occur word-initially in native vocabulary. /ɾ/ occurs once in initial position in a Chinese loan: *roku* ‘six’ (1.14). /ɾ/ occurs before all vowels in medial position. Other examples: *tikara* ‘strength’ (2.35), *midori* ‘green’ (2.24), *asakeredo* ‘thought it is shallow’ (1.2), *koromo* ‘garment’ (1.4).

/ɾʲ/: /ɾʲ/ is a voiced palatalized alveolar flap [ɾʲ]. /ɾʲ/ is a phoneme introduced in the MJ period via Chinese loans. It appears once in the *Saibara* collection before the central vowel /a/: *tairyau* (大頸) ‘district chief’ (1.13).

/s/: voiceless dental fricative [s]. It is possible /s/ had palatal allophonic variation in front of /i/ and /e/ as [ç] (Miyake 2003: 183). /s/ appears before all vowels in medial position in the text. *side ta wosa* ‘Side paddy chief’ (2.25), *siru-ku* ‘obvious; evident-INF’ (2.27), *tama. gasipa* jewel-like oak tree’ (2.30), *sukosi* ‘a little bit’ (2.36). *sakarite* ‘having separated’ (2.32), *watasu* ‘cross’ (1.2), *seze* ‘rapids’ (1.5), *poso siki* ‘thin type’ (1.5).

Medial -s- went to -Ø- in front of high front vowel /i/ in some morphological forms in Early Middle Japanese. This change is attested once in *Saibara: suko-i* < *sukosi* ‘a little’ (2.36). However, the form with -s- loss is only attested in *Nabeshimake-bon*. It is preserved in *Tenji-bon* and the majority of other early sources. /s/ is otherwise maintained in all forms in the text.

8.1.3. Palatals

/y/: voiced palatal glide [j]. The loss of /y/ before front vowel /e/ is thought to have occurred in the first half of the tenth century (Frellesvig 2010: 206). The loss of /y/ before /e/ was part of the wider loss of phonemic labial and palatal glides before /i/ and /e/,
which comprised part of the kō-otsu distinctions, i.e. i₁ [Cji], i₂ [Cyi]. However, while there was a phonemic distinction between /ye/ and /e/ in OJ, i.e. ye ‘inlet’ and e- ‘to get,’ there was no such phonemic distinction in palatal glides between the onset and nuclear vowels after /p, k, m/, such as pi ≠ pɨ or ki ≠ kɨ etc.

In the Heian period, /e/ and /ye/ merged, so it is likely the confusion is stemming from the fact that /e/ was losing phonemic contrast with /ye/. /y/ can occur before /o/, /u/, and /a/. The manuscripts disagree with regard to distribution of y/ /before /e/ (cf. graphemics section). There are no examples of words with historical spelling of syllabic /e/ in the text, but due to a clear lack of contrast of /e/ and /ye/, it is unlikely /y/ occurred before /e/ in any position. /y/ does not occur before high vowel /i/. /y/ is treated separately from palatalized consonants /tʃ/, /kʃ/, /ʃ/, and /ɾʃ/, which are single-unit palatalized consonants. Examples: ya ‘EMPH’ (2.20, 2.21), yanagi ‘willow tree’ (2.24), sakaya ‘wine brewery’ (2.21), yuki ‘snow’ (2.3), toyora ‘Toyora’ (2.24), yo-si ‘good-FIN’ (2.3).

8.1.4. Velars
/k/: voiceless velar stop [k]. /k/ does not appear in word or syllable final position. /k/ appears before all vowels in medial position: saka na (wine greens) ‘side dish’ (2.22), sadawo ka ‘horned turban?’ (2.22), kado ‘gate’ (2.24), sake ‘wine’ (2.28), nakinu ‘cries’ (1.17), kuni ‘country’ (1.2), soko ‘there’ (1.2).

/kʃ/: voiceless velar palatalized stop [kʃ]. /kʃ/ is found once in a Chinese loanword. It appears in morpheme initial position as the second element in a single word. It can also be found before /a/. Example: sinkyau ‘new capital’ (2.24).

/g/: voiced velar stop [g]. /g/ was probably realized as prenasalized [ŋŋ], /g/ appears in initial and medial position before all vowels. /g/ is found once in initial position in
non-native vocabulary. /g/ does not appear in word or syllable final position. Examples: 
ide a ga koma ‘go out my horse’ (1.1), masi moga ‘I want you’ (1.3), kage ‘shadow’ (1.8), agemaki ‘Agemaki [place name]’ (2.32), yagi ‘willow’ (1.9), go ‘five’ (1.14),
‘[wave] ripples,’ ugupisu ‘bush warbler’ (2.3).

8.2. Vowels

Based on the phonographic man’yōgana system, described above, it is clear that the vowel system of OJ went through a series of mergers to go from a seven-vowel system to a five-vowel system in MJ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OJ vowel system</th>
<th>MJ vowel system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a [a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ì</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u [u]</td>
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<td>è</td>
<td>e [e]</td>
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<td>ë</td>
<td>[əy]</td>
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<tr>
<td>õ</td>
<td>o [o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö</td>
<td>[o]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The merger of kō and otsu-rui vowels are thought to have first occurred in o₁ and o₂ after bilabial stop /p/, (pô, pō > po). The last merger is thought to have taken place in o₁ and o₂ after /k/. A text could theoretically represent any number of kō-otsu mergers or distinctions depending on the time and / or place it was written. The vowel system of Saibara as it is reflected in the graphemics shows that it maintains kō-otsu distinctions statistically in /to/ and /ko/ syllables, with the highest spelling accuracy being with /to/.

/no/ is only preserved statistically due to the high occurrence of morphemes with historical spelling in kō-rui nō. Because this is likely to be a result of scribal conservatism, I posit the following vowel system for Saibara:
This vowel system appears identical to the Heian and modern Japanese system, although the actual realizations at this early period are unknown and were probably very different from the way they are pronounced today. Vovin (2005) notes that the Middle Japanese vocalic system is preserved in modern day Kansai dialects (Vovin 2005: 40).

The phonotactics of Old Japanese are distinct. Primarily due to consonant lenition and the introduction of Chinese loans, vowel clusters in single morphemes became a regular part of the language from the Heian period. There are some examples of these clusters in *Saibara*. They are both from Chinese loans and forms that resulted from consonant lenition.

Examples of vowel clusters from the corpus:

*au*: 大願乃 *TAIRYAU* ‘district chief’ (1.13), 両面 *RYAU.MEN* ‘both.side,’ (1.13), 止散 *加字*

散 tosan *kausan* ‘this [and] that’ (1.16), 太字戸天 *taube-te* ‘receive(HUM)(INF)-SUB’
(2.28), 多字万利名々川 *tau amari nana-tu* ‘ten exceed seven,’ *saïnam* ‘criticize’ (1.21).

*eu*: 恵宇天 *weu-te* ‘get drunk(INF)-SUB’ (2.28),^80* seusoko ‘letter’ (1.14).

*ou*: 止宇止字 *tou tou* (hayashi kotoba) (2.32), 与宇左利 *you sar-i* ‘night leave-INF.’

*oi*: 於於祢須美 *oi nezumi* ‘old-NML rat,’ 己以波太 *ko-i panada* ‘deep indigo’
(2.24), 以末

須己伊 *ima suko-i* ‘now some-FIN’ (2.36).^81

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^80 It is possible this form represents medial -p- > -Ø- in its transitional stage as velar -w-, wewu (~ yo[w/u]).

^81 This form is from *Nabeshimake-bon*, which exhibits loss of *s-* before -i in the adjective final form -si. -si is maintained in *Tenji-bon*. 
8.2.1. Back vowels

/u/: high rounded back vowel [u]. This vowel occurs in any position and after all consonants except /w/. /u/ also appears after vowels /a/, /e/, and /o/: uke- ‘make float’ (1.12), sakura ‘plum blossom’ (2.4), muko ‘groom; lover’ (2.22), suzuka.gapa ‘Suzuka river’ (2.27), natu ‘summer’ (1.4), pukuro ‘purse’ (1.10), yupu ‘evening’ (1.11). It appears after /a/, /e/, and /o/, but never appears as the first element in a vowel cluster in a single morpheme.

There are also several instances of vowel repetition uu... which appear throughout the collection. I do not analyze these as vowel clusters or diphthongs because they do not form minimal pairs and occur primarily at the end of lines, and always in morpheme final position. I view these as representations of the vowel length, as it is performed in song.

/o/: mid rounded back vowel [o]. This vowel appears in all positions and after all consonants. It also occurs before the vowel /i/ and /u/: soko ‘there’ (1.13), mi-mopi ‘HON-[water] container’ (1.8), ito ‘thread’ (1.9), oto.musume ‘youngest daughter’ (1.11). /o/ is found before /i/: oi: o-i ‘old-NML (2.25).

8.2.2. Central vowel

In the WOJ seven-vowel system there are three central vowels, a [a] and i [i] and ö [ə]. Due to the merger of kō and otsu-rui /i/ and /o/ into EMJ i and o respectively, MJ only has one low vowel, /a/, which Miyake (2003) identifies as a low unrounded central, or possibly back, vowel (Miyake 2003: 203). This discrepancy is due to inconclusive transcriptional evidence.

/a/: low unrounded central vowel [a]. /a/ appears in all positions and after all consonants: kado ‘gate,’ asa ‘morning’ (1.11), awo yagi ‘green willow’ (1.14), sima-
‘island’ (2.4), na ‘greens’ (1.11). /a/ also forms vowel clusters with /i/ and /u/: tau ‘ten’ (1.18) saínam- ‘criticize’ (1.21).

8.2.3. Front vowels
/i/: high unrounded front vowel [i]. Occurs in all positions in word initial, medial, and final positions: ki ‘tree’ (2.13, 2.14), siki ‘style’ (1.5), iro ‘same mother’ (2.23), ima ‘now’ (2.33). /i/ also occurs in vowel clusters with /a/ and /o/: tairyau ‘district chief’ (1.12), oi ‘grow old(INF)’ (2.25). There is one instance of /a/ occurring in a separate morpheme before /i/ in song 2.22 in the phrase wa ipe ‘I house,’ “my house.” This phrase usually has the possessive –ga or a contracted variant, wa-ga-ipe, wag-ipe (< wa-ga ipe). There are two occurrences of this form in this text (2.20, 2.22), however there are no known occurrences of this phrase forming a vowel cluster without any trace of possessive –ga in any other known texts from this or later periods.

/e/: mid unrounded front vowel [e]. /e/ occurs in all positions and after all consonants: ume ‘plum blossom’ (1.9), nure- ‘become wet’ (1.11), kage ‘shade’ (1.8), yase- ‘become thin’ (1.14), te ‘hand’ (1.23), nezumi ‘rat’ (1.25). /e/ also appears in vowel clusters with /u/: seusoko ‘letter’ (1.13).
CHAPTER 9. PHONOTACTICS

Japanese phonotactics between the Old and Middle Japanese periods differed most dramatically and fundamentally in their syllable structures. While Old Japanese had a strict CVCV(C) syllable structure, Middle Japanese allowed both vowel and consonant clusters. Within the strict CV structure of OJ, morphophonological processes of contraction, monophthongization, nasalization, and consonant cluster reduction developed.

9.1. Morphophonological Processes

In addition to those mentioned above, there were several important morphophonological changes that occurred between Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese that are relevant to our text. In the following section I will highlight these phonetic and phonemic changes in the Saibara collection.

9.1.1. Contraction

Another separate but common Old and Middle Japanese feature is contraction. Old Japanese did not allow vowel or consonant clusters.

9.1.2. Monophthongization

Vowel deletion occurs when two vowels occur successively, $V^1 + V^2$, one of the vowels will get deleted. Vowel deletion (or contraction) occur differently depending on whether there is one or two syllables in the morphemes. Russell (2006: 75) proposed the following rules for vowel deletion / contraction

Group I:
- a. polysyllabic word + monosyllabic word: $V^1 + V^2 > V^2$
- b. polysyllabic word + polysyllabic word: $V^1 + V^2 > V^2$
Group II:
monosyllabic word + polysyllabic word: \( V^1 + V^2 > V^1 \)
- \( mi + uma \) > mima ‘HON + horse’ (1.18)
- \( op-i-te + ar- \) > op-i-tar- ‘grow-INF-SUB + exist’ (2.30)
- \( ko + um- \) > kom- ‘child + birth’ (2.31)

Some well-known exceptions to this rule are the first person pronoun \( wa \) and possessive -\( ga \) in the construction \( wa-ga ipe \) which yields the forms \( wa-ga pe \) and \( wa-gipe \). Frellesvig (2010: 40) explains this as univerbation between the pronoun \( wa \) and possessive -\( ga \). That is, a unification of the word constituency, resulting in the treatment of the two distinct morphems \( wa \) and -\( ga \) as a single one, thus \( waga + ipe \) (Group II) > \( wagipe \). As mentioned above, \( Saibara \) offers another strange variation, \( wa ipe \) ‘I house,’ which defies classification under the above morphophonemic rules. This will be dealt with again in more detail in the section on pronouns.

9.1.3. Nasalization
Nasalization is another morphophonological process that occurred regularly in Old Japanese, where voiceless obstruents became prenasalized voiced due to vowel elision after nasals (Vovin 2005: 80).

The majority of prenasalized voiced syllables derive from either genitive possessive -\( nō \) or defective verb copula \( n- \) through the processes of nasalization and vowel deletion. Diachronically, the segment \( no / ni + \) following consonant (C) gave prenasalized voiced consonants, i.e. \( …bakari < …Npakari < …n-i pakari ‘…DV-INF measure; plan (RESTR)’ \)
This process or results thereof can be seen in the text. \( Sapada gapa < sapaNta n-ō kapa ‘Sapada DV-ATTR river’ (1.2), sakura bito < sakura n-ō pîtō ‘Sakura
DV-ATTR person’ (2.4), *opo bune < opo n-ō pune* ‘big DV-ATTR boat,’ (2.36), *kosaka.gowe < kō-saka n-ō kōwe* ‘small-wine DV-ATTR voice’ (2.28).

9.1.4. Morphophonemic changes and “onbin”

There are two major methodological perspectives with regard to defining linguistic changes that occurred in the Early Middle Japanese period. The traditional approach still used in Japanese scholarship today is to view these phenomena as a series of changes under the blanket term “onbin” (音便) or ‘euphony’ (lit: ‘sound convenience’) This term is often used in Japanese scholarship to describe different phonetic and morphophonemic changes that occurred mostly in the Early Middle Japanese period, at the beginning of the Heian period. The structural approach often used in Western studies views these changes as various independent and unrelated phenomena that deserve separate and independent treatment. The fact is that the majority of changes identified as onbin can be classified into regular and relatively straightforward linguistic phenomenon. The traditional analysis categorizes them into several categories and sub-categories, some of which include (1) *u-onbin* ウ音便, (2) *i-onbin* イ音便, (3) *hatsu onbin* 撥音便, and (4) *soku onbin* 促音便. All of these types are further broken into sub-categories of voiced-type u-onbin (dakuon-kei 濃音型) and u-onbin affecting *p* (MdJ. *h*) (ha-gyō ハ行) and *k* (ka-gyō カ行). However, these onbin forms are tied closely with the syllabic writing system of Japanese, so the underlying phonological forms can sometimes be obscured. For example, the onbin changes *omopite > omotte* and *sakite > saite* are soku onbin and i-onbin respectively. From a structuralizt standpoint, however, these can both be viewed as different manifestations of consonant lenition, i.e. labial (p) and velar (k). Also, single words can yield both consonantal and vocal onbin forms. For example, *omopite* has the
forms *omotte* and *omoute* in EMJ. So they cannot be so easily classified as *soku onbin* or *hatsu onbin*. Frellesvig (2010:196) describes this as syllable reduction: “phonemic reinterpretations of a phonetically reduced or weakened realization of a CV syllable as the realization of a single segment.” His example is the from *kō-mīti* which went to *koudi* [koūdi] as well as *komudi* [koʊdi] ‘narrow backstreet’ in EMJ, due to regular phonetic variation of the syllable /mi/ in OJ: [m̩i] ~ [m̩iː]. This allowed for phonetic reinterpretation of the syllable /mi/ as a single segment. Frellesvig (2010: 195) further describes this phenomenon as “phonetic reduction” which is ultimately related to the morphophonological process of *rendaku* involved in changes like *nite > de, nani to > nado* (Frellesvig 2010: 189). These tendencies were already present in Old Japanese with the phonetic reduction of genitive locative *no* and *ni* and the defective verbs, *i.e. ama-ni kakeru* ‘heaven-LOC fly > amagakeru (5.898), koromo-no te ‘garment-GEN hand [sleeve]’ > koromode (MYS 13.3290). Frellesvig (*ibid*) further posits that the “core” changes were of “CV syllables to bound moraic phonemes” and that these changes, which resulted in new word forms served as a model for the morphophonological changes, that occurred after. To take *kō-mīti > koudi* as an example, in more simple terms this means, (1) when the segment /mi/ lost high back vowel /i/, (2) /t/ underwent nasal assimilation to /d/, thus the form *komudi* (*古无知*) [koʊdi] would have resulted. (3) Subsequently, the further reduced form *koudi* was probably the labial /m/ weakened under pressure from the preceding /o/, resulting in the labo-dental segment /wd/. Furthermore, since there was no way to express this in the orthography, it would be written as *koudi* (*古无知*) [koʊdi]. There are other examples where the form underlying *u* is likely to be velar glide /w/, *i.e.*, *omopite* which underwent medial -p- lenition
resulting in loss of /i/ before /w/, thus *omowte, written as omoute (於毛宇天). This is the ancestor of the leveled form in the modern day Kansai dialect omōte.

These forms are well attested in kunten texts beginning from the tenth century, however it is posited that the changes began much earlier than this (Frellesvig 2010: 194). It is possible that they date back to the Nara period, but were not reflected in the writing because of conservative orthographic traditions, or because the Nara period literature represents a different dialect than that of Early Middle Japanese (i.e. central Kyoto dialect) altogether. For our purposes here, I will detail all the relevant changes between Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese as they appear in the text. I categorize the “onbin” forms as follows: (1) consonant lenition (and elision): (a) labial, (b) velar (c), s- lenition, (2) vowel deletion (or syllable reduction), and (2) nasal assimilation.

One of the most distinct features of Old Japanese is its phonotactics, which did not allow for vowel or consonant clusters to occur in a single word (Vovin 2005: 45). In Middle Japanese, there are two essential processes that drive the appearance of consonant clusters. (1) Chinese borrowings and the popularization of kanbun from the ninth century, and (2) the morphophonological (onbin) changes which affected a variety of features of the language (Frellesvig 2010: 184-95). Throughout the collection, Saibara exhibits frequent but sometimes inconsistent morphophonological forms. The unpredictability of the appearance of these forms occurs across the collection, but never within a single song. There does not seem to be any particular motivation behind certain songs maintaining conservative (non-onbin) forms versus those that display them. This suggests that the

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82 Kunten texts are abundant beginning from the end of the Old Japanese period. They are annotated Chinese texts which provide pronunciation guides, glossing, and translation guidelines for Japanese readers. Kunten texts are also thought to reflect the spoken language of the time (Frellesvig 2010: p. 182).
collection is probably not temporally homogenous and that there is variability in the strata of language displayed across the songs. Furthermore, the majority of early sources on linguistic changes that were occurring in the Nara and Heian periods come from kunten texts (Frellesvig 2010: 194). Although theoretically any text written in the vernacular of the time would serve to exemplify the changes that were occurring by the end of the ninth, beginning of the tenth century, onbin forms are rarely if ever found in early poetry. Saibara, however, frequently displays these forms where they otherwise may have been suppressed in native poetry.

9.1.4.1. **Consonant Lenition**
Consonant lenition occurred regularly in some lexical and morphological forms in Early Middle Japanese. These processes, (1) initial and medial /p/ lenition, /s/ and velar (/k/, /g/) lenition can be found throughout the text. These forms are detailed in the section on phonology, so I will not repeat it here. However, in summary, the morphophonemic processes we find in the text are (1) loss of voiced and voiceless velars and voiceless fricative /s/ before high back vowel /i/, (2) medial -p- > -w- (> Ø/u), (3) loss of medial -i-, (4) loss of syllable final /a/, and (5) nasal assimilation. The most frequent and consistent of these being velar lenition and nasal assimilation. Following, I will provide some more examples directly from the text.

Consonant clusters appeared via the reduced form of syllables with nasals in morpheme internal position, i.e. *komudi* (古无知) [ko^n di] < *komiti* (2.17). Consonant clusters also appeared as a result of nasal reduction of -mi, -mu and -ni, -nu, which were reduced to -m and -n (N) before /p, t, k, s, b, d, g, z, m, n/, i.e. *tun-d-u < tum-i-t-u ‘chew-INF-PERF-ATTR’* (1.25), *asa ndu < asa mi^n du ‘shallow water’* (MdJ *Asōzu* [place
name]) (1.13). Sinitic loans introduced a new contrast between palatalized and non-palatalized phonemes before /a/, /o/, and /u/ (Vovin 2003: 12) i.e. kyau (京) ‘capital’ (2.24), tairyau (大類) (1.11) ‘provincial chief,’ tyau (帳) ‘divider’ (2.22), syauzok- ‘to dress up,’ byaibu ‘screen.’ In addition to palatal consonants, these new importations also introduced labialized onsets (Cw-), i.e. gwan ‘prayer.’ Syllable-final consonants were probably also possible for Chinese loans ending in -n and -t (Frellesvig 2010: 200).

Voiced and unvoiced velar, /k/ and /g/ underwent lenition after /i/ and /u/ in MJ. Most are isolated to verbal forms. -k- lenition before /i/ is attested in Saibara. i.e. sa-i-tar-u < sak-i-tar-u ‘blooming,’ (1.3), mata-i-kem-u < matag-i-k-em-u ‘rush-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR’ (1.3).

Examples:

9.1.4.1.1. Velar lenition

(1) 多可左古乃 (2) 左伊左々古乃 (3) 太加左己乃 (4) 乎乃戸尔太天留 (5) 之良多末 (6) 多万川波木 (7) 多万也名支 (8) 曾礼毛加止左束 (9) 末之毛可止 (10) 末之毛可度 (11) 祢利乎左美乎 (12) 見曾加介尔世束 (13) 多万也名支 (14) 名尔之加毛 (15) 沙 (16) 名尔之加毛 (17) 名尔之加毛 (18) 古々呂毛万多以介束 (19) 由利波名乃 (20) 沙由利波名乃 (21) 介々々伊太留 (22) 波川波名尔 (23) 安波万之毛乃乎 (24) 沙由利波名乃

(1) Takasago-no (2) sa-isasago\textsuperscript{83} -no (3) Takasago-no (4) wo-no [u]pe-ni tat-er-u (5) sira tama (6) tama tubaki (7) tama yanagi (8) sore moga to sam-u (9) masi moga to (10) masi moga to (11) ner-i wo sami wo-no (12) mi-zo kake n-i se-m-u (13) tama-yanagi (14) nani si kamo (15) sa (16) nani si kamo (17) nani si kamo (18) kokoro mo mata[g]-i-ke-m-u (19) yuri.bana-no (20) sayuri.bana-no (21) kesa sa[k]-i-tar-u (22) patu pana-ni (23) ap-amasi monowo

(1) Takasago-GEN (2) PREF-sand-GEN (3) Takasago-GEN (4) peak-GEN [u]pey-LOC stand-PROG-ATTR (5) white jewel (6) jewel camellia (7) jewel willow (8) that DES realize-ATTR (9) you DES DV (10) you DES DV (11) knead-INF cord thin cord-GEN (12) HON-garment hang (NML) DV-INF do-TENT-FIN (13) jewel willow (14) what EMPH FOC (15) sa (16) what EMPH FOC (17) what EMPH FOC (18) heart FOC

\textsuperscript{83} Isasa can denote particles or granules.
The jewel-like willow and the camellia [which blooms] like a white jewel
that stand utop the peaks of Takasago
Takasago of the rocky [peaks]
I realize [I] desire those
[I] realize [I] desire you
[Realizing] [I] desire [you]
I will make a garment rest from kneaded cord and thin cord
What do [I] do? What do [I] do?
What do [I] do
The lily flower’s first flower, which bloomed this morning
[was the lily flower] [I] had so desired to
meet
[Alas was the lily flower which bloomed this morning]

There are two instances of velar lenition in this song. The first is the verb *matag-* ‘to rush; be impatient.’ This is not a well-attested verb in early literature. The earliest occurrence seems to be in the *Kokinshū*. Contextually, it would be possible to interpret this line as *mata ike-m-u* ‘[how will my heart] come to life again?’ but *matag-i-k-em-u* ‘why was [her] heart so impatient?’ does fit better overall—also because there is another verbal form with velar lenition three lines following this one. The second instance of *onbin* in this song is in line (22), *sa-i-tar-u* where the original form *sak-i-tar-u* lost the velar after \(-i\), a signature of Early Middle Japanese morphophonology. Another example of velar lenition before \(-i\) appears in the following song:
Standing here, I have become wet from the rain [drops] that have [soaked] the stable of the eastern pavillion. Open the palace doors [let me in]! If there was a metal latch and a lock, I would close and lock that door. **Push open** the door and come in! I am another’s spouse!

9.1.4.2. Labial lention

The following example is much more rare in the text, medial -p- loss before -u. This is, of course, a very common and pervasive morphophonological change between Old and Early Middle Japanese, however it is not often reflected in poetic texts. In the case of Saibara, there is some indication of –p- lenition / elision, however this usually is very inconsistent between manuscripts—even Nabeshimake-bon and Tenji-bon. It is not clear whether this is due to scribal conservatism or archaic orthographic conventions, but it is (as mentioned in the section on phonology) highly unlikely /p/ was maintained either as bilabial [p] or fricative [ɸ] or [pʃ] at the time the earliest extant Saibara manuscripts were written.

(1) 与宇左利止利 (2) 止利之加波 (3) 左之久之毛奈之也
(1) yo[p]u sar-i tor-i (2) tor-i-sika-ba (3) sas-i.gusi mo na-si ya
(1) evening leave-INF take-INF (2) take-INF-PAST/EV-CONJ (3) stick-NML.comb
FOC no-FIN EMPH

Because [he] took [them] in the evening

Example:
(1) 与字左利止利 (2) 止利之加波 (3) 左之久之毛奈之也
(1) yo[p]u sar-i tor-i (2) tor-i-sika-ba (3) sas-i.gusi mo na-si ya
(1) evening leave-INF take-INF (2) take-INF-PAST/EV-CONJ (3) stick-NML.comb
FOC no-FIN EMPH

Because [he] took [them], I have no more decorative combs

(1.18)

Usuda (2000:135) interprets you as the “onbin” form of yöpî ‘early night.’ Kimura (2006: 81) views this as an abbreviated form of yupuNpê ‘evening.’ I view this as OJ yupu (attested in MYS 6.913) with loss of medial -p-. Frellesvig (2010) describes this as syllable reduction that is the result of /p/ being phonemically voiced in medial position and this led to the reduction of /pi/ ~ /bi/ to moraic oral U (Frellesvig 2010: 197-201). Vovin (2005: 25) offers a counter-argument on the basis of Ainu loans and data from the Nihon shoki.

9.1.4.2. Vowel Deletion

Most cases of vowel deletion occur in high vowels after nasal consonants, so I include them in the section on nasal assimilation. There is one example of word final vowel deletion in the text.

Example:
(1) 和加々 止乎 (2) 止散加字散 (3) 留乎乃已
(1) wa-ga kado-wo (2) tosam[a] ka-[k]u sam[a] (3) ner-u wonoko
(1) I-POSS gate-ACC (2) that **thus-INF** (3) creep man

[There is a] man creeping here and there about my gate
(1.12)

*Tosama* lost final /a/ after the nasal /m/ in this song. It is not possible to explain this reduction as an intentional reduction in order to conform to the syllabic 5-7-5-7 pattern because *tosaN* and *tosama* result in the same number of syllables. It is the only example of word final vowel deletion in the text and a generally rare form in Early Middle Japanese vernacular poetry. Notwithstanding, it reflects some modern Japanese dialects that exhibit syllable final vowel deletion. In the Kagoshima dialect, high vowels /i/ and /u/ are dropped in word final position, i.e. *kamu > kan* ‘bite.’ The most probable explanation outside of spontaneous vowel reduction is that the text is attempting to transcribe the line as it is sung. As a text transcribing music lyrics, it is possible that the unorthodox forms are a result of the *scripta plena* employed to most precisely reflect the actual pronunciation of syllables as they are (supposed to be) sung or as they are heard.
CHAPTER 10. LEXICON

The lexicon of Saibara is not dissimilar from any text one might find in the Classical Japanese literary cannon. The vocabulary is a combination of both native and non-native vocabulary. Japanese incorporated Chinese vocabulary in increasing quantity as the Heian progressed. However, even in the Old Japanese language, there was an abundance of non-native vocabulary from Chinese, Korean, and Ainu sources.

10.1. Chinese Loanwords

Saibara’s loanwords are primarily from Chinese. Some of these are written with Chinese logorams and not man’yōgana phonograms. Some of the words found in Saibara are: tai ryau < EMC (大領) (1.11), senban < EMC dzen ban (前盤) ‘front board,’ san < EMC sam 三 ‘three,’ ryau men < EMC ljangX mjienH (両面) ‘both sides,’ sai (左伊) < EMC tsojX (賽) ‘dice,’ dou (止字) < EMC duwng (筒) ‘pipe,’ go < EMC nguX (五) ‘five,’ roku < EMC ljuwk (六) ‘six,’ iti (伊知) < EMC ḫjīt (一) ‘one,’ saikaku (左伊加久) < EMC sej kaewk (犀角) ‘rhinoceros horn’ (1.12), sin kyau < EMC sin kjaeng (新京) ‘new capital’ (2.24), tyau < EMC trjangH (帳) ‘divider; screen’ (2.22), senzai < EMC dzen dzojH (前栽) ‘vegetation’ (2.24), 朱 su < EMC tsyu (朱) ‘vermillion’ (2.24).

CHAPTER 11. NOMINALS

Nominals include nouns, pronouns, and numerals. The nominal paradigm allows the following prefix and suffixal positions:

PREF-NOMINAL-SUF-SUF
11.1. **Nouns**

Nouns can be classified based on their semantics and distribution. Nouns have case, number and plurality and are distinguished from verbs by certain nominal particles in suffixal position that only appear after nouns, including nominalized verbs and adjectives. Adjectival nouns do not appear with case suffixes and are only followed by the defective verb infinitive *n-i* or *n-o*.

Some nouns in Old Japanese had free and bound stems, i.e. *kamī~kamu* ‘deity,’ *kī~kō* ‘tree.’ Deverbal nouns are derived from verbs by the nominalizing suffix *-i* (reduced to *-Ø* in vowel verbs).

11.2. **Nominal Prefixes**

Most OJ prefixes can be found in the *Saibara* corpus, along with one dubious attestation of the late form honorific prefix *ofon*-，which revealed itself initially in Heian period texts. *Mi*- is attested several times, however honorific prefixes and honorific nominal and verbal forms are relatively rare in the collection due to the casual character of most of the songs.

In the only case of *ofon-* in the text, it is spelled semantographically, so there is no way to be certain it is actually pronounced as *ofon-* Common sources for the reading of semantograms are the later *Saibara* manuscripts, which often have dubious sources themselves. In this case, the honorific prefix spelled out with 御 is probably *mi*-，since that is the most common use in the Heian period.
11.2.1. Honorific prefix *mi*-

*Mi*- is used in both native and non-native words. It is the most common honorific prefix in both Old and Middle Japanese. *Mi*- comprises one part of the grammaticalized MJ honorific prefix *ofon-* < OJ *opomi* < *opo mi* ‘great HON-.’

(1) 美曾乃不乃 (2) 安也女乃己保利乃 (3) 大領乃 (4) 末名牟春女
(1) *mi*-sonopu-no (2) Ayame-no kopori-no (3) TAIRYAU-no mana musume
(1) **HON**-garden-GEN (2) Ayame-GEN county-GEN (3) provincial governor-GEN lovely (Mana\(^84\)) daughter\(^85\)

The lovely daughter of the provincial governor of Ayame district [who is] in the garden
(1.12)

(1) 美 万久左可奈爾 (2) 奈爾與介无
(1) *mi*-saka.na n-i (2) nani yo-k-em-u
(1) **HON**-wine.greens (side.dish) DV-INF (2) what-good-ATTR TENT-FIN

What would [you] like with [your] wine (lit: as a side dish)?
(1.22)

美 万久左止利加戶
*mi*-ma.kusa tor-i kap-e
**HON**-horse grass take-INF feed-IMP

Take the horse feed and feed the horse!
(2.34)

見 曾加介尔世牟
*mi*-so.kake n-i se-m-u
**HON**-garment.hang-(NML) DV-INF do-TENT-FIN

[I] will hang [my] garment

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\(^84\) Mana can also be a personal name, cf. footnote 82 below.

\(^85\) There is a possible correlation here with MYS 14.3462:

(1) 安志比奇乃 (2) 夜末佐波毗登乃 (3) 比登佐波尔 (4) 麻奈登伊布兒我 (5) 安夜尔可奈思佐
(1) asipik-i n-ö (2) yama sapa-N-pîtô-nô (3) pîtô sapa n-i (4) mana tô ip-u KÔ-ga (5) aya n-i kanasi-sa

(1) foot pull-NML DV-ATTR (2) mountain mountain stream-GEN-person-GEN (3) person many
DV-INF (4) lovely DV say-ATTR girl-POSS (5) extreme DV-INF be.dear-NML

The girl who many people of the foot-dragging mountain stream call lovely is [the girl who is]
very dear [to me] (Mana is likely to be a personal name here, but potentially with the meaning
‘loveliness’ (Vovin 2012: 151).
The bowls of water are cold

11.2.2. Intensive prefix ma-

Intensive prefix ma- is defined by Yamada Yoshio as an adjectival and nominal intensifying prefix (Yamada 1954: 536). It can also be found affixed to adjectives with adjectival attributive -ki in Eastern and possibly some Western Old Japanese forms (Vovin 2005: 71).

In Saibara, intensive prefix ma- is found only before nouns and uninflected adjectives.

Examples:

万可支加支和介
ma-gaki kak-i-wake
INT-fence build.fence-INF-separate(INF)

[I] will build a real fence
(2.5)

(1) 支也波介川留 (2) 央支也波介川留
(1) ki ya pa ked-uru (2) ma-ki ya pa ked-uru
(1) tree QPT TOP cut.down-ATTR (2) INT-tree QPT TOP cut.down-ATTR

Are [you] cutting trees?
Are [you] cutting real trees?
(2.13)

(1) 之利良乃波末爾 (2) 於利為留可毛女
(1) ma-sira-ra87 n-o pama-ni (2) or-i-wir-u kamome

86 Vovin (PC)
87 -ra is only found in Western Old Japanese—usually appears as a nominalizer before final adjective forms. There is one example where it is used as a modifier (MYS 20.4478). But this
(1) **INT-white-? DV-ATTR beach-LOC (2) come.down-INF be-ATTR seagull**

The seagull [who] came down to the **truly** white beach
(2.18)

(1) 之良太万之川久也 (2) 之良太末之川久也
(1) sira tama siduk-u ya (2) ma-sira tama siduk-u ya
(1) white jewel sink-FIN EMPH (2) **INT-white jewel sink-FIN EMPH**

The white jewel sinks!
The **true** white jewel sinks!
(2.20)

安川末也乃末也
Aduma.ya-no **ma-ya**
eastern (Aduma).pavillion (hut)-GEN **INT-roof**

The **true** dwelling (roof)\(^88\) of an Aduma dwelling
(1.6)

11.2.3. **Diminutive prefix ko-**

The diminutive prefix **ko-** is found in several poems throughout the collection. As Vovin (2009: 79) notes, **kô-** is rare in the *Man’yōshū*, but is found in the Eastern songs (*Azuma uta*), volume XIV and XX, where **kô-** is attested a total of 18 times. **Kô-** is found in both endearment and diminutive functions in EOJ, however the former is attested only once (Kupchik 2011: 555-58). The majority of examples from Eastern dialects are from unidentified locations (ibid: 555). Several examples are also found in the Nihon shoki and Kojiki. Consequently, the relative frequency of the suffix in *Saibara* is remarkable, because of its rare occurrences in other texts. Also, because prefixes were rare and, with the exception of honorific prefixes, were all-but phased out in the Heian period, it is likely prefixal **ko-** is an archaism. **Ko-**, along with some other OJ prefixes shifted to

\(^88\) In this song it is likely **ma-ya** is referring specifically to the roof, which, in the song, is leaking rain through it.
suffixes in the later language. In Saibara, ko- is found with both a diminutive and endearment meanings.

(1) opo seri pa (2) kuni-no sata mono (3) ko-seri koso (4) yude-te mo muma-si
(1) big parsley (2) land-GEN prohibited thing (3) DIM-parsley FOC (4) boil.in.water-INF-SUB FOC taste.good-FIN

Big parsley is prohibited in these lands Small parsley is [also] very good boiled
(1.14)

(1) uba ta[u]m[e]ar-i (2) ware-wo kop-urasi (3) ko-saka.gowe nar-u ya
(1) old woman delicate woman exist-FIN (2) I-ACC long for-SUP (3) DIM-wine.voice be-FIN EMPH

[There is an old woman, a delicate woman who] seems to long for me
[But] it is the little voice of the wine!
(2.26)

89 The word koma < kō-[u]ma ‘stallion’ appears but because it is a frequent word and had already become a cross-dialectal lexical item I am not including it here.

90 Most modern scholars interpret this poem as ko-saka gowe referring to the wine brewer who is identified in the fourth line as ‘old woman’ (Usuda 2000: 156; Konishi 1957: 403; Ikeda 1975: 98). Hence, ‘old woman with a beer gut’ referring to the woman in jest. But this interpretation better follows the sense of the poem as a whole. Further, regarding the word ubatamari:

Tachibana (and Usuda following his analysis) interpret the line as uba taume 姥専女, ‘aged old woman’ (Tachibana 1967; Usuda 2000) In this interpretation, neither Usuda nor Tachibana take into account the final element rī, nor how ubataume developed into ubatamari based on regular morphophonemic changes in Japanese. The only reasonable explanation I was able to come up with was uba taume [a]r-i ‘old woman / granny old woman exist-INF.’ Uba here being ‘old woman’ or perhaps simply referring to a woman with children of potentially any mature age. Taume is attested in Tosa Nikki (935) in the context apadi no taume, ‘old woman of Apadi. It is considered a short form of igataume, which is attested in the Shinsarugōki 新猿歌記 (ca. 1050), meaning a female diviner of the sacred white fox in esoteric Shinto practice. However, although this instance is written out using the characters ‘specialty’ + ‘woman’ (専女), the reading is also given as utame as well as taume. Still, this definition is corroborated by the Edo period dictionary Imyōbunruishō 異名分類抄 (c. 1800), which gives the definition of taume 刀女 as a fox spirit or fox spirit diviner, especially in shrines of the extra-jurisdictional government bureaus (Ise and Iga are named specifically). Also in Genji Monogatari, Azumaya the phrase igataume 伊賀専女 ‘diviner from Iga’ is present. The author, Ki no Tsurayuki was an accomplished poet and contemporary with Uda tennō and his son Atsumi and wrote Tosa Nikki after concurrent government posts held in Tosa 土佐 (Kōshi prefecture), Kaga no kuni 加賀国 (southern Ishikawa

136
We will cut and collect and hang the pampass grasses at the running well and then have [silkworms] spin cocoons and [we] will pull and make thread [from them].

An Ayame child has been born on the small western road of the Great Palace.

The glimmering rice paddy heartleaves in the freshwater pond of the rice paddy
Collect [them]! young maiden! [Dear] little maiden

Grass used specifically for roof thatching.
In this case, I interpret *ko-* more properly as diminutive prefix with an endearment meaning as found commonly in Eastern Old Japanese (Vovin 2012: 80). This use is relatively rare in *Saibara* but may point to an EOJ influence in this particular use of *ko-* to denote feelings of endearment towards the maidens. It is nevertheless a rare (perhaps the only) use of prefix *ko-* with a noun referring to a person.

**11.2.4. Diminutive prefix wo-**

The diminutive prefix *wo-* has only two occurrences in *Saibara*, much less than that of *ko-* in OJ. In OJ, *wo-* has the underlying form *woN-* is only found before nominals and can indicate endearment similar to the prefix *ko-* (Vovin 2003: 76). Of the two instances of *wo-* one appears to have an endearment meaning as well.

(1) 安不美知乃 (2) 之乃々乎不々支
(1) ap-u miti-no (2) Sino-no **wo**-pupuki
(1) meet-ATTR road (2) Sino-GEN DIM-butterbur

Sweet **little** butterbur of the dwarf bamboo at Apumiti

(1.20)

This usage has a clear endearment meaning, again a rare occurrence for Western Old Japanese, but common for Eastern Old Japanese.

(1) 名无波乃宇美 (2) 名无波乃宇美 (3) 己支毛天乃保留 (4) 乎不祢於保祢
(1) Namuba-no umi (2) namuba-no umi (3) kog-i mote-nobor-u (4) **wo**-bune opo bune
(1) Namuba-GEN sea (2) namuba-GEN sea (3) row-INF PREF-climb-ATTR (4) **DIM**-boat big boat

[They] row the **small** boats and big boats up to Namuba sea

(2.36)
11.2.5. Locative prefix *sa-*

*Sa-* has been described as a ‘euphonic’ device by Yamada (1954: 530). Most commentators on *Saibara* follow this analysis. Departing from this tradition, I will analyze *sa-* as a functional linguistic element of the text, since in many if not all cases, *sa-* can be analyzed actively as a nominal locative prefix in the text.

*Sa-* is frequently left undefined, however two major theories put forward are that (1) *sa-* denotes similarity of some kind (Sakiyama 2001: 473), that (2) it is an emphatic or honorific term, and (3) that it is a locative prefix denoting special and temporal locations; it can be defined as meaning ‘small,’ ‘narrow,’ ‘close to,’ denoting endearment or emphasis (Pierson 1969: 350). Here, I follow Vovin and, in part, Sakitama’s definition of *sa-* as a locative prefix denoting special and temporal locations (Vovin 2005: 83).

Examples:

(1) 多可左目乃 (2) 上伊左陣古乃 (3) 太加左己乃 (4) 乎乃戸尔太天留 (5) 之良多末 (6) 多万川波木

(1) Taka\text{-}sago\text{-}no (2) *sa*-isasago\text{-}no (3) Taka\text{-}sago\text{-}no (4) wo\text{-}no [\text{u}]pe\text{-}ni tat\text{-}er\text{-}u (5) sira tama (6) tama tubaki

(1) Taka\text{-}sago\text{-}GEN (2) \textbf{PREF}-Isasago\text{-}GEN (3) Taka\text{-}sago\text{-}GEN (4) hill\text{-}GEN [\text{u}]pey-LOC stand\text{-}PROG\text{-}ATTR (5) white jewel (6) jewel camellia

The jeweled camellia

[Which blooms] like a white jewel

Stands on the rocky slopes of

of Takasago

(1.3)

(1) 川万左留世那波 (2) 安春毛左祢己之也 (3) 曾与也 (4) 左安春毛左祢己之也

(1) tuma sar\text{-}u sena pa (2) asu mo sane ko\text{-}zi (3) soyoya (4) *sa*-asu mo sane ko\text{-}zi ya

(1) spouse leave\text{-}ATTR beloved TOP (2) tomorrow FOC certainly come\text{-}NEG/TENT (3) soyoya (4) \textbf{PREF}\text{-}tomorrow FOC certainly come\text{-}NEG/TENT EMPH

[My] beloved, [who] left [his] spouse will certainly not come tomorrow

soyoya!

[He] certainly will not come tomorrow

(2.4)
Usuda (2000: 142) analyzes this as a euphonic device without any meaning in order to reflect *sane ko-zi* in line two. Nevertheless the locative prefix does fit here and would parallel uses such as those found in *Man’yōshū*, i.e. *sa-yō pukete* ‘the night deepened’ (MYS 2.105).

(1) 安平乃末波奈礼波 (2) 止利川奈介 (3) 左乎乃万者奈礼波 (4) 止利川奈介 (5) 之乃以左也乃 (6) 之乃伊左也乃 (7) 左世己加比己名留 (8) 左以論語 (9) 末多波太論語乃己奈留 (10) 左伊論語

(1) awo n-o ma panar-e-ba (2) tor-i-tunag-e (3) sa-[a]wo-no ma panar-e-ba (4) tor-i-tunag-e (5) sino-i sa-ya-no (6) sino-i sa-ya-no (7) sa-seko-ga piko nar-u (8) sa-iro-n[o]go (9) mata pa taro-n[o]go-no ko nar-u (10) sa-iro-n[o]go

(1) dark DV-ATTR horse separate-EV-CONJ (2) take-INF tie-IMP (3) PREF-dark-GEN horse separate-EV-CONJ (4) take-INF tie-IMP (5) endure-NML PREF-arrow-GEN (6) endure-NML PREF-arrow-GEN (7) PREF-beloved man-POS lord be-ATTR (8) PREF-maternal sibling-DV(INF)-child (9) again TOP ?-DV(INF)-child be-ATTR (10) PREF-maternal sibling-DV(INF)-child-GEN

If the dark horse separates from [you] get it and tie it up!
If the dark horse separates from [you] get it and tie it up!
Lord of my *beloved husband* of the *enduring arrows*
Sibling [of the same mother], or, child of another(?) [sibling](?)

(2.23)$^{92}$

$^{92}$ This is a very difficult poem to interpret because of the seemingly unrelated first two lines and the rest of the poem which could be referring to *iro* ‘siblings of the same mother.’ The *sa*-prefix appears possibly seven times in this poem with the most dubious lines being those in five, six, and seven where it is difficult to see locative usage and where *sa*- does not seem to mark the noun phrase.

The instance in line three *sa-[a]wo* ‘PREF-blue’ could also be an intensifying emphatic use of *hayashikotoba* as well. Another possible explanation is that *sa* in line three is not the prefix but is the defective adjective *sa*, thus; because.’ Because *panar-e-ba* is the conjunctive, which can denote reason and temporal connection Yamada, Y. (1954). *Nara chō bunpōshi [History of Nara period grammar]*, Tokyo, Hōbunkan, Vovin, A. (2003). *A reference grammar of Classical Japanese prose*. London ; New York, Routledge Curzon., *awo-no ma panar-e-ba* ‘because the blue horse *will* separate [from you]’ is using conjunctive -*ba* for its temporal connection, ‘*will* separate.’ Whereas in line three, *sa-wo-no ma panar-e-ba*, the conjunctive is being used to indicate reason with the defective adjective *sa*, ‘because the blue horse will thus separate [from you].’ The redundant statement ‘thus’ with conjunctive ‘because’ furthermore gives an emphatic sentiment.

Another interesting parallel is the similarity of line three, *sa-wo-no ma to sa-wo-sika* ‘PREF-male-deer,’ where the function of *sa* is still not well understood. If it is somehow related to the word *sawo* ‘pole,’ then it is possible *sawo* here is indicating a male horse. Contextually, this
On a narrow road west of the great palace, [a woman] birthed an ayame child
[A woman] birthed an ayame child
(2.31)

11.3. Nominal Suffixes

Diachronically, there were additional nominal suffixes that appeared from the Heian period. In Old Japanese, there are three basic types of nominal suffixes: (1) plural markers, (2) case markers, and (3) diminutive suffixes. In Middle Japanese that picture changed to include the frequentative (-gati) and representative (-nado). Maximum number of suffixation as found in Saibara is:

STEM-PLURAL: wa ipe-ra-ga ‘I house-PLUR-POSS’ (2.20)
STEM-DIM-CASE: se-ko-ga ‘beloved-DIM-POSS (2.23)

would not be strange, but given the apparent disconnect between the first four lines and the rest of the poem it is difficult to say for certain that the definition sawo-no ma ‘male horse’ would fit. Line five, sinoi sa ya-no, cannot be viewed as a locative prefix because it comes between a nominalized verb, sino-i ‘endure-NML’ and the following noun ya ‘arrow.’ Aside from simply relegating this occurance to some kind of emphatic or rhythmic marker, the only option would be to view it as a single word, saya. Saya (< sóya) ‘war arrow’ is found once in MYS 20.4398 in the phrase op-i saya ‘carry-INF war arrow.’ This could be the original saya after undergoing regressive vowel assimilation under pressure of the final /a/. Thus, sino-i saya-no ‘hidden [/concealed] arrow of…’ Unfortunately, the following lines do not offer any evidence towards understanding the context of the first six. Line seven’s sa-se-ko and is another dubious occurance of sa-. It is very difficult to see any locative meaning in this usage, since it is marking the subject of the clause se-ko-ga piko n-ar-u. This case appears to be some kind of hayashi kotoba, along with the final occurances in line eight and nine, sa-irongo.
11.3.1. Case markers

Case suffixes typically fall under the category of *joshi* 助 詞 ‘auxiliary’ in Japanese scholarship (Yamada 1954; Tsukishima 1969; Martin 1988). Vovin (2009) defines them as “agglutinative” case markers because they are (1) not flective, exhibit no fusion, and are not dependent upon the phonetic shape of the preceding stem, and (2) because very few particles can come between the stem and case marker (Vovin 2005: 110). Kupchik (2011, 503) similarly analyzes them as case suffixes, also due to the fact that only a handful of particles can come between the stem and case marker. In Japanese scholarship, ‘auxiliary’ (*joshi*) is a wide category that includes verb suffixes and gerunds as well, i.e. concessive gerund -[e]do and desiderative suffix -(a)na (Yamada 1954: 249-78). Case markers in Old Japanese mark nominals, including nominalized verbs and adjectives. They indicate a series of grammatical categories which will be discussed in detail below.

Frellesvig notes that the case system of Old Japanese does not form a “fully developed system” (2010: 124-25) where, in certain cases, the recent grammaticalization of case particles is transparent, i.e. the noun *kara* ‘clan; family’ as in the word *yakara* < *ya kara* ‘dwelling + clan’ became a new ablative marker in OJ, -*kara* (Vovin 2005: 207; Frellesvig 2010: 124-25). Vovin classifies OJ case particles as agglutinative case markers due to the high degree to which case particles are bound to the preceding stem (Vovin 2005: 110).

Of the case particles found in OJ, some were newly emerging and others were fading out of use. The nominative -*i* and genitive-locative -*tu*, and locative -*na* are all attested sparsely in OJ texts and do not generally appear in materials from the early Heian period.
Conversely, ablative -kara and directive -pê were new grammaticalizations which became more prevalent in MJ.

There were some changes to the usage and inventory of case particles between Old and Middle Japanese. Where Saibara falls inside those categories is important to highlight here. The following chart includes all active particles in Old and Middle Japanese, and those found in Saibara.

**Table 21: Comparative chart of OJ, MJ, and Saibara case markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case particle</th>
<th>Function by linguistic period</th>
<th>Saibara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>(1) possessive</td>
<td>(1) possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) subject marker</td>
<td>(2) subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>(1) dative</td>
<td>(1) dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) locative</td>
<td>(2) locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) agent marker</td>
<td>(3) agent marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) directive</td>
<td>(4) directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>(1) dative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na (EOJ)</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>genitive-locative</td>
<td>genitive-locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>(1) accusative</td>
<td>(1) accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) absolutive</td>
<td>(2) absolutive (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>comitative (-to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yu/-yuri/yôri</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>ablative (only -yori)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pê</td>
<td>directive</td>
<td>directive (-fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-made</td>
<td>terminative</td>
<td>terminative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nö/-ni/nasu/nösu</td>
<td>comparative</td>
<td>comparative (no in poetry only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kara</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only changes with respect to the inventory of case markers is the loss of -tu, -i, and -ra, and the addition of representative -nado, which does not appear in Saibara.

While there is a strict demarcation of the Nara period (OJ) for the above mentioned three
case particles, fossilized remnants remained frozen in unproductive compounds such as nipatutöri ‘chicken’ (MdJ niwatori), from nipa-tu töri ‘yard-GEN/LOC bird;’ ‘bird of the yard.’ Curiously, Saibara exhibits an example of what appears to be a productive use of -tu, which is extremely rare for any texts after the end of the eighth century.

Syntactically, there were some functional shifts in the use of possessive -ga and accusative -wo which are indicative of Middle Japanese

11.3.1.1. Possessive Marker -Ga

The possessive marker -ga is a possessive case marker that can function as possessive marker as well as subject marker in a dependent and a main clause. Possessive -ga in OJ and MJ have a slightly different distribution. In OJ, -ga is rarely found as a subject marker after nouns, while in MJ there are numerous examples of this function which is similar to its function in modern Japanese. There is a tendency for -ga to be used after personal pronouns and titles (Vovin 2003: 117).

Unsurprisingly, possessive -ga can be found throughout the Saibara collection in the possessive (most frequent) and subject marking (two examples) functions.

Examples:

-ga in possessive function:

伊天安加己末
ide a-ga koma
set.out(IMP) I-POSS stallion

Set out my stallion!
(1.1)

和加々止尔
wa-ga kado-ni
I-POSS gate-LOC
I-POSS gate-LOC
At my gate
(1.12)

(1) awo yagi-ga (2) sinap-i wo mi-re-ba (3) ima sakar-i nar-i ya
(1) green willow.tree-POSS (2) sway-NML-ACC see-EV-COND (3) now blossom-NML be-FIN QPT

When I see the gentle yielding of the willow, is it that they are at their peak?
(1.16)

(1) tori pa nak-i-n-u (2) tepukasa (3) Sakuramaro-ga (4) si-ga mono-wo os-i pas-i (5) k-i-tar-i wi-te s-ure (6) na-ga ko nas-u-made
(1) bird TOP cry-INF-PERF-FIN (2) tepukasa (3) Sakuramaro-POSS (4) he-POSS thing-ACC push-INF to make deep-INF (5) come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF sit(INF)-SUB do-EV (6) you-POSS child birth-ATTR-TERM

The bird has cried!
Sakuramaro came [is t/here] and is thrusting his thing [inside me], until [I] make a child
(1.17)

There are three uses of the possessive case marker -ga in lines (3), (4), and (6). The first two examples are clear uses of the possessive function. -ga in line (6) is functioning as a subject marker.

(1) masi asa.ginu mo (2) wa-ga me-no goto-ku (3) tamoto yo-ku (4) ki yo-ku kata yo-ku (5) kokubi yasura n-i (6) masi ki se-m-e kamo
(1) you hemp-garment FOC (2) 1-POSS wife-GEN be like-INF (3) sleeve good-INF (4) wear(NML) good-INF shoulder good-INF (5) nape.of.the.neck soft DV-INF (6) you wear(NML) do-TENT-EV QPT EMPH

If you [made a] hemp dress like my wife's where the sleeves are [adorned] nice[ly] and it wears nicely, [fits] nicely on the shoulders and the collar [fit] comfortably, perhaps I would wear you[r garment]!
(1.4)

(1) wa-ga kiu pa (2) no.para sino.para (3) pagi-no pana.zur-i ya
(1) I-POSS garment TOP (2) field.plain dwarf.bamboo.grove (3) bush.clover-GEN flower.rub EMPH

My garment is pressed [and dyed] with bush clover flowers [from the] dwarf bamboo fields and grass fields
(1.20)

(1) 无女[江]爾 (2) 支為習字久比春
(1) mume-ya [y]-ni"3 (2) k-i-wi-ru ugupisu
(1) plum-POSS branch-LOC (2) come-sit-ATTR bush warbler

Bush warbler, who comes and sits upon the plum branch
(2.3)

(1) 不知不乃々 (2) 可太知加波良乎 (3) 之女波也之
(1) Pudipu no-no (2) katati-ga para-wo (3) sime-payas-i
(1) Pudipu field-GEN (2) katati-POSS field-ACC (3) fill(INF)-cultivate-INF

Fill and cultivate the meadow of Katati in Pudipu"4 fields
(2.11)

(1) 於久也万爾 (2) 支名可須 (3) 左可支加乎知 (4) 支也止支也止 (5) 万支也波介川留 (6) 支也波介川留 (7) 支介川留乎知
(1) oku yama-ni (2) ki nagas-u (3) sakaki-ga wodi (4) ki ya to ki ya to (5) ma-ki ya pa ket-uru (6) ki ya pa ket-uru (7) ki ket-uru wodi
(1) deep mountain-LOC (2) tree flow-ATTR (3) sakaki-POSS old man (4) tree QPT to tree QPT DV (5) INT-tree EMEH TOP get.rid.of-ATTR (6) tree EMEH TOP get.rid.of-ATTR (7) tree get.rid.of-ATTR old.man

Old man of [the] sakaki [trees] sending trees down the river and deep into the mountains,
Is it the trees? Is it the trees that you cut away? Do you cut trees, tree-cutting old man?
(2.14)"5

"3 I transcribe all instances of ye in the text as e. This is because the majority of original text given in this analysis is taken from Nabeshimake-bon, which uses the sign as the exclusive phonogram for /e/. For more on the loss of palatal /y/ in MJ and Saibara see phonology section.

"4 Although the sign is usually voiceless dental /t/ and not /d/, voicing is indicated in most of the later manuscripts, so I am transcribing it as /d/ here.

"5 This example is controversial and there are a few different perspectives regarding its interpretation. Usuda (2000) does not explicitly state the use of ga here in particular, but translates it as ‘old man [of] sakaki who sends trees floating up the river’ Usuda (2000). Thus, he is interpreting ga as essentially fulfilling the role that would normally be filled by the defective verb n-o ‘to be’ or a copula of some kind. Because nominal and verbal morphology does not usually mix this would not be a viable analysis. Contrarily, Hirata Kiyoshi analyzed sakaki as
In this analysis, possessive -ga also makes more sense because it is describing the road of sakaki [trees] and not describing the state of the noun wodi ‘old man.’

**Subject marker in a dependent clause:**

(1) .predicate
(2) 2-
(3) 3-

When I [realease him] without summoning [my falcon] to return, I may [then] meet my beloved!

(2.15)

(1) 1-
(2) 2-
(3) 3-

Oh, the joy of meeting at this lavish banquet!

(2.30)

This is a typical OJ construction and can be found in Middle Japanese as well (Vovin 2005: 117). In the song, possessive -ga is marking the subject of a nominalized clause.

逆木 saka ki ‘reverse tree,’ saka ki-no wo-di. Because the parts of cut trees flowed in opposite directions, where the body of the tree flows down river and the treetops or smaller parts up the river, saka ki-ga wodi is referring to the old man on the raft floating in the opposite direction, i.e. ‘old man on the opposite raft’ (Hirataka 2011: 359-493). Mifuyu offers another explanation, analyzing saka ki as sak-a ‘to divide’ break-open-ATTR’ plus ki ‘tree’ (Osamu 2011). In that case, sak- would possess the rare Eastern Old Japanese attributive -a, otherwise attested in Manyōshū volume XIV (14.3408, 14.3461, 14.3487, 14.3526, 14.3557) (Kupchik 2011; Vovin 2012). Possessive sak-a ki-ga wodi ‘divide-ATTR tree-POSS old man.’ This could only hold if -ga is marking the subject of the predicate sak-a ki ‘divide-ATTR tree.’ Syntactically, it is very strange to have the subject marked after the predicate in this way and there is no evidence to backup this type of syntactical construction in OJ or MJ.

None of the above commentators consider sakaki to be the sakaki tree (㭨) or Cleyera japonica, a sacred evergreen tree with special ritual significance in Shinto.
11.3.1.2. *Genitive -No*

Genitive case *no* functions almost identically to the genitive possessive *-ga* with the notable distinctions of never marking a nominalized sentence, nor appearing after personal pronouns and titles (Vovin 2005: 126). It is also homophonous with the defective verb *n-o* (< *n-ö*).

Examples:

(1) 多可左古乃 (2) 左伊左々古乃 (3) 乎乃戸尔太天留 (4) 之良多末
(1) Takasago-no (2) sa-isasago-no (3) wo-no [u]pe-ni tat-er-u (4) sira tama
(1) Takasago-GEN (2) PREF-sand-GEN (3) peak-GEN top-LOC stand-PROG-ATTR
(4) white jewel

   The white jewel that stands upon the rocky peak of Takasago
   (1.3)

(1) 尔之天良乃 (2) 於以祢須美
(1) nisi.dera-no (2) oi nezumi
(1) west temple-GEN (2) old(NMNL) rat

   Old rat of the western temple
   (1.25)

介不乃太不止左
kepu-no taputo-sa ya
today-GEN precious-NML EMPH

   The magnificence of today
   (2.1)

(1) 奈川比支乃 (2) 之良伊止
(1) natu pik-i-no (2) sira ito
(1) summer spin-NML-GEN (2) white thread

   white thread summer spinning thread
   (1.4)

(1) 奴支可波乃 (2) 世々乃也波良多万久良 (3) 也波良加尔 (4) 奴留与波名久天 (5) 於也左久留川末 (6) 於也左久留川末波 (7) 末之天留波之 (8) 之加沙良波 (9) 也波支乃伊知尔 (10) 久川加比尔加伞 (11) 久川加波々 (12) 千加伊乃保曾之支乎可戸 (13) 左之波支天 (14) 宇波毛止利支天 (15) 美也知加与波伞
(1) **nukikapa-no** se-ze-no (2) yapara ta-makura (3) yaparakha n-i (4) n-uru yo pa na-ku-te (5) oya sak-uru tuma (6) oya sak-uru tuma pa (7) masite [u]rupasi (8) sikas ar-aba (9) **Yapagi-no** iti-ni (10) kutu kap-i ni [i]k-am-u (11) kutu kap-aba (12) sengai n-o poso siki-wo kap-e (13) sasi-pak-i-te (14) upa.mo tor-i ki-te (15) Miya.di kayop-am-u

(1) **Nukikapa-GEN** rapids-GEN (2) soft hand-pillow (3) softly DV-INF (4) sleep-ATTR night not-INF-SUB (5) parent separate-ATTR spouse (6) parent separate-ATTR spouse TOP (7) very adorable (8) to be such exist-COND (9) **Yapagi-GEN** market-LOC (10) shoes buy-INF LOC go-TENT-FIN (11) shoes buy-COND (12) sengai\textsuperscript{96} DV-ATTR thin style-ACC buy-IMP (13) EMPH-put on-INF-SUB (14) above.skirt take-INF wear(INF)-SUB (15) Miya.road\textsuperscript{97} come.and.go-TENT-FIN

(a) At the **rapids of Nukigapa** I do not have a night of tender sleep on my soft arm-pillow

[For I am without] [my] spouse who is separated [from me] by her parents

[Alas] my spouse whose parents keep us apart is very dear to me

(b) If this is so, then you will go to **Yapagi market** to buy [me] some shoes

And if you buy these shoes, get the thin and shallow sengai

[I] will put them on and put on [my] skirt and come to see you by Miya road.

11.3.1.3. **Dative-Locative -Ni**

Dative-locative -ni is a dative, directive, and locative marker as well as agent marker in passive constructions (Vovin 2005: 132). Traditional grammars typically do not indicate a distinction between the Dative-locative -ni and homophynous defective verb n- in the infinitive n-i. Dative-locative -ni is found primarily in its locative function in the **Saibara**, but it is also found in limited numbers in all of the above-mentioned functions with the exception of passive constructions where there are no such examples.

**Dative function:**

(1) 光乃己乎 (2) 於也尔末宇与

(1) kono koto-wo (2) oya-ni mau yo

(1) this thing-ACC (2) parent-DAT say EMPH

\textsuperscript{96} *Sengai* is a type of sandal.

\textsuperscript{97} *Miya* probably is ‘palace,’ but because the context does not make it clear, I am interpreting Miyadi as Miya road.
[I] will tell this thing to my parents!

(2.5)

(1) 太加乃已波 (2) 末呂爾多波良无
(1) taka-no ko pa (2) maro-ni tabar-am-u
(1) falcon-GEN child TOP (2) I-DAT receive(HON)-TENT-ATTR

[You] give me a baby falcon

(1.23)

(1) 法師三末字左牟 (2) 師三末字勢 (3) 法師三末字佐牟 (4) 師三末字勢
(1) pausi-ni maus-am-u (2) si-ni maus-e (3) pausi-ni maus-am-u (4) si-ni maus-e
(1) monk-DAT say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (2) monk-DAT say(HUM)-IMP (3) monk-DAT say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (4) monk-DAT say-IMP

You should tell the monk
Tell him!
You should tell the monk
Tell him!

(1.25)

(1) 波川波名爾 (2) 安波万之毛乃乎
(1) patu pana-ni (2) ap-amasi monowo
(1) first flower-LOC (2) meet-SUBJ CONJ

Though I desired to meet the first flower…

(1.3)

Locative function

(1) 无女加江爾 (2) 支為習字久比春也
(1) mume-ga ye-ni (2) k-i-wi-ru ugupisu
(1) plum-POSS branch-LOC (2) come-sit-ATTR bush warbler

Oh bush warbler, who comes and sits upon the plum branch

(2.3)

宇利太川末天翼
uri tat-u made-ni
melon rise-ATTR TERM-LOC

[I will make her my wife] before the melons ripen

(2.7)

---

98 These first two lines appear in Kokinshū (volume 1 poem # 5) and Man’yōshū (19.4286)
[You] should make a temporary dwelling at Asuka well
der

(1) 安須加為爾 (2) 也波利波丙戸之
(1) asuka wi-ni (2) yador-i pa s-ube-si
(1) Asuka well-LOC (2) temporary dwelling-NML TOP do-DEB-FIN

[You] should make a temporary dwelling at Asuka well

(1) 安之太爾止利 (2) 与字左利止利
(1) asita-ni tor-i (2) you sar-i tor-i
(1) morning-LOC take-INF (2) evening leave-INF take-INF

[He] took [them] in the morning
[He] took [them] [again] [when he] left in the evening

(1) 波名成乃尔 (2) 和礼乎波波奈天也
(1) panazono-ni (2) ware-woba panat-e ya
(1) flower.garden-LOC (2) I-ACC/EMPH let go-IMP EMPH

Let me go in the flower garden!

(1) 於久也万爾 (2) 支々留也乎知
(1) Oku yama-ni (2) ki kir-u ya wodi
(1) deep mountain-LOC (2) tree cut-FIN QPT old man

Old man, do [you] cut trees in the deep mountains?

(1) Musiroda-no (2) itukinuki.gapa-ni ya (3) sum-u turu
(1) Musiroda-GEN (2) Itukinuki.river-LOC EMPH (3) dwell-ATTR crane

The cranes who live at Itunuki river of Musiroda

In this example, the locative is followed by emphatic ya, which falls between the object
gapa and following verb predicate sum-u.

-ni as a directive case marker

(1) 也波支乃伊知尔 (2) 久川加比尔加牟
(1) yapagi-no iti-ni (2) kuto kap-i-ni [i]k-am-u
(1) Yapagi-GEN market-LOC (2) shoes buy-NML-LOC go-TENT-FIN

I will go to buy shoes at Yapagi market.
In the second occurrence, -ni is used after a nominalized verb to indicate purpose of movement.

(1) 末之良良乃波末雛 (2) 於利為留可毛女
(1) ma-sira-ra n-o pama-ni (2) or-i-wir-u kamome
(1) INT-white DV-ATTR beach-LOC (2) descend-INF-be-ATTR seagull

The seagull [came down to] the white beach [of Ki no kuni]
(2.18)

(1) 伊世乃字美乃 (2) 支与岐名支左尔
(1) Ise-no umi-no (2) kiyō-ki nagisa-ni
(1) Ise-GEN sea-GEN (2) pure-ATTR beach-LOC

[On] the pure beach of the sea of Ise
(1.10)

(1) 和加々止尔 (2) 宇波毛乃須曾奴礼
(1) wa-ga kado-ni (2) upa-mo-no suso nure
(1) I-POSS gate-LOC (2) above.skirt-GEN hem get.wet(INF)

[I] wet the hem of my outer skirt at your gate
(1.12)

Agent marking in a passive construction

(1) 伊之加波乃 (2) 己末字止雛 (3) 於比乎止良礼天
(1) Isikapa-no (2) koma.udo-ni (3) obi-wo tor-are-te
(1) Isikapa-GEN (2) koma(Koryo).person-DAT (3) sash-ACC take-PASS(INF)-SUB

My sash was taken by a Koma person in Isikapa
(2.19)

11.3.1.4. Genitive-Locative Case Marker -Tu

This case marker is only found in very limited expressions in MJ, and in OJ it was already found mostly in unproductive set phrases (Vovin 2005). -tu is often found after place names, especially in frozen forms that survived into the modern era. -tu is best attested in Senmyō edicts. It is found in a few forms in Middle Japanese and was already

99 It is notable that the form is kamome and not the OJ kamamē (加薬目), which is attested in MYS 1.2
moribund in OJ. Because there is only one appearance in Saibara, it would be reasonable to say that this case marker is not functioning actively. But its appearance at all is unexpected. The use of -tu is further subject to scrutiny because of its appearance after the word sima ‘island’ or ‘territory,’ which could suggest that it is simply referring to a place name. There are two reasons why I am highlighting this form: (1) while sima could be construed as a place name, the context does not hold up that perspective very well. The phrase sima-tu ta is followed by the following phrase, -wo to mati tukur-u, ‘ACC ten blocks build-ATTR.’ Thus, ta ‘build ten blocks of/from island paddies’ is clearly referring to the type of paddy, i.e. ‘island paddies.’ While it is highly unlikely this form was active, Saibara is evoking a very old poetic tradition using this phrase. It is also worth noting that tu- is not found after the word sima in any other texts.

(1) left right (2) has not known others (3) the end of the river (4) stop even though (5) see the sky
(1) cherry.blossom-person (2) that boat stop-IMP (3) territory-GEN/LOC rice paddy-ACC (4) ten blocks make-PROG-FIN (5) look-SUB return-INF come-TENT-ATTR

Person of Sakura stop your boat!
[I] am dividing ten blocks from [these] island/territory paddies
[Let’s] go take a look at them and return.
(2.4)

11.3.1.5. Accusative-Absolutive Case Marker -Wo

Accusative marks the object of an active transitive verb and absolutive marks the subject of an inactive verb. -wo can be used after the attributive form of verbs to indicate concession or reason.

Accusative
Twisting the green willow into a single thread

You yourself carry a sagging bag (purse)

Who will be the matchmaker there for I, who has grown old

The man who walks steadily about my gates

The consistent interpretation among the commentaries is that this is the onbin form of to sama kaku sama (Usuda 2000, Konishi 1957: 355). Diachronically, kō-rui tō is defined in Omodaka as ‘outside,’ soto, in opposition to uti ‘inside.’ Kaku is defined in the kōjien as an adverb meaning ‘in this way,’ ‘like this.’ Vovin (2005) analyzes ka-ku as the infinitive form of the defective adjective ka. Sama is ‘direction.’

100
[He] thrusts his thing
(1.17)

(1) koto-wo koso (2) asu to mo ip-am-e
(1) words-ACC FOC (2) morning DV FOC say-TENT-EV

[You] say the word “tomorrow”
(2.4)

(1) kono koto-wo (2) oya- ni mau yo
(1) this thing-ACC (2) parent-LOC say slander-INF-RETR-SUP EMPH

It seems [someone] told this thing to my parents to slander [me]!
(2.5)

 ware-wo pos-i to ip-u
I-ACC desire-INF DV say-FIN

[She] says [she] wants me
(2.7)

(1) panazono-ni (2) ware-woba panat-e ya
(1) garden-LOC (2) I-ACC/EMPH release-IMP EMPH

Let me go in the flower garden!
(2.8)

(1) taka-wo panat-i-age (2) wog-u-wo na-mi
(1) falcon-ACC separate-INF-rise(INF) (2) invite-ATTR-ACC no-GER

Because [I] release [my] falcon at falcon mountain without inviting [him to return]
(2.15)

(1) koma.udo-ni (2) obi-wo tor-are-te
(1) koma (Koryo).person-LOC (2) sash-ACC take-PASS(INF)-SUB

[My] sash was stolen by a [person from] Koryo

---

101 For a detailed discussion of the construction V-ATTR-wo ADJ-mi see the adjective section.
This (2.19 above) is an example of -wo being used to mark the object in a passive construction.

 ware-wo kop-urasi
I-ACC long for-SUP

It seems [you] **long for me**

知止世可禦天曾
ti tose-wo kane-te zo
thousand year-ACC anticipate(INF)-SUB EMPH

**Anticipating [longevity of]** a thousand years!

Everyone’s admiring of the falls which have many rapids is evident when [I] am there

[I] received wine, received [it] and became drunk

**Special emphatic accusative -woba**

What is the **name for the crevice**?

Usuda (2000: 148, 136) postulates that *koma* is being used to refer to areas with a high density of continental immigrants, such as along the Ishikawa river and Yamashiro areas around the capital.
Conjunction introducing clause of reason:

(1) tobari tyau mo (2) tare-tar-u-wo (3) opo kimi k-i-mas-e
(1) curtain.divider (standing) screen.divider- FOC(2) hang-PERF/PROG-FIN-ACC (3) great lord come-INF-HON-IMP

Because there is a curtain divider hanging [in my room], come in my prince
(2.22)

11.3.1.6. Terminative Case Marker -Made

Terminative case specifies limitation. It can also indicate the target of movement, as in

‘[from]… to…’ The function and syntax of -made in OJ and MJ are functionally the same. -made is found after the attributive form of verbs and nouns in the text. Yamada (1913: 357) classifies -made as an adverbial particle, fukujoshi (副助詞), however, since it can also be used with nouns, it is better described as a nominal case marker.

Terminative particle -made appears seven times in four songs in the Saibara collection. One of which has the -made-ni construction, where the locative -ni is following -made. This example (2.36) also exemplifies the function of indicating a goal or target of movement where, in this case, the first location (Tukusi) is the only initial target of movement.

Examples:

(1) kog-i mote-nobor-u (2) wo-bune opo bune (3) tukusi tu-made-ni (4) ima sukosi nobor-e (5) Yamazaki-made-ni
(1) row-INF PREF-climb-ATTR (2) DIM-boat big boat (3) tukusi harbor-TERM-LOC (4) now be small climb-IMP (5) Yamazaki-TERM-LOC

Row [them] and climb up
[Row] those little boats and big boats to Tukusi harbor
Now climb a little more to Yamazaki!
(2.36)
As far as I can see, it is [appears as] the hanging willow of the vermillion gates of the new capital, which is a shining jewel shining down (2.24)

宇利太川万天尔
uri tat-u-made-ni
melon rise-ATTR until-LOC
Until the melon rises (2.7)

Made in temporal function:

奈可古変天
na-ga ko nas-u-made
you-POSS child birth-ATTR-RESTRICT
Until you conceive a child (1.17)

11.3.1.7. Ablative Case -Kara

-kara only appears once in Saibara. -kara is a case marker that is a transparent grammaticalization of the word kara ‘clan; relationship.’ Three examples are attested in MYS, two of which are from Western poems and one of which is from Volume XIV
(Vovin 2005: 207). -kara is not found in any texts earlier than MYS, so it is clear that it was a relatively new development at the time those MYS poems were composed. Kara-ni developed in the ‘late’ EMJ period (Frellesvig 2010: 244).

There is only one example in Saibara:

(1) 支比乃奈加也末 (2) 无可之与利 (3) 无可之 加良 无可之与利 (4) 名乃不利古奴波 (5) 伊末乃与乃多女
(1) kibi-no nakayama (2) mukasi-yori (3) mukasi-kara (4) mukasi yori (5) na-no pur-i-ko-n-u pa (6) ima-no yo-no tame
(1) Kibi-GEN inside mountain (2) past-ABL (3) past-ABL (4) name-GEN old-INF-come-NEG-ATTR TOP (5) now-GEN world-GEN benefit

Nakayama of Kibi
From old times, from long before, [your] name, not becoming stale, is for the benefit of this generation
(2.33)

11.4. Pronouns

Pronouns found in the text include personal, reflexive, demonstrative, interrogative, and collective pronouns.

The most extensive nominal changes can be seen in the transition from the Nara to Heian period. To the two-term demonstrative system of ko proximal and so mesial, was added ka/a distal (Frellesvig 2010: 246). Japanese underwent de-pronominalization in the transition from Old to Middle Japanese with the loss of second person pronoun na, nare and an increase in the number of self-referential terms (Vovin 2003: 216-19).

Occurrences of interrogative pronouns are relatively rare in Saibara. There are no examples of -ga following interrogative pronoun tare, which itself appears in only one poem.
11.4.1. Personal pronoun *wa / ware*

Personal pronouns *wa* and extended form *ware* can both be used for plural and first person singular interchangeably in the text. This function is well-attested in OJ and MJ as well. All instances of unextended form *wa* in the text is followed by the possessive marker -*ga* which is essentially the same picture as OJ, where *wa* is never found before possessive -*ga* (Vovin 2005: 220).

Examples:

**Unextended form *wa***

(1) 和伊戸良曾 (2) 止美世无也
(1) *wa* ipe-ra zo (2) tomi se-m-u ya
(1) ꩗ home-PL EMPH (2) fortune do-TENT-FIN EMPH

*Our* houses will have fortune!
(2.20)

(1) 和伊戸波 (2) 止波利帳毛 (3) 多礼太留乎 (4) 於保支美支万世
(1) *wa* ipe pa (2) tobari TYAU mo (3) tare-tar-u-wo (4) opokimi k-i-mas-e
(1) ꩗ home TOP (2) curtain.divider (standing) screen.divider FOC (3) who hang-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC (4) [my] prince come-INF-HON-IMP

There is a screen in my home, [so] come in my lord
(2.22)

(1) 和可支奴波 (4) 乃波良之乃波良 (5) 波支乃波乃須利也
(1) *wa*-ga kinu pa (4) no,para sino,para (5) pagi-no pana.zur-i ya
(1) ꩗-POSS garment TOP (2) field.plain dwarf.bamboo.grove (3) bush clover-GEN flower.rub EMPH

*Our* garment[s] are pressed with bush clover flowers [from the] dwarf bamboo fields and

grass fields
(1.20)

(1) 末之也左支奴毛 (2) 和加女乃已止久 (3) 多毛止与久 (4) 支与久可多与久 (5) 已久比也须良尔 (6) 万之岐世女加毛
(1) masi asa.ginu mo (2) *wa*-ga me-no goto-ku (3) tamoto yo-ku (4) ki yo-ku kata yo-ku (5) kokubi yasura n-i (6) masi ki se-me kamo
If you [made a] hemp dress like *my* wife's where the sleeves are [adorned] nicely and it wears nicely, [fits] nicely on the shoulders and the collar [fit] comfortably, perhaps I would wear you[r garment]!

(1.4)

[I] released [my] falcon at Falcon Mountain
[But] because I did not call [him to return]

*Apare!*
When *I* did this, [I] had met my beloved
My beloved [I] met!

(2.15)

If [you] desire to know *my* name, call [me] the lovely daughter of the chief of the county
of Ayame
(1.12)

My/our name will stand for a thousand generations!
(2.10)
Extended form ware

(1) 不利尔之和礼乎 (2) 太礼曾古乃 (3) 名加比止太天々
(1) pur-i-n-i-si ware-wo (2) tare soko-no (3) nakapito tate-te
(1) old-INF-PERF-INF-PAST I-ACC (2) who there-GEN (3) matchmaker stand(INF)-SUB

Who will be the matchmaker there for I, who has become old
(1.14)

和礼乎保之止伊不
ware-wo pos-i to ip-u
I-ACC desire-INF DV say-FIN
[She] says [she] wants me
(2.7)

(1) 波名曾乃尔 (2) 和礼乎波波名天也
(1) panazono-ni (2) ware-woba panat-e ya
(1) flower garden-LOC pare (2) I-ACC/EMPH part-IMP EMPH
Let me go at the flower garden!
(2.8)

(1) 宇波太万利 (2) 和礼乎 (3) 和礼乎已不良之
(1) uba tam ar-i (2) ware-wo (3) ware-wo kop-urasi
(1) old.woman exist-FIN (2) I-ACC (2) I-ACC long for-SUP
There is an old woman that seems to long for me
(2.17)

(1) 末也乃安万利 (2) 曾乃安万曾々支 (3) 和礼多知奴礼奴
(1) maya-no amari-no (2) sono ama.sosok-i (3) ware tat-i nure-n-u
(1) stable-GEN excess-GEN (2) that rain.fall-NML (3) I stand-INF become.wet-PERF-FIN
I have become wet from those excess of raindrops [falling through this] stable
(1.6)

(1) 太介不乃己不爾 (2) 和礼波安利止 (3) 於也爾万字之太戸
(1) takepu-no kopu-ni (2) ware pa ar-i to (3) oya-ni mau s-i-tabe
(1) takepu-GEN provincial office-LOC (2) I TOP exist-FIN DV (3) parent-DAT say do-INF-HON-IMP
Tell [my] parents I am safe at the provincial capital Takepu
(1.24)

和礼波万字与己之万字左须
ware pa mau yokos-i maus-az-u
I TOP speak slander-NML speak-NEG-FIN
I did not slander [you] (lit: I did not speak the speaking of slander)
Would I listen to [such a] boring thing?

The border fence! Although [I] protect it

The former cases were very prevalent in Early Middle Japanese where voiced velar -g- was frequently deleted in front of the high front vowel /i/ at morphemic boundaries. If this is viewed as an analogical development, wagipe > waipe, where the underlying form wagipe was applied the same morphophonological process as verb roots ending in g- plus infinitive-i. If this is the case, it does fit well with the idea that univerbation of the pronoun and possessive particle made them subject to the morphophonological process of verbs and adjectives, which was analogically applied to this phrase. However, another more straightforward possibility is that wa ipe simply represents the first person pronoun wa and ipe without the intervening possessive. There is no precedent for this type of particle elipses in Old or Middle Japanese, however, it is found in Okinawan.
Wa ipe is an interesting form that only appears in this song. There is considerable disagreement among the manuscripts. Below I will elaborate those discrepancies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 22: Manuscript variants of wa ipe in the text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nabeshimake-bon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinchi yōrōku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shōchūshō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sango yōrōku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genji monogatari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakaihō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saibara ryakufu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryōjin guanshō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saibara kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saibara iriaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the chart above indicates, the points of disagreement are on the final nasal segment and the presence or absence of case marker -ga. Regarding the final nasal segment, it first must be noted that because of restrictions in the spelling system, there was no orthographic distinction between /N/ and /mu/. I chose to analyze this as /mu/ because the nasal in the period the original manuscripts were copying, Therefore either is possible.

Mifuyu follows Nabeshimake-bon explaining that wa ipe as a result of medial -k-lenition before -i, essentially viewing it as a manifestation of regular phonological changes. He cites the following progression: wa gape > wa gipe > wa ipe. He further exemplifies this by using a contracted phrase found commonly in Nara period writing, wagipe. Wagipe is considered a regular manifestation of OJ phonotactics which maintain a [V]CVCV syllable structure, disallowing any vowel or consonant clusters.

Subsequently, vowel contraction and deletion is common, i.e. to +ip- > t-ip- ‘DV to say,’ n-i + ar- > n-ar- ‘DV-INF exist’ topo-ku + ar- > topo-k-ar- ‘far-INF exist,’ wa-ga + omop-er-uram-u > wa-ga mop-er-uram-u ‘I-POSS think-PROG-TENT2-FIN.’ Both wa
+ ga + ipe > wa-g-ipe and wa-ga-pei are frequently attested in the Nara and Heian periods.

Hiratake writes that the variant wa pi peN is the result of an accurate musical transcription of the song as the syllables are heard during performance, which does not reflect the actual lyrics, wa ipe pa.

11.4.2. First person pronoun na

Na is found once in the text. Na is attested as a familiar first person pronoun without any honorific nuance. There are relatively few uses of na in OJ, Yamada (1954: 60-61) treats all occurrences as second person pronoun. However, there are clear cases of first person pronoun na in OJ (Vovin 2005: 246). In Saibara, na is being used in a situation of intimacy from a woman to a man and is an undisputable instance of first person pronoun usage of na.

(1) tori pa nak-i-n-u (2) tepukasa (3) Sakuramaro-ga (4) si-ga mono-w0 os-i pas-i (5) k-i-tar-i wi-te s-ure (6) na-ga ko nas-u-made
(1) bird TOP cry-INF-PERF-FIN (2) tepukasa (3) Sakuramaro-POSS (4) he-POSS thing-ACC push-INF to make deep-INF (5) come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF sit(INF)-SUB do-EV (6) I-POSS child birth-ATTR-TERM
   The bird has cried!
   Sakuramaro came [is t/here] and is thrusting his thing deep [inside me], until I make a child
   (1.17)

11.4.3. Second person pronoun masi

Masi has the forms mimasi and imasi, which both appear in OJ texts infrequently. Masi appears once in Eastern Old Japanese (14.3440). Yamada (1954: 95) posits that the forms mimasi and imasi derive from honorific m[i]- plus masi.
In the text, *masi* is probably being used from a man toward a woman in most cases, but there is one case that is certainly from a woman to a man, showing that it is used as a gender neutral pronoun in the text.

Examples:

(1) ສໝ ດ ຀ ມ ຃ ກ ດ  (2) ຩ ຃ ຃ ຄ ຅  (3) ດ ຅ ຃ ຂ ຃ ກ ຕ  (4) ຃ ຂ ຃ ຄ ຅  (5) ຂ ຅ ຃ ຃ ຄ  (6) ຕ ຃ ຅ ວ  Where the sleeves are adorned nicely and it wears nicely, [fits] nicely on the shoulders and the collar [fit] comfortably, perhaps I would wear *you* [r garment]!

(1.4)

(1) ນ ຌ ຅ ງ  (2) ຖ ຘ ຖ ຃ ຃  (3) ດ ຃ ຂ ຅  (4) ຃ ຂ ຅  (5) ຃ ຅ ງ  (6) ຒ ຅ ຅ ຍ ງ  (1) sore moga to sam-u (2) *masi* moga to
(1) that DES DV realize-FIN (2) you DES DV
If you [made a] hemp dress like my wife's where the sleeves are [adorned] nicely and it wears nicely, [fits] nicely on the shoulders and the collar [fit] comfortably, perhaps I would wear *you* [r garment]!

(1.3)

万之女波名礼与
*masi* ME panare-yo
you wife separate-IMP
You, separate from your spouse!

(1.4)

This example is a woman addressing a man.

11.4.4. Third person pronoun *si*

*Si* appears being followed by the possessive marker -*ga* in line with all ocurrances in OJ (Vovin 2005: 258). *Si* is an infrequent form that is not found in texts later than the Nara period (OJ). Yamada (1954: 70) has this a the third person pronoun, however Omodaka (1967: 346) and Frellesvig (2010: 136) viewing *si* also as a mesial.
There is one example in the text where it is probably being used as a third person pronoun ‘his.’

Example:

(1) tori pa nak-i-n-u (2) tepukasa (3) Sakuramaro-ga (4) si-ga mono-wo os-i pas-i (5) k-i-tar-i wi-te s-ure (6) na-ga ko nas-u-made
(1) bird TOP cry-INF-PERF-FIN (2) tepukasa (3) Sakuramaro-POSS (4) he-POSS thing-ACC push-INF to make deep-INF (5) come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF sit(INF)-SUB do-EV (6) I-POSS child birth-ATTR-TERM

The bird has cried!

Sakuramaro came [is t/her] and is thrusting **his thing** deep [inside me], until I make a child

(1.17)

11.4.5. Reflexive pronoun onore

*Onore* appears once referring to a personified plant. Reflexive pronoun *onore* is found in other Old and Middle Japanese texts, also with the unextended stem *ono*.

Example

(1) miya.bito-no (2) sag-uru pukuro-wo (3) onore kake-tar-i
(1) capital.person-GEN (2) carry-ATTR bag-ACC (3) you hang(INF)-PERF.PROG-FIN

[Shepard's purse flower] **you** hang [a purse] like the purses of the people of the capital.

(1.11)

11.4.6. Demonstrative pronouns

Similar to the *wa* / *ware* paradigm of personal pronouns, demonstratives exhibit unextended and extended stems in -*re* in Old and Middle Japanese, however it does not appear in our text, which has a preference for *kono*. *Sono*, however, does appear alongside *sore* in the text. None of the unextended forms of demonstrative pronouns appear in the text.
11.4.6.1. Proximal Demonstratives

Proximal demonstratives found in the text are kore, kono, and sono. Koko, koti, konata, is not found.

11.4.6.1.1. Proximal demonstrative ko[re]

Kore is found once in the text. Kore indicates something that is in close proximity. In this case, it seems it is being used as a transitional phrase ‘there is this and [then].’ Kimura translates this line as “‘This is this that banned senban three ta (sugoroku)”\(^\text{103}\) (2006: 73).

Example:

(1) opo seri\(^\text{104}\) pa (2) kuni-no sata mono (3) ko-seri koso (4) yude-te mo muma-si (5) kore ya kono (6) SENBAN SAN ta-no ki

(1) big parsley (2) land-GEN prohibited thing (3) DIM-parsley FOC (4) boil.in.water-INF-FIN (5) this EMPH this (6) senban (front board) three ?-GEN game.board\(^\text{105}\)-GEN tree

Big parsley is prohibited in these lands

[But] Small parsley is [also] very good boiled\(^\text{106}\)

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\(^{103}\) Original text from Kimura (2006: 73): これがその禁制の前盤三た (kore ga senban santa)

\(^{104}\) seri (.strings) is described in the Ruijūmyōgishō as a mountain grass which is equivalent to tōki (當帰), an aromatic Chinese herb, dong dang gui, used to treat a variety of diseases but primarily for gynecological illnesses; here saying that opo-seri is the Japanese name for tōki and that yamaseri and umaseri are alternate identifications of this plant as well. Tōki is traditionally understood to be angelica acutiloba, a perennial herb from the Apiaceae, or parsley family, which is endemic to Japan.

\(^{105}\) CHN coan ki < gi OC ga 棋棋 ‘chess’ can refer to any strategic game on a board. Can refer to ban sugoroku as well.

\(^{106}\) Kimura (2006: 73-75) posits that part of the poem is describing sugoroku. Usuda (2000: 132) is in agreement and it seems like the most reasonable explanation. Sugoroku was introduced from China in the sixth century and, according to the Nihon shoki (Jitōki 3 (持統紀三年), Kōkenki Tenpyō shōhō 6 (孝謙紀 天平勝宝六年)), it was made illegal in 689 and 754 because it was a popular gambling game.
Oh **this**, and then this *senban* three *ta* gameboard (*sugoroku*) (1.14)

### 11.4.6.2. Mesial Demonstrative Pronouns

Mesial indicates that the object being referred to is closer to the addressee than the speaker in Classical Japanese (Vovin 2003: 114). Hashimoto (1966) describes this in terms of the OJ system of demonstratives as *so-* used anaphorically and temporal deictic, and referring to something that is generally outside of the speaker’s domain (Frellesvig 2010: 140). *Sore* is used anaphorically to refer vaguely to several objects and generally as a quasi conjunction.

#### 11.4.6.2.1. Mesial demonstrative *so-* / *sore*

*sore* is found twice in the text and *sono* once. *Sore* is used once to refer to several objects (1.3) and once as a transitional phrase ‘and then’ (1.8). Frellesvig (2010: 141) refers to OJ *sō > EMJ* so[re] as a “non-proximal” because of its anaphoric and general indication of something outside of the speaker’s domain with respect to *kö > EMJ* ko[re].

Examples:

1. 波之利為乃 (2) 己加也可利乎左女加介 (3) 曽礼尔己曾 (4) 末由川久良世天 (5) 伊と比支名左女
2. pasir-i wi-no (2) ko-kaya kar-i wosame-kake (3) sore n-i koso (4) mayu tukur-ase-te (5) ito pik-i nas-am-e
3. run-NML well-GEN that DV-INF FOC (2) DIM-Japanese pompass grass cut-INF to.bunch(INF) hang(INF) (3) that DV-INF FOC (4) cocoon make-CAUS(INF)-SUB (5) thread pull [spin]-NML do-TENT-EV

[We] will cut, bunch and hang the pompass grasses at the running well and [we] will then [have silkworms] make cocoons and [we will] spin thread from [those] silk cocoons. (1.8)

(1) 太加左己乃 (2) 乎乃戸尔太天留 (3) 之良多末 (4) 多万川波木 (5) 多万也名支 (6) 曽礼毛加止左伞 (7) 末之毛可止 (8) 末之毛可度
The white jewel, jewel-like chamellia and jewel-like willow tree that stands upon the peak of Takasago
I realize [my] desire for them
(1.3)

I have become wet from those excess raindrops [dripping through] the stable
(1.6)

11.4.6.2.2. Mesial demonstrative pronoun soko

Soko is described as a “stative demonstrative pronoun showing location” by Vovin (2009: 289). Frellesvig (2010: 141) classifies it as a “non-proximal locational.” In Saibara, soko appears most frequently in the phrase soko yosi ya ‘there is good!’ This phrase is usually treated as hayashi kotoba because it always appears in the same form as an interjectory phrase. I agree that it is an interjection, but because it is fully analyzable, I treat it as an active part of the context of the songs.

Who will be the matchmaker there for I, who has grown old?
(1.14)

Mesial demonstrative soko in soko yo-si ya construction

Oh the magnificence of today!
Apare!
There is good!
Oh the magnificence of today!

(2.1)

(1) ka-ku si koso (2) tukape-matur-am-e ya (3) yorodu yo made-ni apare (4) soko yo-si ya (5) yorodu yo made-ni

(1) thus-INF EMPH FOC (2) serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV QPT (3) ten thousand generation TERM-LOC apare (4) there good-FIN EMPH (5) ten thousand generation TERM-LOC

In this new year
In this way in this way will [I] serve? [Of course not!]
For ten thousand generations
apare!
There is good!
[For] ten thousand generations
(2.2)

(1) paru kake-te (2) nak-e-domo imada ya (3) yuki pa pur-i-tutu (4) apare (5) soko yo-si ya (6) yuki pa pur-i-tutu

(1) spring summon(INF)-SUB (2) cry-EV-CONJ yet EMPH (3) snow TOP fall-INF-COOR (4) apare (5) there good-FIN EMPH (6) snow TOP fall-INF-COOR

Summoning spring
Pare!
Though [the bush warbler] cries, summoning spring
Snow continues to fall
Apare!
There is good!
Snow continues to fall
(2.3)

(1) sapada kapa (2) sode tuk-u bakari ya (3) asa-kere-do (4) pare (5) asa-k-er-e-do (6) kuni-no miyabito ya (7) taka.basi watas-u (8) apare (9) soko yo-si ya (10) taka.basi watas-u

(1) sapada river (2) sleeve touch-ATTR RESTR PT (3) shallow-EV-CONJ
(4) INT (5) shallow-EV-CONJ (6) land-GEN palace.person PT (7) tall-bridge cross-ATTR (8) apare [oh] (9) there good-FIN PT [EXCL] (10) tall bridge cross-FIN

(1/3) Though Sapada river is shallow (2) to the extent that only the sleeves touch it (4) Oh! (3) Though it is shallow (6) people from the palace! (7) lay a tall bridge across [it] (8) Oh! (9) There is good! (10) Build a tall bridge across [it]
(1.2)
11.4.7. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns tare ‘who,’ and ika ‘how’ are found in the text. This is in contrast to the Old Japanese system that also had nani ‘what,’ iNtu[iku] iNtuti ‘where,’ iNture ‘which,’ itu ‘when,’ naNsö, naNtö ‘why,’ iku/ikura/ikuNta ‘how many; how much’ (Vovin 2005: 297).

11.4.7.1. Interrogative Pronoun Tare

The interrogative pronoun tare is found once in the text. In Western Old Japanese, tare is found before the possessive -ga. Tare is found once as a dubious hayashi kotoba. Most commentaries treat this instance (2.5) as hayashi kotoba because of the context of the poem which does not seem to address the question ‘who.’ However, instead of view this as hayashi kotoba I interpret this as tare ‘who,’ without a following case marker, which would probably be -ga in this case. Elision of possessive marker -ga is found two other times in the text in the form wa ipe and it is possible that these are related, and that these forms indicate a wider syntactic peculiarity regarding loss of -ga in the text.

Examples:

(1) 安之支加 (2) 末加支 (3) 末加支加支和介 (4) 天不己須止 (5) 於比己須止 (6) 太礼 (7) 天不己須止 (8) 太礼加太礼加 (9) 己乃己止乎 (10) 於也尔末字与己之末字之々
(1) asi-gaki (2) ma-gaki (3) ma-gaki kak-i-wake (4) tepu kos-u to (5) op-i kos-u to (6) 
(7) tepu kosu to (8) tare ka tare ka (9) kono koto-wo (10) oya-ni mau yokos-i mau
s-i-si

(1) reed-fence (2) INT-fence PREF-separate(INF) (3) tepu(?) cross-FIN DV (4) carry-INF cross-FIN DV (6) tare (7) tepu(?) cross-FIN DV (8) who QPT who QPT (9) this
thing-ACC (10) parent-DAT say(HUM) slander-NML say(HUM)-INF-PAST

A reed fence
A true reed fence
Saying [I] [will] build that reed fence
Saying [I] [will] tepu(?) cross over that reed fence
Saying [I] [will] cross [the fence]
Saying [I] [will] carry [her] across it
(8/9/10) Who, [who] said that [I] will build the fence?
Who [was it] who [was it] that spoke slander to slander me [by] telling of this to [my] parents?
(2.5)

(1) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (2) दत्र वन्गर्न (3) नम्बरी न्दे दत्र्न्न
(1) pur-i-n-i-si ware-wo (2) tare sokono (3) nakapito tate-te
(1) old-INF-PERF-INF-PAST (2) who EMPH This (3) mediator stand(INF)-SUB
Who will be the matchmaker there for I, who has grown old?
(1.14)

11.4.7.2 Interrogative Pronoun Nani
Nani can usually be understood as meaning ‘what’ in most cases. It does not appear frequently in the collection, but it appears before the defective verb to, emphatic particle si, and once preceding an inflected adjective. The MJ allomorph nan does not appear in the text.

Examples:

(1) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (2) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (3) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (4) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (5) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न
(1) kubo-no na-woba (2) nani to ka ip-u
(1) crevice-GEN name-ACC/EMPH (2) what DV QPT say-FIN
What is the name for the crevice?
(1.22)

(1) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (2) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (3) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (4) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (5) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न
(1) mi-saka.na n-i (2) nani yo-k-em-u
(1) HON-wine.grains (side-dish) DV-INF (2) what good-INF-ATTR-FIN
What would be good as a side dish [with your wine]?
(2.22)

(1) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (2) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (3) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (4) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (5) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न
(1) nani si kamo (2) sa (3) nani si kamo (4) nani si kamo (5) kokoro mo mata[g]-I-ke-m-u
(1) what EMPH EMPH (2) sa (3) what EMPH EMPH (4) what EMPH FOC (5) heart FOC impatient-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
Why jewel-like willow, why [its it that] [your] heart seems to have been impatient?
(1.3)

(1) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (2) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (3) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (4) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न (5) नल्लर्वी फेिल्न्न
(1) ika nar-u (2) ika nar-u obi zo
(1) what DV(INF)-exist-ATTR FOC
What (lit: how is) [kind of] sash!
(2.19)

(1) 伊加尔世牟 (2) 世牟也 (3) 乎之乃可毛止利 (4) 伊天々由加波 (5) 於也波安利久止 (6) 左伊名女止 与川万左太女川也
(1) ika n-i se-m-u (2) se-m-u ya (3) wosi-no kamodori (4) ide-te yuk-aba (5) oya pa arik-u to sainam-e-do (6) yo.duma sadame-t-u ya
(1) what DV-INF do-TENT-FIN (2) do-TENT-FIN (3) [male] mandarin duck (4) come out(INF)-SUB go-COND (5) EMPH TOP walk-FIN DV criticize-FIN DV (6) night.spouse settle-PERF-FIN QPT
What (lit: how) shall [I] do, shall [I] do? 
[Like] the drake who comes out [from the water and] departs, though [my] parents go (lit: walk) and criticize [me], [I] have not settled on a night lover
(1.22)

11.5. Numerals

The majority of numerals in the Saibara collection are Chinese loans. There is one instance of native Japanese yaso ‘eighty’ and tou < töwo ‘ten,’ and nana ‘seven,’ and ti ‘thousand.’ There are no ordinal numerals attested in the collection.

Numerals in Old Japanese had both cardinal and ordinal numerals attested with and without following numeral classifiers. This is very different than the language of Classical Japanese in the Heian period when numerals of Chinese origin began to show more presence in the texts, although it is likely that this trend was already a part of the colloquial language before the twelfth century (Vovin 2005: 349).

11.5.1. Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals iti ‘one,’ san ‘three,’ si ‘four,’ roku ‘six,’ and nana ‘seven’ are attested in Saibara.

11.5.1.1. Cardinal Numeral Iti

Iti ‘one’ appears only once. It is a Chinese loan and is the only occurrence of a numeral corresponding to ‘one.’
Example:

伊知六乃左以也
(1) iti ROKU-no sai ya
(1) one six-GEN dice EMPH (6) a(?) four(?) three dice EMPH

The dice [reads] one and six!
(1.14)

11.5.1.2. San

San has Chinese origins and is the only numeral corresponding to ‘three’ in the text. It appears, as with most of the numerals in the collection in a single song (1.14). It is in semantographic writing in Nabeshimake-bon, but appears spelled out in katakana in later manuscripts.

前盤三多乃支
SENBAN SAN ta-no ki
senban (front board) three ?-GEN game.board

Big parsley is prohibited in these lands
[But] Small parsley is [also] very good boiled
Oh this, and then this senban three ta gameboard (sugoroku)
(1.14)

(1) 両面加須女宇介太留 (2) 支利止保之 (3) 加名波女磐支 (4) 五六加戸之 (5) 伊知六乃左以也 (6) 安四三左伊也
(1) RYAU.MEN kasume uke-tar-u (2) kir-i-topos-i (3) kana pame BAN.gi (4) GO ROKU kapesi (5) iti ROKU-no sai ya (6) a SI SAN sai ya
(1) both.side subtle make.float-PERF/PROG-ATTR (2) cut-INF-though-INF (3) metal fit.into(NML) board-(GEN).board (4) five six turn.over (5) one six-GEN dice EMPH (6) a(?) four(?) three dice EMPH

Subtly raise the sides of the board that the cut-through metal is put into

Kimura (2006: 73-75) posits that part of the poem is describing sugoroku. Usuda (2000: 132) is in agreement and it seems like the most reasonable explanation. Sugoroku was introduced from China in the sixth century and, according to the Nihon shoki (Jitoki 3 (持統紀三年), Kökenki Tenpyō shōhō 6 (孝謙紀 天平勝宝六年)), it was made illegal in 689 and 754 because it was a popular gambling game.
Turn over five and six
The dice [reads] one and six!

A(?) four **three** dice!

(1.14)

### 11.5.1.3. Cardinal Numeral Si

*Si*, indicating the number four is found once in poem 1.14. This occurrence in semantographic.

Example:

(1) 両面加須女字介太留 (2) 支利止保之 (3) 加名波女盤支 (4) 五六加戶之 (5) 伊知六乃左以也 (6) 安周四三也伊也
(1) RYAU.MEN kasume uke-tar-u (2) kir-i topos-i (3) kana pame BAN.gi (4) GO ROKU kapesi (5) iti ROKU-no sai ya (6) a **SI** SAN sai ya
(1) both.side subtle make.float-PERF/PROG-FIN (2) cut-INF though-INF (3) metal fit.into(NML) board-(GEN).board (4) five six turn.over (5) one six-GEN dice EMPH (6) a(?) **four**(?)**108** three dice EMPH

Float both sides subtly
The board that the cut-through metal is put into
Turn over five and six
The dice [reads] one and six!

A(?) **four** three dice!

(1.14)

### 11.5.1.4. Cardinal Numeral Roku

*Roku* ‘six’ is another Chinese loan found in poem 1.14, presumably in the context of gambling in some kind of old form of *sugoku*. It is written in semantographic spelling.

Example:

(1) 両面加須女字介太留 (2) 支利止保之 (3) 加名波女盤支 (4) 五六加戶之 (5) 伊知六乃左以也 (6) 安四三也伊也
(1) RYAU.MEN kasume uke-tar-u (2) kir-i topos-i (3) kana pame BAN.gi (4) GO ROKU kapesi (5) iti **ROKU**-no sai ya (6) a **SI** SAN sai ya
(1) both.side subtle make.float-PERF/PROG-FIN (2) cut-INF though-INF (3) metal fit.into(NML) board-(GEN).board (4) five **six** turn.over (5) one six-GEN dice EMPH (6) a(?) **four**(?) three dice EMPH

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**108** 四 *si* was also used as a *man’yōgana* phonogram, so it is possible that it is a *kungana* phonogram here. However, because of the context, I interpret this as ‘four.’
Float both sides subtly
The board that the cut-through metal is put into
Turn over five and six
The dice [reads] one and six!
A(?) four three dice!
(1.14)

11.5.1.5. Cardinal Numeral Nana
Nana ‘seven’ appears in phonographic spelling in one song. Nana is a native Japanese cardinal numeral as opposed to the above examples, which are all of Chinese origin.

(1) natu pik-i-no (2) sira ito (3) nana bakari ar-i (4) sa-koromo n-i (5)or-i-te mo ki se-m-u
(1) summer pull-NML-GEN (2) white thread (3) seven RESTR exist-FIN (4) PREF-garment DV-INF (5) weave-INF-SUB FOC wear(NMNL) do-TENT-FIN
I have as many as seven white summer spinning [garment] threads
I will weave you a [fine] garment [with them]
(1.4)
CHAPTER 12. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives especially in Old Japanese are sometimes described as quality nouns (Vovin 2003). Frellesvig (2010: 79) describes adjectives concisely as nominal roots or stems. The fact is that in OJ, adjective inflection was not completely stable and there are many examples of uninflected adjectives functioning as modifiers in noun phrases. This picture changed gradually and some time by the mid-Heian period, adjectival morphology solidified considerably showing more consistent inflective forms.

Saibara gives us a picture which is difficult to classify as “late” because it displays both inflected and uninflected forms, typical of both Old and Early Middle Japanese.

12.1. Uninflected Adjectives

In Middle Japanese, uninflected adjectives are generally restricted to obsolete compound words such as siranami < sira namî ‘white-crested waves’ and ōzora < ōpō sōra ‘heavens.’ In Old Japanese, however these uninflected adjectives, originally stemming from nouns, were still productive in their use. Saibara has some examples of uninflected adjectives being used actively, suggesting grammatical tendencies closely reflecting that of Old Japanese. The below examples are not found as obsolete compounds in later literature.

Examples:

(1) 之良多末 (2) 多万川波木
(1) sira tama (2) tama-tubaki
(1) white jewel (2) jewel-camellia
   The white jewel and jewel-like camellia
   (1.3)

(1) 奈川比支乃(2) 之良伊止
(1) natu pik-i-no (2) sira ito
(1) summer pull-NML-GEN (2) white thread
white thread of [a] summer spinning (yield)  
(1.4)

(1) 安乎乃末波奈礼波 (2) 止利川奈介  
(1) awo n-o ma panar-e-ba (2) tor-i-tunag-e  
(1) dark DV-ATTR horse separate-COND (2) take-INF tie-IMP  
If the dark horse separates [from you], tie [it] up!  
(1.9)

This example has the defective verb attributive n-o following the uninflected adjective  
awo. The use of n-o after uninflected adjectives signifies the use of adjectives as  
essentially nouns, which is what they most likely were in pre-OJ.

(1) 尔波尔於不留 (2) 加良名川名  
(1) nipa n-i op-uru (2) kara109 naduna  
(1) garden DV-INF grow-ATTR (2) spicy shepherd's purse flower

109 Usuda (1957) interprets kara as China or the Korean peninsular area. Konishi (2000) on the  
other hand interprets kara as the uninflected form of the adjective kara-si ‘spicy.’ The adjective  
kara-si is not found in its uninflected form except for in front of na as in kara na (辛菜) ‘spicy  
greens.’ Furthermore it is rare in the MJ period to find uninflected adjectives except in bound  
non-productive compound phrases such as sira nami and awo-N-zora (Vovin 2003: 430) and  
even these are relatively rare. The phrase kara na, however can be found in the 9th century text,  
Norito. If we interpret this phrase as being the uninflected adjective kara plus naduna ‘capsella  
burza-pastoris,’ or ‘shepherd’s purse flower’, than it would not be out of the question to view this  
uninflected kara construction as harkening back to the more archaic OJ where we see these types  
of uninflected forms much more commonly. However, in commenting that kara here can be  
interpreted as referring to China or the Korean peninsula, he describes naduna as a metaphor for  
the seed of the plant that looks like a shamisen pick, which then further looks like a purse-style  
carrying bag. He refers to the plant as aburana ka Αブラナ科 ‘brassicaceae’ mustard or cabbage  
family plants which had considerable historical importance in East Asia in the study of medicinal  
plants. Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714), an Edo period Confucian scholar and botanist commented  
specifically on the shepherd’s purse flower, first quoting the eleventh century Chinese poet Su  
Shi, who writes,  
天生此物為幽人山居之為コレ味ヨキ故也  
“These [plants] naturally grow for the benefit of secluded people living in the mountains.’  
The reason for this is that it tastes good.’”  
If we are dealing here with capsella bursa-pastoris, which Ekken is writing about above, then it  
makes the likelihood of kara referring to China, or the Korean peninsula much stronger. The  
brassica rapa L., or the rapeseed oil plant had special importance especially in the study of honzō  
(本草), or Chinese herbal medicine. If this plant is actually the rapeseed oil plant, then it would  
have origins in China and the study of Chinese medicine, however, if instead naduna here is  
referring to the cultivated form of brassica rapa nipposinica then it is strong evidence for kara  
being the uninflected adjective kara-si ‘spicy.’
The spicy greens that grow in the garden
(1.11)

12.2. Adjective Inflection

There are two types of inflected adjectives in traditional Japanese grammar: *ku katsuyō* く活用 and *shiku katsuyō* しく活用. *Shiku* adjectives end in *si*, so they exhibit haplological contraction of the final *-si*, i.e. *utukusi-si-si* → *utukusi-Ø*. Both types are found in *Saibara* with several morphological forms, however because of the limited size of the collection, there are several attested forms. There are also forms that clearly violate Old Japanese phonotactics. These violations are usually clear consonant lenitions forms, i.e. vowel clustering as a result of loss of medial *-k*, loss of medial *-p*, and loss of initial *y* before /e/.

12.2.1. Infinitive -*ku*

-*ku* attaches to the stem of adjectives and functions as a non-final predicate and adverb.

Examples:

**Adverbial**

波也久 由支己世
paya-ku yuk-i-kos-e
quick-INF go-INF-across-IMP

Go quickly across!
(1.1)

(1) 可保万左留可爾也 (2) 止久万左留加爾也
(1) kapo masar-u gani ya (2) to-ku masar-u gani ya
(1) countenance be.superior-FIN CONJ EMPH (2) quick-INF be.superior-FIN CONJ EMPH

As if [the flower’s] countenance became superior!
As if [it] quickly became superior!

**non-final predicate**
If you [made a] hemp dress like my wife's where the sleeves are [adorned] nicely and it wears nicely, [fits] nicely on the shoulders and the collar [fit] comfortably, perhaps I would wear your garment!

Everyone's attraction to the falls which have many rapids is evident when [I] am there.
12.2.2. Final form -si
-si functions as both final-predicate and attributive in Old Japanese. In Saibara, -si
appears only as a marker of final predication and before defective verb infinitive n-i
suggesting that -si, in contrast to OJ, may not be able to function as an attributive.

Examples:

(1) とする（2）止散加宇散（3）紀留乎乃己（4）与之己左留良之也
(1) yosi na-si n-i (2) to sam[a] ka[k]-u sam[a] (3) ner-u wonoko (4) yosi kos[o] ar-urasi ya
(1) reason no-FIN DV-INF (2) this and that (3) creep man (4) reason FOC exist-SUP QPT

Without a purpose, the man [still] creeps about (lit: here and there) my gates
Does it seem [he] has a purpose?
(1.12)

(1) 太介久乃曾字乃 (2) 安之太尔止利 (3) 与字左利止利 (4) 止利之加波 (5) 左之久
之毛專之
(1) Takeku-no zou-no (2) asita-ni tor-i (3) you sari tor-i (4) tor-i-sika-ba (5) sas-i.gusi mo na-si ya
(1) Takeku-GEN inspector-GEN (2) morning-LOC take-INF (3) evening leave-INF take-INF (4) take-I-PAST/EV (5) stick-NML.comb FOC not-FIN EMPH
The Zou inspector [came] and took [my combs] this morning
[He came and] took [them] in the evening
Because [he] took them, [I have] no more decorative combs
(1.18)

(1) 於保世利波 (2)久余乃沙多毛乃 (3) 巴世利已曾 (4) 由天々毛壱末之
(1) opo seri pa (2) kuni-no sata mono (3) ko-seri koso (4) yude-te mo muma-si
(1) big parsley (2) land-GEN prohibited thing (3) DIM-parsley FOC (4) boil.in.water-INF-SUB FOC tasty-FIN

Big parsley is prohibited in these lands
Small parsley is [also] tasty boiled
(1.14)

12.2.3. Attributive -ki
-ki marks the attributive function of adjectives in the text. It is only found twice, both
clear instances of attributive, once midifying a nominalized verb (2.19).

加良支久以須留
kara-ki ku-i s-uru
**terrible-ATTR regret-NML do-ATTR**

[I feel it is] **terribly regrettable**

(2.19)

(1) 支援岐名支左川 (2) 之保加比尔 (3) 名乃利曾也川末卒
(1) kiyo-ki nagisa-ni (2) sipo-g[a]pi-ni (3) nanoriso ya tum-am-u
(1) **pure-ATTR** beach-LOC (2) tide-POSS interval-LOC (3) hondawara seaweed PT

[I] will collect seaweed on the pure beach while the tide [allows]

**12.2.4. Evidential -kere-**

Old Japanese has two allomorphs of the evidential, -kere- and -ke- which are contractions of *ki-ar-e* ‘ATTR-exist-EV’ where in the -ke- form, *ar-* ‘exist’ underwent -r- loss (Vovin 2003: 477). Only -kere- is found in Middle Japanese texts. There is one example of this form in *Saibara*.

Example:

(1) 安左介礼止 (2) 久尔乃見也比止也 (3) 太可波之和多須
(1) asa-kere-do (6) kuni-no miya-bito ya (7) taka-basi watas-u
(1) **shallow-EV-CONJ** (2) land-GEN palace-person PT (3) tall-bridge cross-ATTR

**Though it is shallow**, [palace] attendants build a tall bridge across [it].

**12.2.5. Tentative -k-em-**

The adjectival tentative suffix -em- is a relatively transparent combination of the adjectival attributive suffix -ki and tentative suffix -am-, a result of monophthongization of *i* and *a* (*ki+am*) > -êm- > -em-. This form is found only once in the *Saibara* collection.

Example:

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110 This poem is reproduced in part in MYS 7.1381 and Kokinshū 3.1581 leaving open the possibility that it is borrowed from one of the above collections originally and reproduces for the *gagaku* repertoire.
What would be good as a side dish [with your wine]?

12.2.6. Nominalizer -sa

The majority of occurrences of -sa are followed by the emphatic particle ya. It is clear from the examples in the text that -sa has an emphatic meaning as well as nominalizing function. This is typical in Old Japanese where -sa tends to occur with the final predicate (Vovin 2005: 482). It never appears as the subject or object of a verb or with following case particles in the examples. I view -sa as an emphatic nominalizing suffix.

Oh so magnificent
The past [as well]

The past as well may have been thus
Oh the magnificence of today!

Oh the pure (clear) sound of the slender river

Oh t coral! The past as well may have been thus
Oh the magnificence of today!

Oh so magnificent
The past [as well]

The past as well may have been thus
Oh the magnificence of today!

Oh so magnificent
The past [as well]

The past as well may have been thus
Oh the magnificence of today!
Oh, the joy of meeting at this lavish banquet!

**12.2.7. Adjectival gerund -mi**

In Old Japanese, the adjectival gerund -mi appears as a non-final predicate and indicates reason or consecutive nature of the following state or action (Vovin 2003: 485).

Frellesvig terms this an infinitive, stating that it has very similar functions to the verbal infinitive (Frellesvig 2010: 86).

The gerund is found once in Saibara in the construction -wo ADJ-mi which indicates reason ‘because N is ADJ.’ The productive form of adjectival gerund -mi is supposed to have gone into disuse but for some frozen arachic uses in poetry (Vovin 2003; Omodaka et al. 1967).

Still, mi < mí, not having survived functionally into the Middle Japanese period can, in some instances, still be seen in poetry in the Middle Japanese period. This particular usage with negative -wo na- + -mi is well attested in the Man’yōshū and once in Kokinshū (497).

Separately, the accusative -wo can be found after the attributive form of verbs as a conjunction meaning ‘but’ or ‘because’ (Vovin 2003: 158). I am not aware of any cases of the accusative being used in the conjunctive form in the phrase ATTR-wo ADJ-mi; most of these cases are with the absolutive case marker, which, again is not attested before the attributive, even in a nominalized clause. I am also not aware of any instances where the accusative follows a verb in a clause with adjectival gerund -mi. Therefore, it is difficult to draw conclusions with no other attestations of this particular combination of otherwise reasonable grammatical phenomena.
Still, ATTR-wo ADJ-mi was clearly problematic for some of the early commentators as well, who uniformly interpret wogu as a (mistakenly?) altered form of oku ‘deep’ or simply omit the initial w altogether (Mabuchi 1906; Hirataka 2011) or add yosi means; way’ (Tachibana 1967; Chiaki 2011). This makes sense considering the strange grammar behind wog-u-wo na-mi, which became considerably rare in the MJ and post-MJ period. The poem follows below in full.

(1) taka yama-ni (2) taka-wo panat-i-age (3) wog-u-wo na-mi (4) wa-ga s-uru toki-ni (5) ap-er-u sena ka mo ya  
(1) Taka (falcon / high) mountain-LOC (2) falcon-ACC separate-INF-rise(INF) (3) summon-ATTR-ACC no-GER (4) I-POSS do-ATTR time-LOC (5) meet-PROG-ATTR beloved man EMPH EMPH  
[I released [my] falcon at Falcon Mountain  
But because I did not call [him to return]  
Apare!  
When I did not call [him to return], [instead] I had met my beloved  
My beloved I met!  
(2.15)

### 12.2.8. Defective adjective ka-

Defective adjective ka- ‘to be thus’ is attested only in its infinitive form ka-ku in the text. In one occurrence, it has undergone velar lenition (1.16 below).

(1) inisipe mo (2) ka-ku ya ar-i-ke-m-u ya  
(1) past FOC (2) thus-INF EMPH exist-INF-RETR-TENT-FIN  
The past may have been thus as well  
(2.1)

(1) ka-ku si koso (2) tukape-matur-am-e ya (3) yorodu yo made-ni  
(1) thus-INF EMPH FOC (2) serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV QPT (3) ten thousand generation TERM DV-INF  
Thus [as it was]!
Will [I] serve? [No I will not!]
For ten thousand generations
(2.2)

(1) 和加々止乎 (2) 止散 加字 散 (3) 禽留乎乃己
(1) wa-ga kado-wo (2) to.sam[ a] ka[ k]-u sam[a] 111 (3) ner-u wonoko
(1) I-POSS gate-ACC (2) that.way this.way (lit: thus/this-INF direction) (3) creep-ATTR

The man who walks steadily about (lit: that way and this way) my gates
(1.16)

111 The consistent interpretation among the commentaries is that this is the onbin form of to sama kaku sama (Usuda 2000, Konishi 1957: 355). Diachronically, kō-rui tō is defined in Omodaka as ‘outside,’ soto, in opposition to uti ‘inside.’ Kaku is defined in the kōjien as an adverb meaning ‘in this way,’ ‘like this.’ Vovin (2005) analyzes ka-ku as the infinitive form of the defective adjective ka. Sama is ‘direction.’
CHAPTER 13. VERBS

Verbal morphology in Old and Classical Japanese had a great amount of diversity compared with modern Japanese. There are two modes, two tenses, five aspects, four voices, and thirteen moods excluding the retrospective, reported action *nar-*, and iterative affixes *ari-*, *ap-* in OJ. There is also a great deal of change that occurred between Nara and Heian period morphological forms as they are attested in the manuscripts. In many ways, these changes define the division between these two periods with regards to the written language. The following chart shows the major attested and unattested forms and the numbers of occurrences in the text for each.
Table 23: Major attested and unattested verbal forms in Saibara in contrast to OJ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Retrospective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective &lt;n&gt;</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Imperative -e</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Causative -ase-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Retrospective -ker-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective &lt;te&gt;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tentative</td>
<td>-am-</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Passive -are-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive &lt;er&gt;</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Tentative2</td>
<td>-uram-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Perfective/progressive &lt;tar&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Negative-tentative -azi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Debitive -ube-</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subjunctive -amasi</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Suppositional -urasi</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Desiderative -[a]na-</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Negative potential -kane-</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Potential auxiliary -kate-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Optative auxiliary -posi</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Benefactive -kose</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from Table 21 above, there is a very healthy distribution of verb forms despite the size of the collection. How this distribution compares with other similar texts such as Kagura and fūzoku is not yet known but it may provoke interesting questions about the overall breadth of Saibara versus these other collections, which appear to be more narrow in content and style.

13.1. Grammatical Categories Of Verbs

The following section overviews the grammatical verb categories that can be found in Saibara in contrast with Old and Middle Japanese attested forms.

13.1.1. Aspect

Aspectual forms in the Heian period were marking the beginning of larger shifts that gave way to later Middle Japanese forms. One major development was the contraction and lexicalization of the perfective-progressive -tar- (Frellesvig 2010: 238-39).

It goes without saying that the most glaringly dramatic distributive contrast in the chart above is between the progressive -er- and perfective-progressive -tar- in Saibara. These two forms are particularly important in the transition from Old to Middle Japanese and there has been considerable discussion on their functionality, use, and diachronic relationship (Yamada 1954; Tsukishima 1969; Sandness 1999; Vovin 2003; Vovin 2005). Aspectual forms in the Heian period were marking the beginning of larger shifts that gave way to later MJ forms. One major development was the contraction and lexicalization of the perfective-progressive -tar-. Although the contracted form -tar- was prevalent in the OJ period it was in EMJ that the contracted form took on an r-irregular verb paradigm, fully lexicalizing (Frellesvig 2010: 238-39).
Progressive -er- < OJ -[y]er- developed from original infinitive -yi + ar- ‘exist’ having developed into -ar- in EOJ and -[y]er- in WOJ (Vovin 2005: 880). In OJ, -[y]er- already had both progressive and perfective functions with the progressive function more prevalent than the latter (ibid). -yer- also has a skewed distribution where it does not generally combine with the upper and lower bigrade class verbs (Frellesvig 2010: 68). In Middle Japanese, -er- becomes quantitatively and qualitatively reduced, only occurring with consonantal verbs whereas in Old Japanese it appeared with vowel verbs with final /ê/ formally. It also began to only occur after verb stems whereas before it was able to combine with the iterative -ap-, honorific -as-, perfective-progressive -tar-, and potential -Nkate- (Vovin 2005: 881).

The perfective-progressive -tar- appears in its uncontracted form te-ar- in Man'yōshū and Senmyō and seems to in fact only appears twice in the Nihonshoki otherwise. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is a newer form (Vovin 2005: 963). In regards to the diachronic relationship between -[y]er- and -tar-, this hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that, as mentioned above, -[y]er- appears primarily with quadrigrade verbs, which, as Frellesvig suggests is indicative of upper and lower bigrade verbs being newer (Frellesvig 2010: ibid). Thus, the newer periphrastic [i]-te+ar- began to supplant -yer- < i+ar- in the Heian period.

Because Saibara is regarded to be a Heian period text in its handling by most scholars, it is counter-intuitive to have a distribution favoring the progressive -er-, the earlier of the two constructions. This could be evidence for the text describing a language predating its oldest manuscripts and even popular speculation about its ninth century origins, or could be a coincidental distortion based on the content of the songs, verbs used, and/or a subtle
distinction in the functionality of -er- and -tar-. Further study in this area will help to illuminate these issues.

13.1.2. Tense

Both tenses, past and present-future are attested in Saibara. Past tense suffix attributive -si and evidential -sika are both attested, however past tense final suffix -ki is not attested in its un contracted form -ki. It only appears in its contracted form k- in portmanteau morphemes.

13.1.3. Mood

There are an abundance of mood markers in the Old and Middle Japanese languages. Mood markers appear as both suffixes and bound auxiliaries. Moods attested in the text are: imperative -e ~ -o ~ -Ø ~ -yo, tentative -am-, tentative-stative -uram-, negative-tentative -azi, debitive -ube, subjunctive -amasi, suppositional and -urasi. The bound auxiliary negative-potential -kane- also appears in the text.

13.1.4. Voice

Both the passive voice, -are-, causative -ase-, and unmarked active voices are found. Also, the reciprocal-cooperative infinitive + ap- ‘to meet’ is found once in the collection.

13.1.5. Retrospective

Retrospective auxiliary -ker- is found in several examples in the text.
13.1.6. Predication

Final prediction is marked by the final suffixes -\textit{u} and -\textit{i} and attributive suffixes -\textit{uru} and -\textit{u}. Non-final prediction is marked by suffixes -\textit{i} and -\textit{e} infinitive, conjunctive gerund -\textit{ba}, conditional gerund -\textit{aba}, concessive gerund -\textit{do}. Also, bound auxiliaries subordinative gerund -\textit{te}.

13.1.7. Honorification

Honorification is marked by the auxiliaries -\textit{imas} in two examples in the text. Overall, there is very little use of honorification and humbleness in the language of the text.

13.1.8. Humbleness

Humbleness is marked by the auxiliary verb -\textit{maude} and \textit{tab} ~ \textit{tabe}.

13.1.9. Politness

The auxiliary verbs \textit{faber} and \textit{suburaf} are not found in the text.

13.2. Verb Classes

There are three basic verb classes, (1) consonant verbs, (2) vowel verbs, and (3) irregular verbs, and (4) defective verbs. There are subclasses of irregular verbs in both the consonant and vowel verb categories. Consonant verbs are those verbs that have a root ending in a consonant, i.e. \textit{tukur} ‘to make’ and vowel verbs ending in a vowel, i.e. \textit{iki} ‘to live.’ In traditional grammar, consonant verbs are quadrigrade (\textit{yodan} 四段 verbs), vowel verbs ending in /\textit{e}/ are lower bi-grade (\textit{shimonidan} 下二段), and those ending in /\textit{i}/ are
upper bi-grade (kaminidan 上二段) verbs. Irregular verb classes include r-irregular verbs (ra-hen ら変), n-irregular verbs (な変), as well as the irregular verbs se- ‘to do’ and ko-‘to come’ (sa-hen さ変 and ka-hen か変). The defective verbs, n- ‘to be’ and to ‘to say’ are also attested in Saibara.

The vast majority (approx. 75%) of all verbs in OJ and MJ are consonant verbs. The second most numerous class is the regular vowel verb class, followed by the irregular subclasses. Saibara also has more consonant verbs than vowel verbs, in fact there are only a handful of vowel verbs attested (list below).

13.2.1. Consonant verbs

Consonant verbs are the most frequent type of forms in Old and Middle Japanese. The Saibara collection is no exception. Consonant verbs have verb roots that end in a consonant. The following chart includes the basic verbal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>ip- ‘to say’</th>
<th>panar- ‘to separate’</th>
<th>pirak- ‘to open’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>ip-i</td>
<td>*panar-i</td>
<td>pirak-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>ip-u</td>
<td>panar-u</td>
<td>*pirak-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>ip-u</td>
<td>panar-u</td>
<td>*piraku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evidential</td>
<td>ip-e</td>
<td>panar-e</td>
<td>*pirak-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>ip-e</td>
<td>*panar-e(^{112})</td>
<td>pirak-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>ip-an-</td>
<td>*panar-an-</td>
<td>*pirak-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tentative</td>
<td>ip-am-</td>
<td>*panar-am-</td>
<td>*pirak-am-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Old Japanese, evidential and imperative forms were distinct after labial and velar-final roots because the evidential was spelled with otsu-rui -ē.

\(^{112}\) Panare yo is attested once. However, since -yo is a common imperative form for vowel verbs, this should be viewed as the vowel verb panare- and not the consonant verb panar-, which became a vowel verb in MJ. This is probably a MJ form here. However, additionally, it must be kept in mind that the possible dialectal change from Asuka to Kyoto may be a factor irrespective of their chronology.
Loss of /i/ after /k/ had consonant verb roots ending in /k/ lose their final consonant in the infinitive form, i.e. sa-i-te < sak-i-te. This is a regular change that is not completely consistent in the Saibara collection; there are both forms that lose and maintain /k/ before /i/ in verbal forms.

13.2.2. Vowel Verbs

Vowel verb roots end in vowels, /i/ or /e/. Historically, the majority of vowel verbs ended in otsu-rui vowels /i/ or /ë/.

The vowel of suffixes with front vowel initials (also in the case when a suffix has only one high vowel, i.e. -i) is dropped when added to the root, and the final vowel of the verb root is dropped when the suffix has a back vowel initial.

Table 25: The basic morphological forms of vowel verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>wosame- ‘to bunch’</th>
<th>kake- ‘hang’ (intr.)</th>
<th>suwe- ‘to perch’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>wosame-Ø</td>
<td>kake-Ø</td>
<td>suwe-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>wosame-ru</td>
<td>kake-ru</td>
<td>suwe-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>wosame-ru</td>
<td>kake-ru</td>
<td>suwe-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evidential</td>
<td>wosam-ure</td>
<td>kake-ure</td>
<td>suwe-ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>wosame-(yo)</td>
<td>kake-(yo)</td>
<td>suwe-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>wosame-n-</td>
<td>kake-n-</td>
<td>suwe-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tentative</td>
<td>wosame-m-</td>
<td>kake-m-</td>
<td>suwe-m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is not a complete vowel verb morphological paradigm attested for an individual verb, and several forms that are not attested at all in the collection. The above chart shows verbs that occur in the collection, but the complete paradigms are based on occurring forms in other texts. The attested forms are highlighted.

Saibara offers just a handful of vowel verbs in limited morphological forms. The verbs that occur in the collection are:
wosame- ‘to bunch; collect’ (1.8)
kake- ‘to hang’ (1.8)
suwe- ‘to perch’ (1.24)
chure- ‘to get wet’ (1.13)
pame- ‘put into’ (1.14)
tate- ‘to be established’ (1.3, 1.15)
wi- ‘to be; to sit; settle’ (1.18)
yase- ‘to become thin’ (1.20)
age- ‘to go (fly) up; bring up’ (2.15)

13.2.3. Irregular verbs

In their basic paradigmatic forms, there are five irregular verb sub-classes. Predictably, some of the most frequent forms are those with irregular conjugations. This is because in general, verbs that are used frequently tend to develop more divergent forms than those that are not (cf. Zipf’s law).

Below, I begin with strong vowel verbs, which may otherwise be called upper monograde verbs. All upper monograde verbs end in high front vowel -i, so I follow Vovin’s (2008) treatment of them as “strong vowel verbs.”

13.2.3.1. Strong Vowel Verbs

Strong vowel verbs (1) preserve their root vowels when they take on vowel-initial suffixes. Subsequently, the suffixes lose their initial vowels when affixing to strong vowel verbs, i.e. *mi-ram- *m-uram- ‘see-TENT2.’

(2) In Middle Japanese, strong vowel verbs develop -ru as their final predication suffix. In OJ and pre-OJ however, strong vowel verbs used their root as stem for final forms, i.e. OJ mi- and not mi-ru ‘see-FIN’ as in MJ. (3) The imperative form has both root-stem forms mi- as well as imperative suffix-yo, mi-yo.

Only the verb mi- is attested in Saibara.
13.2.3.2. *Irregular Verb ko- ‘to come’*

*Ko-* acts similar to a regular vowel verb, but with some peculiarities. The full inflectional paradigm of *ko-* does not occur in the text. *Saibara* does not have any peculiar morphological forms of *ko-*.
Table 26: Basic inflection of ko- ‘to come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>ko-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>*k-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>*k-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>*k-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evidential</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>*ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>ko-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tentative</td>
<td>*ko-m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several notable features of this irregular verb. (1) In keeping with the regular vowel verb paradigm, ko- loses its root-vowel before suffixes with initial u-, however ko- deletes its final-root vowel before -i, *ko- ‘come-(INF).’ (2) Ko- never takes the imperative suffix -yo in OJ, but is normally attested with -yo in MJ texts.

Ko- is attested in Saibara, but never with the imperative suffix -Ø or -yo.

13.2.3.3. Verb se- ‘to do’

The verb se- Frellesvig (2010: 108) defines se- as a “pro-verb” and “light verb,” because it often acts to carry finite predicational markers. Se- is frequently found following nominalized verbs and de-verbal nouns, giving them verbal functionality, i.e. ipap-i s-i ‘pray-NML do-INF (2.11).

Through OJ, se- had two roots, se- and sō. Se- was the primary functional root form and sō- appeared minimally in the circumfix na-V-INF-sō (Vovin 2009: 508). Se- is unique from other vowel verbs in that it does not retain its root-final vowel before infinitive -i. Se- is found in OJ with both root-stem imperative and imperative suffix -yo.

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113 Asterisk (*) indicates attested forms
Table 27: Basic inflection of se-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>se- ‘do’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>*s-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>*s-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>s-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evidential</td>
<td>*s-ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>*se-yo, -so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>se-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tentative</td>
<td>*se-m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This verb, a frequent one in any Japanese text, is found in relative abundance in Saibara.

The so- root is attested once in the construction na-V-INF-so (2.12). There is one possible attestation of final form s-u ‘do-FIN’ in song 2.15:

(1) 太加也未爾 (2) 多加乎 (3) 太加乎波名知安介 (4) 乎久乎名美 (5) 安波礼 (6) 乎久乎奈美 (7) 波礼 (8) 乎久乎那美 (9) 和可春 (10) 和可須对照支爾 (11) 安戸留世奈可毛也 (12) 安戸留世奈可毛

(1) Taka yama-ni (2) taka-wo (3) taka-wo panat-i-age (4) wog-u-wo na-mi (5) apare (6) wog-u-wo na-mi (7) pare (8) wog-u-wo na-mi (9) wa-ga s-u 114 (10) wa-ga s-uru toki-ni (11) ap-er-u sena kamo ya (12) ap-er-u sena kamo
(1) Taka 115 mountain-LOC (2) falcon-ACC (3) falcon-ACC separate-INF-rise(INF) (4) summon-ATTR-ACC no-GER (5) apare (6) summon-ATTR-ACC no-GER (7) pare (8) summon-ATTR-ACC no-GER (9) I-POSS do-ATTR (10) I-POSS do-ATTR (11) meet-PROG-ATTR beloved man EMPH EMPH (12) meet-PROG-ATTR beloved EMPH EMPH

[I] release [my] facon at Falcon mountain
Without inviting [my falcon] [back]
Without inviting
Pare
**I do not invite [my falcon back]**
When I do [this], I will meet my beloved! (2.15)

---

114 In most commentaries (Usuda 2000; Konishi 1957; Kimura 2006; Ōtake 1934), the assumption is that it is a partial line and it is consequently not mentioned in the commentary at all. Looking at the composition of the song itself, lines (2) and (3) are partial, taka-wo, followed by the full line, taka-wo panat-i-age. This cannot really be construed in any other way, so it makes the interpretation of line (9) a straightforward partial line, where wa-ga s-u is actually a truncation of the full attributive that appears in the following line as wa-ga s-uru. I am inclined to view this as the final form in consideration of the context of the sentence.

115 Taka can mean either ‘falcon’ or ‘high’ in addition to being a place name.
13.2.3.4. **R-Irregular Verbs**

There are two r-irregular verbs found in the text, *ar-* ‘to exist,’ *wor-* ‘to exist; to sit; to stay.’ These verbs behave as consonant verbs, except they have a final form in -i, which is phonologically indistinguishable from the infinitive (Vovin 2005: 509). Further, constructions and suffixes that historically have the verb *ar-* ‘to exist’ also behave in this way in the text, albeit with wavering consistency; i.e. perfective/progressive suffix -*tar*- < te+ar- (SUB+exist), retrospective -*ker-* < *ki*+ar- (PAST+exist), and -er- < -i+ar- (V-INF+exist).

13.2.4. **Defective verbs**

There are two defective verbs attested in the text, *n-* ‘to be’ and *to* ‘to say.’ These verbs only exhibit limited morphological forms, most frequently attributive and infinitive. Defective verb *n-* has attributive in -o while *to* has attributive -u attested in Old Japanese texts. In our text, only attributive *n-o* and uninflected / attributive form *to* are attested. Defective verb *n-* forms a copula with *ar-* ‘to exist’ in the form *nar-* < *n-i* ar-, however *n-ar-* ‘DV(INF)-INF’ (*nar-* throughout) is attested several times.

13.2.4.1. **Defective Verb N- ‘To Be’**

In the text, *n-* ‘to be’ is attested in its attributive form *n-o* and infinitive form *n-i*. It is not attested with the subordinative gerund, neither is the common MJ form, *de* < *n-i-te* ‘DV-INF-SUB.’

In the infinitive form, *n-i*, *n-* can be found after nominals and verbs. It functions as a nominal predicate and it is frequently found after deverbal nouns adverbializing them.
There is also the special construction _n-i se_- found in the text: _X-wo Y n-i se_- ‘make X of / treat as Y’

In the attributive form, _n-o, n-_ can frequently be translated as ‘that is,’ i.e. _pidi n-o kasa_ ‘elbow DV-INF umbrella,’ ‘[my] elbow **which is** [serving as my] umbrella.’ The attributive and infinitive forms can follow an uninflected adjective as well, acting as a copula, i.e. _ma-sirara n-o pama_ ‘INT-white DV-ATTR beach,’ ‘the pure white beach’ (lit: ‘the beach **which is** pure white’) (1.11).

Examples:

**13.2.4.1.1. **Attributive

Examples of defective verb _n-_ in attributive form:

(1) མི་ལེ་བུ་(2) མི་ལེ་བུ་(1) མི་ལེ་བུ་(2) མི་ལེ་བུ་(1) མི་ལེ་བུ

Adverbialization with attributive _n-o_

There are two cases of adverbialization with _n-o_ in the text:

(1) མི་ལེ་བུ (2) མི་ལེ་བུ (1) མི་ལེ་བུ (2) མི་ལེ་བུ (1) མི་ལེ་བུ

(6) མི་ལེ་བུ (2) མི་ལེ་བུ (1) མི་ལེ་བུ (2) མི་ལེ་བུ (1) མི་ལེ་བུ

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My dear girls’ gate, my beloved’s gate, I am unable to pass by!

[But] if I go, perhaps the rain, which falls on my elbow, will not fall.

13.2.4.1.2. Infinitive form n-i

Examples of defective verb n- in infinitive form n-i:

(1) mi-saka na  
(2) nani yo-k-em-u

(1) HON-wine greens (side dish) DV-INF (2) what good-INF-ATTR-FIN

What would [you] like as a side dish?

(2.22)

(1) awo yagi-wo (2) kata ito ni yor-i-te ya

(1) green willow-ACC (2) single thread DV-INF twist-INF-SUB EMPH

Twisting the green willow [vines] into a single thread!

(1.10)

The construction n-i yor- is an instrumental here, similar to the construction n-i-te ‘DV-INF-SUB.’

(1) ise-no umi-no (2) kiyō-ki nagisa-ni (3) sipokapi ni (4) nanoriso ya tum-am-u

(1) PN-GEN sea-GEN (2) pure-ATTR beach-LOC (3) salt-immersed shells DV-INF (4) hondawara seaweed PT pick-TENT-FIN

[I] will I collect salt-immersed shells and pearls at the pure shores of the Ise sea.

(1.11)

(1) sa-koromo ni (2) or-i-te mo ki se-m-u

(1) PREF-garment DV-INF (2) weave-INF-SUB FOC wear(NML) do-TENT-FIN

I will weave [threads into] a [fine] garment [for you]

(1.4)

Adverbializations with n-i
There are some examples where *n-i* comes after an uninflected adjective and sometimes after an adjective in final form to make adverbializations.

Examples:

1. yosi na-si *n-i* (to sam-a ka-[k]u sam-a) (ner-wonoko) (yosi kos[o] ar-urasi ya) reason no-FIN DV-INF (2) this and that (3) [walk]. steadily man (4) reason FOC exist-SUP QPT
   
   Without a purpose, the man [still] creeps about back and forth does it seem [he] has a purpose?

   (1.12)

In this example, *n-i* is used to adverbialize an adjective in final form, *nasi*.

1. masi asa-ginu mo (2) wa-ga me-no goto-ku (3) tamoto yo-ku (4) ki yo-ku kata yo-ku (5) kokubi yasura *n-i* (6) masi ki se-me kamo
   
   If you [made a] hemp dress like my wife's where the sleeves are [adorned] nicely and it wears nicely, [fits] nicely on the shoulders and the collar [fit] comfortably, perhaps I would wear you[r garment]!

   (1.4)

1. katakuna *n-i* (mono ip-u womina ka na)
   
   Are you the type of woman who says foolish things [and confesses her love in this way]?

   (1.4)

1. Mino yama-ni (2) sizi *n-i* op-i-tar-u (3) tama-gasipa
   
   The jewel-like (sacred) kashiwa grows plentifully at Minoyama

   (2.30)

13.2.4.1.3. Special construction *n-i se-*
This construction, found three times in the collection always means ‘make into’ or ‘treat as,’ not dissimilar from the same construction in WOJ (Vovin 2005: 518).

伊加尔世牟
ika n-i se-m-u
how DV-INF do-TENT-FIN

What shall I do?
(1.22)

(1) 祢利乎左美乎乃 (2) 晝曾加介尔世牟 (3) 多万也名支
(1) ner-i wo sami wo-no (2) mi-ko.kake n-i se-m-u (3) tama yanagi
(1) knead-NML cord thin cord DV-ATTR (2) HON-garment.hang(NML) DV-INF do-
TENT-ATTR (3) jewel willow

Jewel-like willow which [I] wish to make into a garment hanger for thin and kneaded
cords
(1.3)

(1) 於保支美支万世 (2) 无己爾世无
(1) omo kimi k-i-mas-e (2) muko n-i se-m-u
(1) great lord come-INF-HON-IMP (2) groom DV-INF do-TENT-FIN

Come in [my] lord!
I will make you [my] groom
(2.22)

13.2.4.1.4. Special form n-i ar- and contracted form n-ar-

The copula nar- ‘be’ comes from the construction n-i ar- ‘DV-INF exist-,’ which can be
still be seen in its uncontracted form n-i ar- in OJ (Vovin 2005: 529). Based on this
diachronic analysis, the contracted form of n-i ar- deserves special treatment. The
uncontracted form, however, does not appear in the collection, so I transliterate it as nar-
‘be.’

Examples:

(1) 論説乃己奈留
(1) tarongo-no ko nar-u sa-irongo
(1) posterity-GEN child be-ATTR

All the children who are [your] brothers [and posterity]
(2.23)
(1) kaduraki-no (2) tera-no mape nar-u ya (3) toyora-no tera-no (4) nisi nar-u ya (5) [yle]-no pa.wi ni (6) sira tama siduk-u ya
(1) kaduraki-GEN (2) temple-GEN front be-ATTR EMPH (3) toyora-GEN temple-GEN (4) west be-ATTR (5) lotus tree-GEN leaf.well-LOC (6) white jewel sink-EMPH EMPH
[To] (lit: it is) the front of the temple of Kaduraki! To the west of the temple of Toyora!
The pearl sinks to the bottom of the water in the Enopa well!
(2.20)

左世己加比己奈留
sa se-ko-ga piko nar-u
sa DIM-girl-POSS great-grandchild DV-exist-FIN
Great-grandchild who is my dear girl
(2.23)

(1) 伊可名留 (2) 伊可奈留於比曾
(1) ika n-ar-u (2) ika nar-u obi zo
(1) what be-ATTR FOC
What [kind of] sash!
(2.19)

(1) 己左可己恵奈留也 (2) 己恵奈留也
(1) ko-saka.gowe nar-u ya (2) kowe nar-u ya
(1) DIM-wine.voice be-ATTR EMPH (2) voice be-ATTR EMPH
It is the voice of [my little] wine!
It is the voice of the wine!
(2.21)

(1) 加良名川名波 (2) 与岐名々利
(1) kara naduna pa (2) yo-ki na nar-i
(1) spicy shepard's purse flower TOP (2) good-ATTR greens be-FIN
The bitter greens are good vegetables
(1.12)

(1) 之名比乎美礼波 (2) 伊末左加利名利也
(1) sinap-i -wo mi-re-ba (2) ima sak-ar-i nar-i ya
(1) sway.gently-NML-ACC see-EV-COND (2) now blossom-PROG-NML be-FIN EMPH
When I see the swaying [of the willow], [I see that it] is now at the height of bloom
(1.16)

(1) 太介加波乃 (2) 波之乃川女名留也 (3) 波之乃川女名留也
(1) Takekapa-no (2) pasi-no tume nar-u ya (3) pasi-no tume nar-u ya
At the edge of the bridge of Takekapa, it is at the edge of the bridge of Takekapa.

13.2.4.2. Defective Verb To ‘To Say; To Think’

To is a verb of verbal or mental activity and primarily introduces quotation clauses. In contrast to n-o, which has the infinitive form n-i, infinitive *t-i is not found, however there is a gerund form to-te, which suggests that the infinitive form is just to.

In Saibara, the focus particle mo and interrogative particle ka can both be found between to and the following verb. However, the case with focus particle mo may be debatable because conjunction tomo also fits the context.

Examples:

(1) Ӊરો ૒ ﭑ (2) ware-wo pos-i to ip-u
(1) melon cultivate-NML (2) I-ACC desire-INF DV say-FIN
The melon cultivator says [s/he] desires me

(1) 宇利川久利 (2) 和礼乎保之 伊不
(1) uri tukur-i (2) ware-wo pos-i to ip-u
(1) melon cultivate-NML (2) I-ACC desire-INF DV say-FIN
The melon cultivator says [s/he] desires me

(1) 安之加支 (2) 末加支 (3) 末加支加支和介 (4) 天不己須 伊不 (5) 於比已須 伊不 (6) 太礼
(7) 天不己須 伊不
(1) asi.gaki (2) ma-gaki (3) ma-gaki kaki-wake (4) tepu kos-u to (5) op-i kos-u to (6) tare
(7) tepu kousu to
(1) reed-fence (2) INT-fence PREF-separate(INF) (3)INT-fence PREF-separate (4) tepu
cross-FIN DV (5) carry-INF cross-FIN DV (6) tare (7) tepu cross-FIN DV
A reed fence
A true reed fence
Saying [I] [will] build that reed fence
Saying [I] [will] tepu(?) cross over that reed fence
Saying [I] [will] cross [the fence]
Saying [I] [will] carry [her] across it

Even though your words may say [you will return] tomorrow…
What is the name (lit: what is it called?) for the crevice?

I (lit: think) realize [my] desire for that
I realize [also that I] desire you

The umbrella, which is said to be sown by the bush warbler

Call [me] the lovely daughter the chief of the county of Ayame!

Call [me] the youngest daughter

Who will be the matchmaker for me there
[For I] who has grown old [like] the rain of the bridge at Asamudu that fell thundering?
13.2.4.3. Defective Verb To ‘To Be’

The defective verb to ‘to be’ which has the same shape but a distinct function from the quotative to is only found once in the collection, so I am not dedicating a section to it.

The example is below with a note.

To occurs after nominals, verbs, and particles. It is commonly found after final forms.

There is one example of defective verb to ‘t be’ found in the Saibara collection.

Example:

(1) 美留万手爾 (2) 太万比可留 (3) 之太比可留 (4) 新京朱左可乃 (5) 之多利也奈支 (6) 万太波太為止奈留 (7) 前栽安支波支 (8) 奈天之己可良保比 (9) 之太利也奈支 (1) mi-ru made-ni (2) tama pikar-u (3) sita pikar-u (4) SINKY AU SU.zaka-no (5) sidar-i yanagi (6) mata pa ta.wi to nar-u (7) SENZAI akipagi (8) nadesiko kara[a]popi (9) sidar-i yanagi

(1) see-ATTR TERM-LOC (2) jewel shine-ATTR (3) below shine-ATTR (4) new.capital vermilion.bird-GEN (5) hang down-NML willow (6) again TOP paddy.freshwater DV become-FIN (7) garden greens autumn bush clover (8) pink hollyhock (althaea rosea) (9) hang-NML willow

As far as [I] can see (8) it appers to be the hanging willow (7) of the new capital (5) which

shines [like a] jewel (6) and shines down, (9) or, [it is] the freshwater paddies (10) that will

become [as] the garden greens [of] autumn bush clover, (11) hollyhock (12) [and the]

hanging

willow

(2:24)

13.3. Verbal Prefixes

Verbal prefixes between Old Japanese and Middle Japanese vary greatly in their quantity.

It is clear that verbal prefixes were gradually fading out of the language. Vovin (2005: 116)

Interpretations of this vary considerably. One school of thought interprets this poem as praise of the new capital (Kimura 2006; Hirataka 2011) while the other views it as a sarcastic quip at the capital and construction of Heiankyō (Usuda 2000; Ikeda 1975; Osamu 2011). I follow the latter interpretation based on the overall nature of the songs in the collection.

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notes that the verbal prefixal system of OJ cannot be transparently traced back to
verbs, whereas in MJ most prefixes clearly derive from verbs.

13.3.1. Intensifying prefix mote-
The prefix mote- only appears once in the Saibara. This instance fits into Ikeda’s (1975)
definition of mote- as either an intensifier or showing that the action is taking place
gradually (Ikeda 1975: 260). In this case, the boat is gradually climbing up to Namuba
sea.

(1) kog-i mote-nobor-u (2) wo-bune opo bune (3) Tukusi tu-made-ni
Row [the boats] up
The big boats and small boats row and climb up to Tukusi harbor
(2.36)

13.3.2. Prefix ka-
Vovin (2005: 573) describes this as a primary morphological marker, which is shared by
both verbs and adjectives. However, its primary usage seems to be with adjectives. It is
only attested once in MYS (4.512) with a verb. This is coincidentally the same verb it
appears with in Saibara. Saibara boats a relatively robust number of poems, lines, and
phrases that are attested in Nara period texts and it would be possible to explain this
single occurrence as a reflection of honkadori or pastiche-like borrowing from MYS.
However, no other part of the poem is referenced, so I am inclined to view this as an
independent occurrence.

Example:

(1) 加与利安比介利
Though we sleep separated
[We] rolled together

toutou

We drifted close [together]

Another possible interpretation for this line is that ka- may represent the uninflected defective adjective ka (cf. ka-ku), ‘we thus rolled together.’

13.3.3. Prefix kaki-

There is only one example of prefix kaki- in Saibara. Omodaka (1967: 176) suggests that this prefix derives from the verb kak- ‘to scratch’ and that it appears in constructions that indicate action done by the fingers. It is often spelled semantographically as 搗. Kaki- is described as a prefix by Vovin (2005: 586), however it could also be described as a preverb because it appears in the infinitive form kak-i ‘scratch-INF’ which can be described accurately synchronically as a prefix or diachronically as a preverb kak-.

The single example found in Saibara parallels a poem in MYS (13.3279) which has the same line as asi-gakî-nô suwe kakî-wakê-te ‘dividing the top of the reed fence.’

13.4. Verbal Suffixes

Verbal suffixes can be divided up into two distinct categories, sentence-final and sentence non-final. Sentence non-final suffixes can be further divided into word-final and non-final. Voice negation, and aspect are all word-non-final suffixes.
13.4.1. Sentence-final verb suffixes

Sentence-final suffixes in OJ and Mj include attributive, evidential, imperative, mood markers, desiderative, and subjunctive. The following chart shows sentence-final suffixes in OJ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence-final suffixes</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>MJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>-uru ~ -u ~ -ru</td>
<td>-uru ~ -u ~ ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>-ure ~ -e ~ -re</td>
<td>-ure ~ -e ~ -re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-e ~ -Ø</td>
<td>-e ~ -Ø ~ -yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperative</td>
<td>-una ~</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative-tentative</td>
<td>-azi ~ -zi</td>
<td>-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desiderative</td>
<td>-ana ~ -na</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>-amasi ~ -masi</td>
<td>-amasi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attested forms in Saibara are: final predication suffix -u and -i, attributive -u ~ -ru ~ -uru, evidential -ure ~ -e ~ -re, and imperative -e ~ -yo ~ -Ø, and negative tentative -zi.

13.4.1.1. Final Predication Suffix -U

The two allomorphs of the final predication suffix are -u and -i. -u is found after consonant and vowel verbs, but -i is found after r-irregular verbs and ‘strong vowel verbs.’

In MJ, final predication suffix -u looked uniformly to be -u ~ -ru after all verbs. However, in OJ the picture was different. Strong vowel verbs and r-irregular verbs display the following forms after the conjunction tömö, ari and mî, and since is always preceded by final forms, it as though these forms are the actual forms of final predication. This, in consideration of Russells’ (2006: 198) suggestion that there was a functional distinction between stative -ur and attributive -ã, gives further credence to the idea that there were distinct suffixes for final, stative, and attributive forms at some point. Vovin (2008: 599)
also points out that the verbs that have -i as their final predication marker are stative verbs already, i.e. ar- ‘to exist,’ wor- ‘to exist / be; stay; sit,’ and por- ‘to desire,’ suggesting that there was a functional difference between -i and -u final predication suffixes. Also, verbal suffixes with historical r-irregular verb in tow, retrospective -kêr- < past tense suffix ki + ar- ‘to exist,’ progressive -ê/e r- < infinitive -i + ar-, -tar- < subordinative gerund -te + ar- display the same contrast to those that do not, i.e., tentative -am-u, negative (a)z-u, honorific -as-.

(1) 太加乃己波 (2) 末呂尔多波良
(1) taka-no ko pa (2) maro-ni tabar-am-u
(1) falcon-GEN child TOP (2) I-DAT receive(HON)-TENT-ATTR
   [You] will give me a baby falcon
   (1.24)

(1) 名己利之毛太天礼波 (2) 美名曾己支利天 (3) 波礼 (4) 曾乃太末美江
(1) nagori si mo tat-er-e-ba (2) mina.zoko kir-i-te (3) pare (4) sono tama mi[y]e-z-u
(1) wave ripples EMPH FOC rise-PROG-EV-CONJ (2) water.bottom fog-INF-SUB (3) pare (4) that jewel can see(INF)-NEG-ATTR
   When the bottom of the sea fogs from the ripple waves [from the wind] that have risen
   Pare!
   [I] cannot see that jewel
   (2.18)

(1) 之良太万之川久也 (2) 末之良太末之川久也 (3) 於之止々 (4) 止於之止々 (5) 之可之天波 (6) 久爾曾左可江无也 (7) 和伊戸良曾 (8) 止美世无也
(1) sira tama siduk-u ya (2) ma-sira tama siduk-u ya (3) ositoto (4) toositoto (5) sikasite pa (6) kuni zo saka[y]-em-u ya (7) wa ipe-ra zo (8) tomi se-m-u ya
(1) white jewel sink-FIN EMPH (2) INT-white jewel sink-FIN EMPH (3) ositoto (4) toositoto (5) that.way TOP (6) land EMPH flourish-TENT-FIN EMPH (7) I home-PLUR FOC (8) fortune do-TENT-ATTR EMPH
   The pearl sinks to the bottom of the water in the Enopa well!
   If it is this way, the land will flourish! Our houses will have fortune!
   (2.20)

(1) 奈爾与介 (2) 安波比左多乎加 (3) 可世与介
(1) nani yo-k-em-u (2) apabi sadawo ka (3) kase yo-k-em-u
(1) what good-ATTR-TENT-FIN (2) abalone horned turban QPT (3) sea urchin good-ATTR-TENT-FIN
What would be **good** as a side dish [with your wine]?
Abalone [and] horned turban? [would] sea urchin be **good**?

(2.22)

左世己加比己奈留
sa seko-ga piko nar-u
sa dear girl-POSS lord DV-exist-FIN
great-grandchild of my dear girl
(2.23)

(1) 千止世乎可禰天曾 (2) 安曾比安戸留
(1) ti tose-wo kane-te zo (2) asob-i-ap-er-u
(1) thousand year-ACC anticipate(INF)-SUB FOC (2) play-INF-meet-PROG-FIN
Expecting to live a thousand years, are playing together
(2.26)

(1) 美名比止乃 (2) 女川留毛之留久 (3) 止支爾安戸留可毛
(1) mina.pito\(^{117}\)-no (2) med-uru mo siru-ku (3) toki-ni ap-er-u kamo
(1) all person-GEN (2) be.attracted.to-ATTR FOCUS (3) time-LOC meet-PROG-FIN EMPH
Everyone’s attraction to the many rapids of the waterfalls of Suzuka river will be
clear when [I] have been [there]
(2.27)

由支天波也見
yuk-i-te paya mi-m-u
go-INF-SUB quick see-TENT-FIN
Go, I quickly want to see (my beloved)
(1.1)

(1) 曾天川久波加利也 (2) 安左介礼度 (3) 波礼 (4) 安左介礼止 (5) 久尔乃見也比止也 (6) 太可波之和多
(1) sode tuk-u bakari ya (2) asa-kere-do (3) pare (4) asa-ker-e-do (5) kuni-no miya.bito ya
(6) taka.basi wasas-u
(1) sleeve touch-ATTR RESTRICT EMPH (2) shallow-EV-CONC (3) pare (4) shallow-EV-
CONC (5) land-GEN palace.person EMPH (6) tall.bridge cross-FIN (7) apare
Though it is shallow so that only the sleeves touch
*Pare!*
Court people! [They] **build** a tall bridge across it
(1.2)

(1) 袋利乎左美乎乃 (2) 見曾加介尔世

\(^{117}\) This song is not preserved in any manuscripts before the fourteenth century; none of these
indicate voicing and there are examples of mina in Classical prose texts (i.e *Taketori monogatari*) that do not indicate voicing either.
Final predication suffix -I

Final predication suffix -i is unique to the existential verb ar- and possibly strong vowel verbs, which have attested finals in -i in OJ (Vovin 2008: 598). The holds true for the occurances in Saibara where final -i follows r-irregular verbs, primarily ar- ‘exist,’ copula nar- < n-i ar- ‘DV-INF exist-,’ and suffixes and auxiliaries that have historical composition ending in ar-, i.e. retrospective -ker- < -ki + ar- ‘-PAST + exist-.’

Examples:

(1) 加良名川名波 (2) 与岐名々利 (3) 波礼
(1) kara naduna pa (2) yo-ki na nar-i (3) pare
(1) spicy shepard's purse flower TOP (2) good-ATTR be-FIN (3) pare
  spicy shepard’s purse flower are good greens
  Pare!
(1.12)
(1) 之名比平美礼波 (2) 伊末左加利名[利]也
(1) sinap-i -wo mi-re-ba (2) ima sakari nar-i ya
(1) sway.gently-NML-ACC see-EV-COND (2) now prime be-FIN EMPH
When I see the swaying [of the willow], [I see that it] is now at the height of its bloom
(1.15)

(1) 太介不乃已不爾 (2) 和礼波安[利]止 (3) 於也爾万字之太戸
(1) Takepu n-o kopu-ni (2) ware pa ar-i to (3) oya-ni mau s-i-tab-e
(1) Takepu DV-ATTR provincial office-LOC (2) I TOP exist-FIN DV (3) parent-DAT
say do-INF-HON-IMP
Tell [my] parents I am safe at the provincial capital Takepu
(1.25)

(1) 安左美止利 (2) 己以波奈太 (3) 曾女加介太[利]止毛 (4) 美留万手爾
(1) asa midori (2) ko-i panada (3) some-kake-tar-i tomo (4) mi-ru made-ni
(1) shallow green (2) deep-ATTR light indigo (3) dye(INF)-hang(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN DV EMPH
[It looks like] the dyed and hung pale green and deep indigo [cloth]
(2.24)

13.4.1.3. Attributive Suffix -U ~ -[U]Ru

The verbal attributive suffix has three alomorphs, -uru, -u, and -ru,. In EOJ, there is another allomorph, -oro ~ -o ~ -ö (Kupchik 2011: 689). -uru appears after vowel and n-irregular verbs, -u -ru attaches to strong-vowel-verbs, and -u after all consonant and r-irregular verbs. Vovin (2005: 613) identifies two kinds of attributive functions, (1) simple, and (2) extended. Simple is the adnominal function when the attributive modifies the following nominal, and extended is when the attributive is a predicate in an extended sentence that modifies the following nominal. The attributive is one of the most common verbal suffixes in the language. It is found throughout the collection. In Saibara, the attributive functions as an adnominal, nominalizer, and as a final predicate following kakari-musubi particles.

Examples:
奈可古奈須万天
na-ga ko nas-u made
you-POSS child birth-ATTR TERM
    Until you make a child
(1.18)

(1) 伊天々 由加波 (2) 也波安利久止左伊名女止 (3) 与川万左太女川也
(1) ide-te yuk-aba (2) ya pa arik-u to sainam-e-do (3) yo.duma sadame-t-u ya
(1) come out(INF)-SUB go-COND (2) QPT TOP walk-FIN DV criticize-EV-CONC (3)
night.spouse settle-PERF-ATTR
    If [the drake] comes out [from the water and] departs, do [people] [not] walk about and
criticize [it]? [Yes they do!] Even though [it] has not [even] settled on a night lover?
[yes, they do!]
(1.22)

(1) 支比乃名加也万 (2) 於比尔世留
(1) Kibi-no Nakayama (middle mountain) (2) obi n-i s-er-u
(1) Kibi-GEN Nakayama (middle mountain) (2) sash DV-INF do-PROG-ATTR
    Nakayama of Kibi looks like a waist wrap
(2.6)

(1) 於久也万爾 (2) 支々留也乎知 (3) 支也波介川留 (4) 末支也波介川留 (5) 支介川留乎知
(1) oku yama-ni (2) kir-u ya wodi (3) ki ya pa ked-uru (4) ma-ki ya pa ked-uru (5) ki
ked-uru wodi
(1) deep mountain-LOC (2) tree cut-ATTR EMPH old.man (3) tree EMPH TOP
cut.down-ATTR (4) INT-tree EMPH TOP cut.down-ATTR (5) tree cut.down-ATTR
old.man
    Old man, do [you] cut trees in the deep mountains?
Is it trees [you] clear?
Is it true trees [you] clear?
Old man [who] clears trees
(2.13)

(1) 美留万手爾 (2) 太万比可留 (3) 之太比可留 (4) 新京朱左可乃 (5) 之多利也奈支
(1) mi-ru made-ni (2) tama pikar-u (3) sita pikar-u (4) SINKYAU SUzaka-no (5) sidar-i
yanagi
(1) see-ATTR TERM-LOC (2) jewel shine-ATTR (3) down shine-ATTR (4)
new.capital vermillion.bird-GEN (5) hang down-NML willow
    As far as [I] can see [the hanging cloth appears as] the hanging willow of the
vermillion
    [gates] of the new capital, which shines [like a] jewel and shines down
(2.24)
13.4.1.3.1. Adnominalization

The adnominal function of the attributive is to modify the following noun phrase. This is one of the most common forms of the attributive. This is also sometimes viewed as distinct from the active final suffix -u. Russell (2006: 195) classifies non-adnominal attributive suffix -u/-uru and attributive in nominalizing function with the active suffix -u.

Diachronically, it may be possible to view the attributive as a final predicate (without an intervening kakari musubi particle) because the attributive was likely in a process of supplanting the final suffix -u/-uru (Kupchik 2011: 695, Russell 2006: 200). Evidence for this is found in the -o/-oro attributive suffix in EOJ and sometimes in WOJ forms.

Russell explains the attributive suffix -uru as a result of stative -ur- + -ö attributive and -ë evidential (Russell 2006: 198).

Examples:

(1) 万字天久 (3) 安寿保比曾 (4) 末字天久留
(1) tapu to kori so (2) maude-k-u so (3) yorobop-i so (4) maude- k-uru (5) maude- k-uru
(1) tapu(?) DV fed.up / full FOC (2) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB-come- ATTR EMPH (3) stagger-INF FOC (4) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB-come- ATTR

I have drunk to capacity!
[And I] am on my way!
Staggering, [I] am on my way!
[I] am on my way
[I] am on my way
(2.28)

My beloved spouse who leaves [me] going to a far place will certainly not return tomorrow
(2.4)
(1) mume-ga [y]e-ni (2) k-i-wi-ru ugupisu ya
(1) plum-POSS branch-LOC (2) come-INF-perch-bush warbler EMPH
Bush warbler who comes and sits upon the plum branch!
(2.3)

(1) 安andard (2) 之乃々乎不々支
(1) ap-u miti-no (2) Sino-no wo-pupuki
(1) meet-ATTR road-GEN (2) Sino (dwarf bamboo)-GEN DIM-butterbur
The little butterbur at the road where we meet
(1.20)

(1) 尔波尔於不流 (2) 加良名川
(1) nipa n-i op-uru (2) kara naduna
(1) garden DV-INF grow-ATTR (2) spicy shepard's purse flower
The spicy greens grow in the garden
(1.12)

(1) 乎乃戸尔太天流 (2) 之良多末
(1) wo-no [u]pe-ni tat-er-u (2) sira tama
(1) peak-GEN top-LOC stand-PROG-ATTR (2) white jewel
The white jewel that stands [upon the slopes of the rocky hill of Takasago]
(1.3)

(1) 可多久名尔 (2) 毛乃以不乎美名加奈
(1) katakuna n-i (2) mono ip-u womina kana
(1) foolish / stubborn DV-INF (2) thing say-ATTR young woman EMPH
Are you the type of woman who says foolish things [and confesses her love in this way]?
(1.4)

(1) 也波良加尔 (2) 奴留与波名久天
(1) yaparaka n-i (2) n-uru yo pa na-ku-te
(1) softly DV-INF (2) sleep-ATTR night not-INF-SUB
I do not have a night of tender sleep
(1.5)

(1) 於也久留川末波 (2) 末之天留波之
(1) oya sak-uru tuma pa (2) masite [u]rupasi
(1) parent separate-ATTR spouse TOP (2) very adorable
[My] spouse who **separates** from [her] parents is more dear to me
(1.5)

(1) 支乃久爾乃 (2) 之良々乃波末
(1) Ki no kuni-no (2) sira-ra n-o pama
(1) Ki-GEN land-GEN (Kinokuni) (2) white-? DV-**ATTR** shore
   The **white** shores of the land of Ki
(2.18)

13.4.1.3.2.  **Attributive as nominalizer**

Attributive -u can function as a nominalizer, allowing deverbalized nouns to take case
suffixes. This rare function is attested twice in the collection.

Examples:

(1) 止与乃安加利尔 (2) 安不加太乃之左也
(1) toyo-no akar-i-ni (2) ap-u-ga tanosi-sa
(1) abundant-GEN become.bright-NML-LOC (2) meet-**ATTR-POSS** enjoy-NML
   Oh, the joy of meeting at this lavish banquet!
(2.30)

(1) 无可之与利 (3) 名乃不利古波 (4) 伊末乃与乃多女
(1) mukasi-yori (2) na-no pur-i-ko-n-u pa (3) ima-no yo-no tame
(1) past-ABL (2) name-GEN old-INF-come-NEG-**ATTR** TOP (3) now-GEN generation-GEN benefit
   From the past, [your] name, not **becoming stale**, is for the benefit of this world
(2.33)

(1) 太加也末爾 (2) 太可乎波名知安介 (3) 乎久乎那美 (4) 和可須留止支爾 (5) 安戸
   留世奈可毛也
(1) taka yama-ni (2) taka-wo panat-i-age (3) wog-u-wo na-mi (4) wa-ga s-**uru** toki-ni (5)
   ap-er-u sena kamo ya
(1) falcon (high) mountain-LOC (2) falcon-ACC separate-INF-rise(INF) (3) invite-
   **ATTR-ACC** no-GER (4) I-POSS do-**ATTR** when-LOC (5) meet-PROG-**ATTR** beloved
   QPT EMPH EMPH
   When I release (lit: do the releasing) [of my] falcon at Taka (falcon / high) mountain
   **without**
   summoning [him] to return], [when I do this], [I] wonder will it coe to pass that [I]
   will
   meet my beloved?
(2.15)
13.4.1.3.3. Kakari-musubi and attributive as final predicate

According to the kakari-musubi rule, if emphatic particles so / zo, ya, or namo appear anywhere before a final verb, final -u changes automatically to an allomorph of the attributive suffix.

Examples:

(1) 久 xu曾左可江 无 it也 (2) 和伊戸良曾 (3) 止美世 无也
(1) kuni zo saka[y]-em-u ya (7) wa ipe-ra zo (8) tomi se-m-u ya
(1) land  FOC  flourish-TENT-ATTR  EMPH (2) I home-PLUR  FOC (3) fortune do-
TENT-ATTR  FOC
   The land will flourish! Our houses will have  fortune!
(2.20)

(1) 和伊戸波 (2) 止波利俳 无 (3) 多礼太留乎 (4) 於保支美支万世
(1) wa ipe pa (2) tobari TYAU mo (3) tare-tar-无-wo (4) opokimi k-i-mas-e
(1) I home TOP (2) curtain.divider (standing) screen.divider  FOC (3) who hang-
PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC (4) great lord come-INF-HON-IMP
   There is a  screen divider  hanging in my home, [so] come in my lord
(2.22)

(1) 太不止已利 无 (2) 万字天久 无 (3) 与吕保比 无 (4) 末宇天久留
(1) tapu to kori so (2) maude- k-u so (3) yorobop-i so (4) maude- k-uru
(1) tapu(?) DV fed.up / full(NML)  FOC (2) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB come-ATTR  FOC (3)
stagger-INF  EMPH (4) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB come-STAT/ATTR
   I have drunk to  capacity!
   [I] am  on my way!
   [I] stagger, [I] am on my way!
(2.28)

In this example, line (2), the particle so did not trigger a change of the following predicate verb to attributive -uru. The simplest explanation is that the emphatic particle so here is in fact not an emphatic particle, and that it is part of the previous word kori or perhaps tokori. The first element in line (1) is not known with any certainty. Usuda (2000) interprets it as meaning ‘very’ or ‘much’ or a general intensifier of some kind. This is as possible as it is unlikely, since it is not attested anywhere else, even within the
collection. If this is the focus particle *so*, it would be the only instance where it does not trigger a change of the final predicate to *-uru*. Usuda (2000: 160) also explains line (3) as having a dropped negative prefix *na-* before the verb *yorobop* ‘to stumble.’ But this doesn’t seem necessary, since *so* is attested after the infinitive in OJ (Vovin 2005: 1187) and is followed by the verb *k-uru* ‘come-ATTR’ in its attributive form. I suggest that of the three possible occurrences of *so*, only line (3) can be confirmed with any certainty.

13.4.1.4. *Evidential -ure -e*

The evidential is found in three basic allomorphs, *-ure*, *-re*, and *-e*. The first is found after vowel verbs, k-irregular, s-irregular, and n-irregular verbs, the second after strong vowel verbs, i.e. *mi-* ‘to see’ *mi-re* ‘see-EV,’ and *-e* is found after consonant and r-irregular verbs, i.e. *puk-e* ‘blow-EV’ (2.18) and *ar-e* ‘exist-EV.’ The evidential had four allomorphs with the *otsu-rui*-ë that appeared after consonants verbs in OJ, but merged with *-e* in EMJ. There is also a putative EOJ distinct allomorph *ore*- (Kupchik 2011: 699).

The evidential apparently functions as a kind of exclamatory. It is in fact identified as an exclamatory by Frellesvig (2010: 100). In Japanese grammar this form is called the *izenkei* 已然形 ‘realis’ stem. The evidential can appear in sentence final position, usually triggered by a *kakari musubi* particle. In the *Saibara* collection, the evidential appears before the concessive *-domo* and conjunction *-ba*. One occurrence in the text (1.17 below) occurs when the evidential is not preceeded by the focus particle *koso*. It appears in sentence final position as an apparent exclamatory. This is notable because by the Middle Japanese period, the evidential is not seen without a triggering *kakari musibi* particle (Vovin 2008, Yamada 1957).

Examples:
(1) kaze si mo puk-e-ba (2) nagori si mo tat-er-e-ba (3) mina.soko kir-i-te
wind EMPH FOC blow-EV-CONJ (2) wave ripples EMPH FOC rise-PROG-EV-
CONJ (3) deep.waters fog-INF-SUB

When the wind **blows**, it makes ripples **rise** and then the bottom of the sea
becomes foggy

(2.18)

(1) pasir-i wi-no (2) ko-kaya kar-i wosame-kake (3) sore n-i koso (4) mayu tukur-ase-te
(5) ito pik-i nas-am-e
run-NML well-GEN that DV-INF FOC (2) DIM-Japanese pompass grass cut-INF
to.bunch (INF) hang(INF) (3) that DV-INF FOC (4) cocoon make-CAUS(INF)-SUB (5)
thread pull [spin]-NML do-TENT-EV

[We] will cut and bunch and hang the pompass grasses at the running well, then [we]
will
have [silkworms] make cocoons and [we will] **make (lit: pull)** thread from [those]
silk
cocoons.

(1.8)

(1) awo yagi-ga (2) sinap-i-wo mi-re-ba (3) ima sak-ar-i n-ar-i ya
(1) willow.tree-POSS (2) sway.gently-NML-ACC see-EV-CONJ (3) now blossom-
PROG-INF DV(INF)-be-FIN EMPH

When I **see** the gently bending willow, [I see that] it is now blooming!

(1.15)

In this example, the evidential is occurring without a triggering focus particle or
proceeding suffix that affixes to the evidential stem.
Thus [as it was]!
Will [I] serve? [No I will not!]
For ten thousand generations [will I serve?]

(1) 偈止己曾 (2) 安須止毛以波女
(1) koto-wo koso (2) asu to mo ip-am-e
(1) words-ACC FOC (2) morning CONJ say-TENT-EV

Though your words may say that [you will return] tomorrow…

(2) 世支乃安良可支也 (2) 末毛礼止毛
(1) seki-no aragaki ya (2) mamor-e-domo
(1) border-GEN rough.fence (2) protect-EV-CONE

The rough fence at the border!
Though [I] protect it…

(2) 安乎乃末波奈礼波 (2) 止利川奈介
(1) awo n-o ma panar-e-ba (2) tor-i tunag-e
(1) dark DV-ATTR horse separate-EV-CONJ (2) take-INF tie-IMP

If the dark horse separates from [you] get it and tie it up!

(2) 左可利天欄太礼止毛 (2) 万呂比介利
(1) sakar-i-te ne-tar-e-domo (2) marob-i-ap-i-ker-i
(1) separate-INF-SUB sleep(INF)-PERF/PROG-EV-CONE (2) roll-INF-meet-INF-RETR-FIN

Though [we] were sleeping separate, [we] rolled together

(2) 由介止毛津支須 (11) 爾之乃久良加支也 (11) 爾之能久良加支
(1) yuk-e-domo tuki-z-u (2) nisi-no kura-gaki ya
(1) go-EV-CONE become exhausted-NEG-FIN (2) west-GEN storehouse.fence EMPH

Though [I] go, [I] cannot get exhausted [of going there]

Oh storehouse fence of the west!

13.4.1.5. Imperative -e

Imperative suffix -e has two allomorphs, -e after consonant verbs and -yo after vowel and vowel irregular verbs. There is a diachronic distinction here because OJ has the imperative suffix allomorphs -e ~ -ê ~ ~ ò and
Vovin (2005: 656) treats WOJ root imperative as having a zero imperative marker. However, that they originally were derived from infinitive -i plus imperative -a, thus i + a > ê. In MJ, more uniformity as to the imperative form developed and as a result, -yo is found consistently after vowel and vowel irregular verbs.

The imperative suffix appears several times in Saibara. The majority of examples are with consonant verbs, however, we have one appearance of the “zero” imperative plus -yo root (1.4) and one disputable example of verbal root imperative (1.25).

Examples:

(1) 伊天安加己末 (2) 波也久由支己世
(1) ide a-ga koma (2) paya-ku yuk-i-kos-
Set out IMP I-POSS stallion (2) quick-INF go-INF-across-IMP
Go quickly across!
(1.1)

万之女波名礼与
masi me panare-yo
you wife separate-IMP
You, separate from your spouse!
(1.4)

(1) 久川加波々 (2) 千加伊乃保曾之支乎可
(1) kutu kap-aba (2) sengai-no poso siki-wo kap-
If you buy shoes, buy the thin and shallow sengai!
(1.5)

於之比良伊天支末世
os-i pira[k]-i-te ki-mas-
push-INF open-INF-SUB come-HON-IMP
Push the door open and come in!
(1.6)

(1) 安也女乃己保利乃 (2) 大頜乃 (3) 末名牟春女止以 (4) 於止牟春女止以
(1) Ayame-no kopori-no (2) TAI-RA-YAU-no (3) mana musume to ip-
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(1) Ayame-GEN county-GEN (2) chied-GEN (3) lovely (Mana) daughter DV say-IMP
(4) youngest daughter
Call [me] the lovely daughter the chief of the county of Ayame!
Call [me] the youngest daughter
Call [me] the youngest daughter
(1.13)

(1) 見知乃久知 (2) 太介不乃己不爾 (3) 和礼波安利止 (4) 於也爾万宇之太戸
(1) miti-no kuti (2) Takepu-no kopu-ni (3) ware pa ar-i to (4) oya-ni maus-i-tape
(1) road-GEN mouth (2) Takepu-GEN provincial office-LOC (3) I TOP exist-FIN DV (4)
parent-DAT say-INF-HON(IMP)
Tell [my] parents that I am safe at the provincial capital Takepu, at the mouth of the
road!
(1.25)

(1) 法師二末字左卒 (2) 師二末字勢 (3) 法師二末字佐卒 (4) 師尔末字勢
(1) PAUSI-ni maus-am-u (2) SI-ni maus-e (3) PAUSI-ni maus-am-u (4) SI-ni maus-e
(1) monk-DAT say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (2) monk-DAT say(HUM)-IMP (3) monk-DAT-
LOC say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (4) monk-DAT say-IMP
[You] should tell the monks
Tell the monks!
[You] should tell the monks
Tell the monks!
(1.25)

(1) 左久良比止 (2) 曾乃不祢知々女
(1) sakura.bito (2) sono pune tidim-e
(1) Sakura (lit: cherry blossom)-person (2) that boat stop-IMP
Person of Sakura, stop your boat!
(2.4)

(1) 波名曾乃尔 (2) 和礼乎波波名天也
(1) panazono-ni (2) ware-woba panat-e ya
(1) flower garden-LOC (2) I-ACC/EMPH release-IMP EMPH
Let [me] go at the flower garden!
(2.8)

(1) 於保支美支万世 (2) 无己爾世无
(1) opokimi k-i-mas-e (2) muko n-i se-m-u
(1) prince (lit: great lord) come-INF-HON-IMP (2) groom DV-INF do-TENT-FIN
Come in [my] lord!
I will make you [my] groom
(2.22)

川女川女安己女
tum-e tum-e akome

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gather-IMP gather-IMP maiden
Gather [them]!
Gather [them] maiden!
(2.29)

美万久左止利加戸
mi-ma kusa tor-i-kap-e
HON-horse grass feed take-INF-feed-IMP
Take the horse feed!
(2.34)

(1) 川久之川万天丹 (2) 以末須己之乃保礼
(1) Tukusi tu made-ni (2) ima sukosi nobor-e
(1) Tukusi bay TERM-LOC (2) now be small climb-IMP

[Row them] up to (lit: climb to) Tukusi!
Now [row] [and climb] up a little [more] to Tukusi bay!
(2.36)

13.4.1.6. Subjunctive -[a]masi

There is a single example of the subjunctive suffix -[a]masi. [a]masi appears in both Old and Middle Japanese, however the expressions in which it appears in MJ are somewhat distinct from those that appear in OJ. In OJ, the construction (a)masika-ba ... (a)masi and (a)masi ... (a)masi. None of these appears in the collection, but not much can be asserted on the basis of one example. Only that it is likely to be in productive use as a subjunctive that can appear in sentence-final position.

Example:

(1) 介左々伊太留 (2) 波川波名尔 (3) 安波万之毛乃乎
(1) kesa sa[k]-i-tar-u (2) patu pana-ni (3) ap-amasi monowo
(1) morning bloom-INF-PERF/PROG (2) first flower-DAT (3) meet-SUBJ CONJ
I would have met the lily which bloomed this morning
(1.3)
13.4.1.7. Suppositional -[ur]asi

Suppositional -[ur]asi appears twice. The suppositional is a relatively high frequency form in both OJ and MJ texts. -[ur]asi can also be found with the adjectival attributive suffix in WOJ (Vovin 2008: 679). In the collection, -urasi is found twice, once in sentence-final position and once followed by emphatic particle ya.

Examples:

(1) Ӊ೾ଠສར (2) ware-w (3) ware-w kop-[urasi]
(1) old woman exist-FIN (2) I-ACC (3) I-ACC long for-[SUP]
There is an old woman that seems to long for me
(2.28)

with之己左留良之也
yosi kos[o] ar-[urasi] ya
purpose FOC be-[SUP] EMPH
It seems [he] has a reason!
(1.17)

13.4.2. Sentence non-final verbal suffixes

These are non-final predicates that cannot end a verb or sentence. Infinitives, gerunds, and nominalizers fall into this category.

13.4.2.1. Infinitive -i

The infinitive serves to (1) link verbs and auxiliaries in verbal compounds, (2) as a non-final predicate, and (3) as an adverbial modifier. The infinitive is thus found before auxiliary suffixes. It is homophonous with the nominalizing suffix -i. Martin (1987: 211) notes, the infinitive was marked by a pitch change in eleventh-century Kyōto Japanese, as indicated in the Myōgishō. Martin furthermore does not make a formal taxonomical
distinction between the infinitive and -i nominalizer, calling them “infinitive-derived nouns” (ibid: 212).

There is one special infinitive in -u, which is the result of vowel lenition and nasal assimilation of the preceding /m/.

Examples:

止利波名支奴
tori pa nak-i-n-u
bird TOP cry-INF-PERF-FIN
The bird has **cried**
(1.17)

之加毛乃乎於之波之
si-ga mono-wo os-i-pas-i
he-POSS thing-ACC push-INF-spread-INF
He **thrusts** his thing
(1.18)

(1) 太介久乃曾宇乃 (2) 安之太尔止利 (3) 与字左利止利 (4) 止利之加波 (5) 左之久之毛奈之也
(1)Takeku-no zou-no (2) asita-ni tor-i (3) you sari tor-i (4) tor-i-sika-ba (5) sas-i.gusi mona-si ya
(1) Takeku-GEN inspector-GEN (2) morning-LOC take-INF (3) evening leave-INF take-INF (4) take-INF-PAST/EV-CONJ (5) stick-NML.comb FOC no-FIN EMPH
The inspector of Takeku **took** [my comb] in the morning
[He] left and **took** [one] in the evening
Because [he] took them, I have no more decorative combs
(1.18)

(1) 己毛知 (2) 万知也世奴良牟
(1) ko mot-i (2) mat-i vase-n-uram-u
(1) child have-NML (2) wait-INF become.thin(INF)-PERF-TENT2-ATTR
[You] seem to have **grown thin waiting** to have [hold] a child
(1.20)

伊加尔世牟
ika n-i-se-m-u
what DV-INF do-TENT-FIN
**What** shall I do?
(1.22)
What shall [I] do, shall [I] do?
If [the drake] comes out [from the water and] departs, do [people] [not] walk about
and criticize [it]? [Yes they do!] Even though [it] has not [even] settled on a night lover?
[yes,
they do!]
(1.22)

You will give me a baby falcon and [it] perches on my hand and [hunts]
(1.24)

Tell my parents!
(1.25)

The past may have been thus as well
(2.1)

[We] will thus serve!
We will hang [the garment] on the garment hanger of thin and kneaded cords.

(1.3)

We will cut, bunch and hang the pompass grasses at the running well and [we] will [also] have silkworms] make cocoons and [we will] spin thread from [those] silk cocoons.

(1.8)

I wet [my] outer skirt hem

(1.13)

I pick morning greens
I pick evening greens
I pick morning greens
I pick morning greens
I pick evening greens

(1.13)

The game board that the cut-through metal is put into

(1.14)
(1) mimoto-no katati (2) seusoko s-ŋ (3) toburap-ŋ-i kur-ŋ ya
(1) physical-GEN shape/beauty (2) receive news do-INF (3) ask-INF-PERF-INF come-FIN EMPH
   Send me news of her appearance
   (1.15)

(1) コ太知加波良乎 (2) 之女波也
(1) Katati-ga para-wo (2) sime payas-i
(1) Katati-POSS field-ACC (2) fill(INF) cultivate-INF
   Completely fill and cultivate [the field of Katati]
   (2.11)

(1) 安乎乃未波奈礼波 (2) 止利川奈介
(1) Awo n-o ma panar-e-ba (2) tor-i tunag-e
(1) dark (lit: blue) DV-ATTR horse separate-EV-CONJ (2) take-INF tie-IMP
   If [your] dark separates from you, get it and tie it up!
   (2.23)

(1) 太不止己利曾 (2) 万宇天久留 (3) 与吕保比曾
(1) tapu tokori so (2) mau-de k-u zo (3) yorobop-i so
(1) tapu(? fed.up EMPH (2) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB come-ATTR EMPH (3) stagger-INF SUFF
   Completely [drunk] I come staggering
   (2.28)

加与利安比介利
ka-yor-i-ap-i-ker-i
PREF-attract-INF-meet-INF-RETR-FIN
   [We] drifted to [each other]
   (2.32)

13.4.2.2. Gerunds

Four gerunds can be found in Saibara, the conditional, conjunctive, concessive, and
subordinative gerund. All the gerunds in Saibara are non-final suffixes. The
subordinative gerund -te, and coordinative gerund -tutu follow the infinitive -i.
13.4.2.2.1. Conditional Gerund -[a]ba

This gerund is found three times in the collection after consonant verbs in the allomorph -aba. There is another unattested allomorph with vowel verbs, -ba. The conditional gerund is traditionally understood to indicate irrealis, however it has been shown to also introduce irrealis and temporal connection, especially in Old Japanese (Vovin 2003 252; Vovin 2005: 727). Songs 1.22 and the second occurrence of -ba in 1.5 below could be viewed as realis with temporal connection.

(1) oya sak-uru tuma pa (2) masite [u]rupasi (3) sikas[i] ar-aba (4) Yapagi-no iti-ni (5) kutu kap-i-ni [i]k-am-u (6) kutu kap-aba (7) sengai-no poso siki-wo kap-e (1) parent separate-ATTR spouse TOP (2) very adorable (3) to be such exist-COND (4) yapagi-GEN market-LOC (5) shoes buy-INF-LOC go-TENT-FIN (6) shoes buy-COND (7) sengai [sandals]-GEN thin style-ACC buy-IMP

[My] spouse whose parents keep us apart is [even] dearer to me

If this is so, then you will go to Yapagi market to buy [me some] shoes

And if you buy [me] shoes, get the thin and shallow sengai

(1.5)

(1) kasugapi mo (2) tozasi mo ar-a ba koso (3) sono tono.do (4) ware sas-am-e (1) metallic latch FOC (2) lock FOC be-COND FOC (3) that palace.door (4) I close-TENT-EV

If there was a metal latch and lock, I would lock it

(1.7)

If you desire to know my name, call [me] the lovely daughter of the chief of the county of Ayame
If (when) the dark horse separates from [you] get it and tie it up!

If (when) the dark horse separates from [you] get it and tie it up!

13.4.2.2.2. *Conjunctive Gerund -ba*

Yamada (1954: 480) explains the function of conjunctive -*ba* simply realis, reason, and cause-effect relationship. Vovin (2009: 507) defines it as realis or temporal condition. This gerund indicates realis and temporal connection / cause-and-effect relationship in *Saibara*. There are only three examples, one which is realis and two that indicate cause-effect temporal relationship. It is always preceeded by the evidential form of verbs.

Examples:

**Realis:**

(1) awo n-o ma panar-e-*ba* (2) tor-i-tunag-e (3) sa-wo-no ma panar-e-*ba* (4) tor-i-tunag-e

If (when) the dark horse *separates* from [you] get it and tie it up!

If (when) the dark horse *separates* from [you] get it and tie it up!

**Temporal connection:**

(1) awo yagi-*ga* (2) sinap-i-wo mi-re-*ba* (3) ima sak-ar-i n-ar-i ya

When I see the gently bending willow, [I see that] they are now blooming

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118 *Tenji-bon* is missing *o* from the word *oya* ‘parent’ but because it is maintained all the other manuscripts, I am following the majority with *oya*. 
(1) kaze si mo puk-e-**ba** (2) nagori si mo tat-er-e-**ba** (3) mina.zoko kir-i-te (4) pare (5) sono tama mi[y]e-z-u
(1) wind down blow-EV-**CONJ** (2) wave ripples EMPH FOC rise-PROG-EV-**CONJ** (3) deep.waters fog-INF-SUB (4) pare (5) that jewel can see(INF)-NEG-FIN

When the wind blows, it makes ripples rise and [when that happens], the bottom of the sea becomes foggy and [I] cannot see that jewel.

(2.18)

13.4.2.2.3. Concessive Gerund -Domo

The concessive gerund indicates concession and can usually be translated into English as ‘although’ or ‘though.’

Examples:

(1) sakar-i-te ne-tar-e-**domo** (2) marob-i-ap-i-ker-i
(1) separate-INF-SUB sleep(INF)-PERF/PROG-EV-**CONC** (2) roll-INF-meet-INF-RETR-FIN

**Though [we] were sleeping** separate, [we] rolled together

(2.32)

(1) k-i-wi-ru ugupisu (2) paru kake-te (3) pare (4) paru kake-te (5) nak-e-**domo** (6) yuki pa pur-i-tutu
(1) come-perch-ATTR bush warbler (2) spring come(INF)-SUB (3) pare (4) spring come(INF)-SUB (5) call-EV-**CONC** (6) snow TOP fall-INF-COOR

Bush warbler, who comes and sits upon the plum branch
[You] call [for] spring

**Pare! Though [you] call [ushering in]** spring, the snow continues to fall

(2.3)
13.4.2.3. Nominalizers

Old Japanese has four verbal nominalizers, -i, -u, -aku, and -usa. Of these, only -i and -aku are found in the Saibara collection, albeit with a high number of occurrences of nominalizer -i.

13.4.2.3.1. Nominalizer -i

-i is one of only two nominalizers found in Saibara. This is in contrast to the five verbal nominalizers in Old and Middle Japanese (-ge).

-i undergoes the same morphophonological process as the infinitive where -i is suppressed after /e/ in vowel stems, i.e. wakare-Ø ‘separating.’

Examples:

(1) 太万比可留 (2) 之比可留 (3) 新京朱左可乃 (4) 之多利也奈支
(1) tama pikar-u (2) sita pikar-u (3) SIN.KYAU suzaka-no (4) sider-i yanagi
(1) jewel shine-ATTR (2) down shine-ATTR (3) new.capital vermilion.bird-GEN (4) hang down-NML willow
   (4) The hanging of the willow (3) of the vermilion bird [gate] [of the] new capital
(1) that
   shines down [and] shines [like a] jewel
(2.24)

(1) 安川末也乃 (2) 末也乃安万利乃 (3) 曾乃安万曾々支 (4) 和礼多知奴礼奴
(1) Aduma.ya-no (2) ma-ya-no amari n-o (3) sono ama.sosok-i (4) ware tat-i nure-n-u
(1) eastern (Adumaya).pavillion (roof)-GEN (2) INT-roof -GEN excess DV-ATTR (3) that rain.pour-NML (4) I stand-INF become.wet-PERF-FIN
   Standing here, I have become wet from those rain drops that are excessive on the [true] roof of the (Aduma) eastern pavilion
(1.7)

119 Ma-ya is interpreted by Usuda (2000) and Konishi (1957) as roof thatching that hangs down on the side (amari), which is in the style of an eastern pavilion of the time. These eaves would collect rain, which would pour from either side (Usuda 2000: 128), thus ama.sosok-i ‘rain.pour-NML.’ However, Kimura (2006: 49) views maya as a stable [u]ma ya ‘horse dwelling.’ I interpret this as the roof or ‘true roof’ of an eastern (Aduma) pavilion.
I have no [more] decorative (lit: sticking in) combs
(1.19)

[You] seem to be growing thin waiting to have (lit: hold) a child
(1.20)

You] seem to be growing thin waiting to have (lit: hold) a child
(1.20)

The beginning of the new year will be this way (lit: thus)!
(2.2)

I had [my] sash taken by a Korean and [I feel] it terribly regrettable.

(1) 止与乃安加利尔 (2) 安加太乃之左也
(1) toyo-no akar-i-ni (2) ap-u-ga tanosi-sa
(1) abundant-GEN become.bright-NML-LOC (2) meet-ATTR-POSS enjoy-NML
Oh, the joy of meeting at this lavish banquet!
(2.30)

(1) 安須加為爾 (2) 也止利波春戸之也
(1) Asuka.wi-ni (2) yador-i pa s-ube-si ya
(1) Asuka.well-LOC (2) temporary dwelling-NML TOP do-DEB-FIN EMPH
[We] should stay at the Asuka well
(1.9)

### 13.4.2.3.2. Nominalizer -aku

The nominalizing suffix -aku is thought to have become a fossilized form in the Middle Japanese period before going into disuse. Saibara has only one occurrence, suggesting an unproductive suffix at the point it was written. Then again, not much can be gathered from a single verb form. Nevertheless, the most common verb it was used with in the Heian period seems to have been ip- ‘to say’ and mi- ‘to see.’ -aku nominalizes the entire clause in contrast to -i which nominalizes the verb only (Vovin 2008: 764).

(1) 和可奈乎 (2) 之良万久保之加良波
(1) wa-ga na-wo (2) sir-am-aku posi-k-ar-abu
(1) I-POSS name-ACC (2) know-TENT-NML want-INF-exist-COND
If [you] desire to know my name
(1.11)

### 13.4.3. Word non-final verbal suffixes

These suffixes cannot end a word or sentence and always take on a suffix. Non-final suffixes negative -[a]n- ~ [a]z-, tenatative -am-, stative/tentative -uram-, passive -are-, and debitive -[u]be- can be found in the text. In addition to these, the iterative -ap-, passive -aye-, honorific -as-, causative -asime- and causative -ase- can be found in the corpus of OJ. MJ saw the additions, optative -amafosi- and its negative form -[a]mau-.
13.4.3.1. Negative -[A]N- ~ -[A]Z-

There are four allomorphs of the negative verbal suffix attestd in Old and Middle Japanese, -[a]n- and -[a]z-. Outside of the special negative-tentative -[a]zi, the allomorph -[a]z- is always found preceding the -u in final, nominalizer, or special infinitive -u (Vovin 2005: 685). It likely goes back to a nominalized negative plus verb se- ‘to do,’ i.e. [a]n-i + se-.

The negative suffix in -[a]n- and -[a]z- is found a total of five times in the text.

Examples:

(1) ame tuti-no (2) kami mo kami mo (3) sou s-i-tab-e (4) ware pa mau yokos-i maus-az-u

(1) heaven earth-GEN (2) deity FOC deity FOC (3) evidence do-INF-HUM-IMP (4) I TOP speak slander-NML speak-NEG-ATTR

Deities of the heavens, grant me evidence [of this]! I do not (lit: speak) slander [you]

(1) wa-ga yuk-aba (2) pidi kasa n-o (3) pidi kasa n-o (4) ame ya pur-an-am-u

(1) I-POSS go-COND (2) elbow umbrella DV-ATTR (3) elbow umbrella DV-ATTR (4) rain EMPH EMPH fall-NEG-TENT-FIN

If I go, perhaps the rain, [which falls] on [my] elbow, will not fall [2.25]

(1) ap-u miti-no (2) Sinono (dwarf bamboo)-no wo-pupuki (3) paya pik-az-u

(1) meet-ATTR road (2) dwarf bamboo-GEN DIM-butterbur (3) fast pull-NEG-FIN

Without quickly pulling [out] the dear butterfly of Sinono (dwarf bamboo) on the road

where we meet

(1.20)

I cannot see that jewel [2.18]
From the past, from ancient times, [your] name, **having not becoming stale**, is for the benefit of this generation (2.33)

13.4.3.2. **Tentative**

The two allomorphs, *-am-* and *-m-* follow consonant and vowel verbs respectively. Tentitive *-[a]m-* can indicate intention, suggestion, and supposition, but it fits well with the definition of general tentative assigned by Martin (1988: 605) in the text. The usage of *-[a]m-* in OJ and EMJ is probably the same, but in Classical Japanese texts it is general viewed as describing future action or state, assumption, and even “abstract action” (Komai 1979: 91; Tokieda 1954: 170). The general Classical Japanese perspective on *-[a]m-* is to subdivide it into (1) first person: intention ‘probably,’ hortative ‘let’s,’ (2) hearer: tentative imperative, suggestion, and (3) third person: presumption, conjectural (Vovin 2008: 795; Wixted 2006: 132).

Tentative combined with all suffixes and bound auxiliaries besides retrospective *-ker-*, and other mood markers in OJ (Vovin 2008: 794). However, in *Saibara*, although it is used with relative frequency, *-[a]m-* only ever occurs with preceding verb roots and following final, attributive, and evidential forms. This is a very limited range, even considering the size of the text. It follows the overall compositional nature of the text, however, which generally uses limited and simple morphological forms.
Examples:

**Intention:**

見天可戦日也
mi-te kaper-i-ko-m-u ya
look-SUB return-INF come-TENT-ATTR EMPH

[I] will **look** at [them] and return home
(2.4)

(1) 己止乎已曾 (2) 安須止毛以波女
(1) koto-wo koso (2) asu to mo ip-am-e
(1) words-ACC FOC (2) morning CONJ say-TENT-EV

Though [your] words **may say** “tomorrow”
(2.4)

無己爾世
muko n-i se-m-u
groom DV-INF do-TENT-FIN

[I] **will make** you my groom
(2.22)

(1) 也波支乃伊知尔 (2) 久川加比爾加傀 (3) 久川加波々 (4) 千加伊乃保曾之支乎可戦 (5) 左之波支天 (6) 宇波毛止利斜天 (7) 美也知加与波傀
(1) Yapagi-GEN market-LOC (2) shoes buy-NML-LOC go-TENT-FIN (3) shoes buy-COND (4) sengai [sandals] DV-ATTR thin style-ACC buy-IMP (5) stick in-INF-put on-INF-SUB (6) above.skirt take-INF wear(INF)-SUB (7) palace.road come and go-TENT-FIN

[I] **will go** to Yapagi market to buy some shoes
If you buy shoes, get the thin and shallow sengai
[I] will put them on and put on [my] skirt and **come courting** by Miya road.
(1.5)

(1) 名乃利曾也川末牟 (2) 加比也比吕波牟也 (3) 多末也比吕波牟也
(1) nanoriso ya tum-am-u (2) kapi ya pirop-am-u (6) tama ya pirop-am-u ya
(1) hondawara seaweed PT pick-TENT-FIN (2) shells PT pick up-TENT-FIN (6) pearls PT pick up-TENT-FIN EMPH

[I] **will gather** hondawara seaweed!
[I] **will pick up** shells!
[I] **will pick up** pearls
(1.11)

(1) 太加乃己波 (2) 末呂尔多波良
(1) taka-no ko pa (2) maro-ni tabar-am-u
(1) falcon-GEN child TOP (2) I-LOC receive(HUM)-TENT-FIN
[You] will *give* me a baby falcon

(1) 可久之己曾 (2) 川可戸末川良女也
(1) ka-ku si koso (2) tukape-matur-am-e ya
(1) thus-INF EMPH FOC (2) serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV QPT
[In this way] will [I] thus *serve*? [No, [I] will not!]

(2.2)

Supposition:

伊加尔世夑
ika n-i se-m-u
what DV-INF do-TENT-FIN
What will [I] do?

(2.7)

古々呂毛万以介夑
kokoro mo mata[g]-i-k-em-u
heart EMPH impatient-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
It seems [her] heart was *impatient*

(1.3)

(1) 可須可比毛 (2) 止左之毛安良波己曾 (3) 曾乃止乃止 (4) 和礼左々女 (5) 於之比良伊天支末世 (6) 和礼也比止川末
(1) kasugapi mo (2) tozasi mo ar-aba koso (3) sono tono.do (4) ware sas-am-e (5) os-ipira[k]-i-te ki-mas-e (6) ware ya pito.duma
(1) metallic latch FOC (2) lock FOC be-COND FOC (3) that palace.door (4) I close-TENT-EV (5) push-INF-open-INF-SUB come-HON-IMP (6) I EMPH person.spouse
If there was a metal latch and a lock, [we] would lock that door.
push open the door and come in!
[I] am another’s spouse!

(1.6)

(1) 伊尔之戸毛 (2) 可久也安利介也
(1) inisipe mo (2) ka-ku ya ar-i-ke-m-u ya
(1) past FOC (2) thus-INF QPT exist-INF-RETR-TENT-FIN QPT
The past was *probably* thus!

(2.1)

(1) 久爾曾左可江也 (2) 和伊戸良曾 (3) 止美世也
(1) kuni zo saka[y]-em-u ya (2) wa ipe-ra zo (3) tomi se-m-u ya
(1) land EMPH flourish-TENT-FIN EMPH (2) I home-PLUR EMPH (3) fortune do-
TENT-FIN EMPH
The land **will flourish**!  
Our houses **will have fortune**!  

(2.20)

(1) wa-ga yuk-aba (2) pidi kasa n-o (3) pidi kasa n-o (4) ame mo ya **pur-an-am-u**  
(1) I-POSS go-COND (2) elbow umbrella DV-ATTR (3) elbow umbrella DV-ATTR (4) rain EMPH EMPH fall-NEG-TENT-FIN  

If I go, perhaps the rain, [which falls] on [my] elbow, [on] my elbow, will not fall  

(2.25)

**Suggestion:**

(1) mayu tukur-ase-te (2) ito pik-i nas-am-e  
(1) cocoon make-CAUS(INF)-SUB (2) thread pull-INF make-TENT-EV  

[We] will have [a silkworm] **spin (lit: make)** a cocoon and pull thread [from it]  

(1.8)

(1) PAUSI-ni maus-am-u (2) SI-ni maus-e (3) PAUSI-ni maus-am-u (4) SI-ni maus-e  
(1) monk-DAT say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (2) monk-DAT say(HUM)-IMP (3) monk-DAT say(HUM)-TENT-FIN (4) monk-DAT say-IMP  

[You] **should tell** the monk  
Tell the monk!  
[You] **should tell** the monk  
Tell the monk!

**13.4.3.3. Tentative 2 -uram-**

-uram- is only found once in Saibara. It is probably distinct from tentative -am- in that it is a non-past suffix (Vovin 2005: 814). It is therefore posited that it only occurs with present or future actions. The example from the text does not violate this rule.

Example:

(1) mat-**uram**-u pito-wo (2) yuk-i-te paya  
(1) wait-TENT2-ATTR person-ACC (2) go-INF-SUB fast  

Go to the person who **waits** [for me] quickly  

(1.1)
13.4.3.4. Passive -are-

-are- can denote passive and spontaneous action. This suffix is found less frequently than the other passive suffixes -[a]ye- and -raye- in OJ texts, but does appear regularly in MJ texts. The appearance of this suffix in Saibara suggests that this was probably the suffix of choice. However, the absence of the other passive suffixes is more suggestive than the appearance of -are- once. On a compositional level, the lack of passive constructions is notable.

(1) 伊之加波乃 (2) 己末字止爾 (3) 於比乎止 良礼 天
(1) Isikapa-no (2) koma.udo-ni (3) obi-wo tor-are-te
(1) Isikapa-GEN (2) koma (Koryo),person-LOC (3) sash-ACC take-PASS(INF)-SUB
[My] sash was taken by a [person living in] Ishikapa [who is from] Koryo
(2.19)

13.4.3.5. Debitive -[u]be-

-ube- is found after consonant verbs and -be- after vowel verbs. It is likely to be a grammaticalization of the adjective ubē- ‘proper’ (Vovin 2008: 871). Consequently, it is found less and less frequently in the oldest texts. It is found just once in Saibara.

Example:

(1) 安須加為而 (2) 也止利波 奉戸之也
(1) asuka.wi-ni (2) yador-i pa s-ube-si ya
(1) PN.well-LOC (2) temporary dwelling-NML TOP do-DEB-FIN QPT
[We] should stay at the Asuka well
(1.9)

13.4.4. Progressive -er-

Progressive -er- probably represents a monophthongization of OJ infinitive -i and ar- ‘exist’ (Russell 2006: 173). Synchronously, however, it is a suffix which attaches directly to the verb stem or preceding suffix. -er- indicates the progressive aspect. -er- was
eventually replaced by the perfective/progressive in Late Middle Japanese, however, in
Old and Early Middle Japanese -er- was in used alongside -tar- with slightly a different
distribution. -er- does not follow vowel verbs in OJ, however it does follow potential -

In Saibara -er- functions as both progressive and perfective.

Examples:

**Progressive:**

(1) 太加左己乃 (2) 乎乃戸尔太天留 (3) 之良多末
(1) Takasago-no (2) wo-no [u]pe-ni tat-er-u (3) sira tama
(1) Takasago-GEN (2) peak-GEN top-LOC stand-PROG-ATTR (3) white jewel
   The white jewel that stands utop the peak of Takasago
   (1.3)

(1) 之末川多乎 (2) 止万知川久礼留
(1) Sakura.bito (2) sono pune tidim-e (3) sima ta-wo (4) to mati tukur-er-u
(1) cherry.blossom-person (2) that boat stop-IMP (3) island-GEN/LOC paddy-ACC (4)
ten blocks make-PROG-FIN
   Person of Sakura stop your boat!
   [They] have made ten blocks from island paddies
   (2.4)

This instance can be interpreted as either perfective or progressive usage. In the
progressive function line (4) would be interpreted as, ‘making ten blocks’

(1) 可世之毛不介波 (2) 名己利之毛太天礼波 (3) 美名曾己支利天
(1) kaze simo puk-e-ba (2) nagori si mo tat-er-e-ba (3) minazoko kir-i-te
(1) wind down blow-EV-CONJ (2) aftermath EMPH EMPH rise-PROG-EV-CONJ (3)
deep.waters fog-INF-SUB
   When the wind blows down, wave ripples rise
   [When wave ripples rise], the water clouds [and I cannot see that jewel]
   (2.18)

(1) 於保知尔(2)曾比天乃保礼留
(1) opopo\textsuperscript{120} di-ni (2) sop-i-te nobor-er-u
(1) big road (2) follow-INF climb-PROG-FIN

Following the main road up [a hill]

(1.15)

(1) 春无川留乃 (2) 知止世乎可瞑天曾 (3) 安曾比安戸留
(1) sum-u turu-no (2) ti tose-wo kane-te zo (3) asob-i-ap-er-u
(1) dwell-ATTR crane-GEN (2) thousand year-ACC anticipate(INF)-SUB EMPH (3) play-INF-meet-PROG-ATTR

Expecting to live a thousand years, the cranes who live [there] are playing [and frolicking]

together

(2.26)

Perfective:

(1) 止々呂介留 (2) 己乃以戸 (3) 己乃以戸乃 (4) 於止与女 (5) 於也尔末字与己之介良之毛
(1) todorok-er-u\textsuperscript{121} (2) kono ipe (3) kono ipe-no (4) otoyome (5) oya-ni mau yokos-i-ker-asi mo
(1) thunder-PROG-ATTR (2) this house (3) this house-GEN (4) younger brother’s wife
(5) parents-DAT speak slander-INF-RETR-SUP EMPH

It seems [my] sister in law of this house, this house, [who] has such a resounding [reputation] has spoken badly [about me] to [my] parents!

(2.5)

(1) 不知不々々 (2) 可多知 (3) 可太知加波良乎 (4) 之女波也之 (5) 以川支 (6) 以波比之々留久 (7) 止支爾安戸留可毛也
(1) Pudipuno-no (2) Katati (3) Katati-ga para-wo (4) sime payas-i (5) ituk-i (6) ipap-i s-i siru-ku (7) toki-ni ap-er-u kamo ya
(1) Pudipuno-GEN (2) Katati (3) katati-POSS field-ACC (4) fill(INF) cultivate-INF (5) purify-INF (6) pray-NML do-INF striking-INF (7) time-LOC meet-PROG-ATTR EMPH EMPH

Katati of Pudipuno
I will fill and cultivate the field of Katati
[I will] purify and pray and [the results of these practices] will be clear when [they] have

\textsuperscript{120} Although this song is not preserved in \textit{Tenji-bon}, all the early manuscripts (NKB, SGYR, NYR) have \textit{opopo} without exception. Most commenators interpret this as a vocalic extension of the final syllable \textit{po} (Usuda 2000; Kimura 2006, Ikeda 1975). This is probably the case, although it is unique because usually the \textit{scripta plena} appears in small script and \textit{only} indicating vowels / syllables consisting only of vowels and not CV pairs. I think this is an instance of recursion of the final syllable as a euphonic device.

\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Todorokeru} ‘to resound; thunder; roar’ is interpreted by Usuda and Konishi as a house of great name and reputation (Konishi 1957; Usuda 2000).
come to pass! (lit: when [they] have met [with these practices])
(2.11)

(1) wa-ga s-uru toki-ni (2) ap-er-u sena kamo ya
(1) I-POSS do-ATTR time-LOC (2) meet-PROG-ATTR beloved man EMPH QPT
When I do [this], it will come to pass that [I] will have met my beloved
(2.15)

(1) suzuka.gapa (2) yaso se-no taki-wo (3) mina.pito\textsuperscript{122} (4) med-uru mo siru-ku (5) toki-ni ap-er-u kamo
(1) Suzuka.river (2) eighty (many) rapids-GEN waterfall-ACC (3) all person-GEN (4) to.be.attracted.to-ATTR FOC clear-INF time-LOC meet-PROG-FIN EMPH
[The result of] everyone’s attraction to the many rapids of the waterfalls of Suzuka river will come to pass clear when [I] am [there]
(2.27)

13.4.5. Word-final Bound Auxiliaries

These include the subordinative gerund -\textit{te}, coordinative gerunds -\textit{tutu}, -\textit{nagara}, -\textit{katera}, and past marker -\textit{ki} ~ -\textit{si} ~ -\textit{sika}. Of these, subordinative gerund -\textit{te} and past tense marker -\textit{si} ~ -\textit{sika} are found in the text.

13.4.5.1. Subordinative Gerund -\textit{te}

Subordinative gerund -\textit{te} is affixes to the infinitive form of verbs and functions to subordinate the verb clause preceding it. While -\textit{te} can affix to infinitives -\textit{u} and -\textit{ku} in OJ and MJ, in Saibara it is never found in this position, so it remains an exclusive verbal gerund. -\textit{te} cannot take any suffixes.

Examples:

\textsuperscript{122} This song is not preserved in any manuscripts before the fourteenth century; none of these indicate voicing and there are examples of \textit{mina} in Classical prose texts (i.e Taketori monogatari) that do not indicate voicing either.
(1) 安乎也支乎 (2) 加太以止尔与利天也
(1) awo yagi-wō (2) kata itō n-i yor-i-te ya
(1) green willow-ACC (2) single thread DV-INF twist-INF-SUB EMPH
Twisting the green willow [vines] into a single thread!
(1.10)

(1) 於保世利波 (2) 久余乃沙多毛乃 (3) 己世利己曾 (4) 由天毛毛末之
(1) opo seri pa (2) kuni-no sata mono (3) ko-seri koso (4) yude-te mo muma-si
(1) big parsley (2) country-GEN restricted thing (3) DIM-parsley FOC (4) boil.in.water-INF-SUB FOC tasty-FIN
Big parsley is a prohibited thing in [the] land
Small parsley is [also] very good boiled
(1.14)

(1) 不利尔之和礼乎 (2) 太礼曾古乃 (3) 名加比止太天毛 (4) 美毛止乃加太知 (5) 世字曾已之
(1) pur-i-n-i-si ware-wō (2) tare soko-no (3) naka.pito tate-te (4) mimoto-no katati
(5) SEUSOKO s-i
(1) old-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR (2) who there-GEN (3) middle.person (mediator)
stand(INF)-SUB (4) you(HON)-GEN physical appearance (5) news do-INF
Who will be the matchmaker there for I, [who] has grown old?
Bring [me] word of [her] appearance, for [I] will come asking
(1.15)

(1) 支太里為天春礼
(1) k-i-tar-i wi-te s-ure
(1) come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF be(INF)-SUB do-EV
[He] was coming there and was [there] doing [it]
(1.18)

(1) 乎之乃可毛止利 (2) 伊天毛由加波
(1) wosi-no kamodori (2) ide-te yuk-aba
(1) [male] mandarin duck (2) come out(INF)-SUB go-COND
If [the drake] comes out [from the water] and departs...
(1.22)

(1) 太加乃己波 (2) 末吕尔多波良无 (3) 天尔须恵天 (4) 安波川乃波良乃 (5) 美久留须乃 (6) 女久里乃字津良加利世毛也
(1) taka-no ko pa (2) maro-ni tabar-am-u (3) te-ni suwe-te (4) Apadu-no para-no (5) mikurusu-no (6) meguri-no udura kar-as-em-u ya
(1) falcon-GEN child TOP (2) I-DAT receive(HON)-TENT-ATTR (3) hand-LOC perch(INF)-SUB (4) apadu-GEN field-GEN (5) HON-kurusu [chestnut grove]-GEN (6) circle-NML-GEN quail hunt-CAUS-TENT-FIN EMPH
[You] will give me a baby falcon and [it] will perch on my hand and [I] will have it
hunt quails around the grove of Apadu field!
(1.24)

(1) paru kake-**te** (3) nak-e-domo imada ya (4) yuki pa pur-i-tutu
(1) spring summon(INF)-**SUB** (2) cry-EV-CONC yet EMPH (3) snow TOP fall-INF-COOR

Though [the bush warbler] **cries** summoning spring
Snow continues to fall

(2.3)

(1) mi-**te** kaper-i-ko-m-u ya
(1) see(INF)-**SUB** return-INF-come-TENT-FIN EMPH

[I] will take a **look** at [them] and return home!

(2.4)

(1) ware-woba panat-e ya (2) mezasi tagupe-**te**
(1) I-ACC/EMPH let go-IMP EMPH (2) young girl include(INF)-**SUB**

Let me go!
And put me (lit: line me up) with the [young] girls

(2.8)

(1) nagori si mo tat-er-e-ba (2) mina.zoko kir-i-**te** (3) pare (4) sono tama mi[y]e-z-u
(1) wave ripples EMPH FOC rise-PROG-EV-CONJ (2) deep.waters fog-INF-**SUB** (3) pare (4) that jewel can see(INF)-NEG-FIN

When ripples rise, the bottom of the **sea fogs**
**Pare**
And [I] cannot see that jewel

(2.18)

(1) ma-sira tama siduk-u ya (2) ositoto (3) toositoto (4) sika s-i-**te** pa (5) kuni zo saka[y]-em-u ya
(1) INT-white jewel sink-FIN EMPH (2) ositoto (3) toositoto (4) that do-INF-**SUB** TOP
(5) land EMPH flourish-TENT-FIN EMPH

The pearl sinks to the bottom of the water in the enopa well!
**Ositoto**
**Toositoto**
When this **is done**, the land will flourish! Our houses will have fortune!

(2.20)
13.4.5.2. **Perfective -n-**

Bound auxiliary -n-, denotes completion of an action or indicates the eventual completion of that action. This is a consistent definition in both the traditional (Japanese) and structural linguistic analysis of the Classical language.

Kolpakchi’s constraint, as termed by Vovin (2003: 306), determines that animacy is the decisive distinction between perfectives -te- and -n-. It says essentially that -te- cannot occur with inanimate subjects and that -n- was used primarily for intransitive verbs. The below chart summarizes the distribution.

**Table 29: Distribution of animate/inanimate subjects with perfective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive verbs</th>
<th>Intransitive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate subject</td>
<td>-te-, -n-</td>
<td>-te-, *-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate subject</td>
<td>-n-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This constraint is not violated in the text.

*Saibara* has several occurrences of -in- which will be shown in total below. The majority of occurrences are with animate subjects and intransitive verbs. There is one example of an animate subject and transitive verb (1.15) and one with an inanimate subject and intransitive verb (2.7). In the text, -n- occurs only with intransitive verbs and -te- only occurs with transitive verbs, albeit with limited distribution. This may show that, while Kolpakchi’s constraint shows that -n- occurs predominantly with intransitive verbs, it appears that the converse is also the case in the language of *Saibara*.

**Animate subject and intransitive verb**

(1) 末也乃安万利 (2) 曾乃安万曾々支 (3) 和礼多知奴礼奴
(1) maya-no amari-no (2) sono ama.sosok-i (3) ware tat-i nure-n-u
(1) stable-GEN excess-GEN (2) that rain.fall-NML (3) I stand-INF become.wet(INF)-PERF-FIN

I am wet from those excess raindrops [falling through my] Maya hut
The example in line (6) is of an animate subject (ware) and transitive verb (toburap-).

止利波名支奴
tori pa nak-i-n-u
bird TOP cry-INF-PERF-FIN

The bird has cried!
(1.17)

(1) 己毛知 (5) 万知也世奴良牟
(1) ko mot-i (2) mat-i yase-n-uram-u
(1) child hold-NML (2) wait-INF become thin(INF)-PERF-TENT2-ATTR
[You] seem to have [been] thinned waiting to have (lit: hold) a child
(1.20)

(1) 世支乃安良可支也 (2) 末毛礼止毛 (3) 波礼 (4) 伊天々和礼禿奴也
(1) seki-no ara.gaki ya (2) mamor-e-domo (3) pare (4) ide-te ware ne-n-u ya
(1) border-GEN rough.fence (2) protect-EV-CONC (3) pare (4) come.out(INF)-SUB I sleep-PERF-FIN EMPH
The border fence! Although [I] protect it
Pare
[I] come out and sleep [with her]
(2.9)

Inanimate subject and intransitive verb

(1) 奈利也之名末之 (2) 宇利太川万天尔也
(1) nari yas-i-n-amasi (2) uri tat-u made-ni ya
(1) shape become thin-INF-PERF-SUBJ (2) melon rise-FIN RESTR-LOC EMPH
The shape would have become thin until the melon ripens (rises)
(2.7)
13.4.5.3. **Perfective -te-**

Perfective -te- occurs only twice in the text, which is considerably less than that of -ni-. -te- has four allomorphs, -te- and -t- depending on whether it occurs before a consonant initial and weak-vowel initial suffix or auxiliary (-te-), or -t- before strong vowel-initial suffixes. -te- only occurs with transitive verbs in the text.

**Animate subject and transitive verb**

於牟裳都无川
omu-SYAU tum-u-t-u
HON-skirt chew-INF-PERF-FIN

[The rats] are chewing [the priest’s robes]
(1.26)

**Animate subject and transitive verb**

(1)伊天々由加波 (2)於也波安利久止左伊名女止 (3) 与川万左太女川也
(1) ide-te yuk-aba (2) oya pa arik-u to sainam-e-do (3) yo.duma sadame-t-u ya
(1) come out(INF)-SUB go-COND (2) dwelling TOP walk-FIN DV criticize-FIN DV (3) night.spouse settle(INF)-**PERF**-FIN QPT

If [the drake] comes out [from the water and] departs, do [people] [not] walk about and criticize [it]? [Yes they do!] Even though [it] has not [even] settled on a night lover? [yes, they do!]
(1.22)

13.4.5.4. **Perfective/Progressive -tar-**

This is a relatively transparent construction from subordinative gerund -te plus existential verb ar- te+ar- > tar-. This auxiliary suffix gained momentum and eventually all but supplanted the progressive suffix -er- in Late Middle Japanese (LMJ). -tar- has two basic functions, perfective and progressive function. In the Heian period, there does not seem to be a functional difference between -tar- and progressive -er-. -er- is thought to be
confined mostly to narration in the Heian period, while -tar- enjoyed a more wide
distribution.

Examples:

**Perfective function**

(1) 介左々伊太留 (2) 波川波名尔 (3) 安波万之毛乃乎
(1) kesa sa[k]-i-tar-u (2) patu pana-ni (3) ap-amasi monowo
(1) morning bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR (2) first flower-LOC (3) meet-SUBJ
CONJ

Though I would have met the first flower which bloomed this morning

(1.3)

**Progressive function**

(1) 左可利天廵太礼止毛 (2) 万呂比安比介利
(1) sakar-i-te ne-tar-e-domo (2) marop-i-ap-i-ker-i
(1) separate-INF-SUB sleep-PROG-EV-CONC (2) roll-INF-meet-INF-RETR-FIN

Though we separated and slept [apart], we rolled to each other

(2.32)

(1) 美乃也万爾 (2) 之々爾於比多留 (3) 太万加之波
(1) Minoyama (Mino mountain)-ni (2) sizi n-i op-i-tar-u (3) tama-gasipa
(1) Minoyama-LOC (2) plentiful DV-INF grow-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR (3) jewel-kashiwa

The jewel-like (sacred) kashiwa grows plentifully at Minoyama

(2.30)

(1) 見也比止乃 (2) 左久留不久呂乎 (3) 於乃礼可介太利
(1) miya.bito-no (2) sag-uru pukuro-wo (3) onore kake-tar-i
(1) capital.person-GEN (2) carry-ATTR bag-ACC (3) you hang(INF)-PERF.PROG-FIN

[Shepard's purse flower] you carry (lit: hang) [a purse] [like] the purses of the people of the capital.

(1.11)

**13.4.5.5. Retrospective -ker-**

In the text, -ker- is followed by the tentative suffix -am- and suppositional -asi. However,
in OJ and MJ texts there are many examples where -ker- is followed by mode, mood, and
final predication markers. -ker- denotes either objective retrospective or sudden
realization of a fact, or, in OJ, it can also refer to events in the present and which will occur in the future (Vovin 2008: 978). In the text, there are examples of-ker- referring to events which happened in the past as well as those which are occurring in the present or contribute to a present state.

Examples:

(1) 伊尔之戸毛 (2) 可久也安利介无
(1) inisipe mo (2) ka-ku ya ar-i-ke-m-u ya
(1) past FOC (2) thus-INF EMPH exist-INF-RETR-TENT-FIN QPT
The past was probably thus
(2.1)

(1) 己乃以戸乃 (2) 於守与女 (3) 於也已末字与己之介良之毛
(1) kono ipe-no (2) otoyome (3) oya-ni mau yokos-i-ker-asi mo
(1) this house (2) younger brother’s wife (3) parents-DAT speak slander-INF-RETR-SUP EMPH
The younger brother from this house [is the one] who slandered [me] [by] telling [my] parents
(2.5)

(1) 左可利手頼太礼止毛 (2) 万呂比安比介利 (3) 止宇止宇 (4) 加与利安比介利
(1) sakar-i-te ne-tar-e-domo (2) marob-i-ap-i-ker-i (3) toutou (4) ka-yor-i-ap-i-ker-i
(1) separate-INF-SUB sleep-PROG-EV-CONC (2) roll-INF-COOP-INF-RETR-FON (3)
toutou (4) INT-approach-INF-COOP-INF-RETR-FIN
Though [we] separated and slept
We rolled together
Toutou
[We] drifted to each other
(2.32)

(1) 介不乃太不守左也 (2) 伊尔之戸毛 (3) 波礼 (4) 伊尔之戸毛 (5) 可久也安利介无也
(1) kepu-no taputo-sa ya (2) inisipe mo (3) pare (4) inisipe mo (5) ka-ku ya ar-i-ke-m-u ya
(1) today-GEN magnificent-NML EMPH (2) past FOC (3) pare (4) past FOC (5) thus-INF EMPH exist-INF-RETR-TENT-FIN
The magnificence of today!
The past as well
Apare!
The past as well may have been thus!
(2.1)
13.4.5.6. Negative Potential -kate-

There is only one example of the negative potential -kate- in Saibara. There are numerous attestations of -kate-with negative -n- (Kupchik 2012: 770; Vovin 2005: 951). This is strange considering the singular usage of the negative potential to indicate things that are desired to, but are unable to be done (Vovin 2005: 994). This is presumably the same meaning as the construction potential -kate- + negative -n-. Kupchik’s solution is that -kate- is a regressive nasal assimilation from the negative suffix -n- followed by fusion, thus -kate-n- ‘POT-NEG’ > -kane-. This is a rare suffix in Classical Japanese texts.

(1) imo-ga kado (2) sena-ga kado (3) yuk-i-sug-i-[kane]-te ya
(1) beloved-POSS gate (2) dear-POSS gate (3) go-INF-pass-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB EMPH
[I cannot go passed [my] beloved’s gate, [I] [cannot go passed] [my] dear’s gate (2.25)

13.4.5.7. Past Tense Suffix -si ~ -sika

Past attributive suffix -si is able to function as a past tense without attributive function. Kupchik (2012: 755) notes that -si and -ki alike can be followed by the conditional gerund -[a]ba in EOJ. Vovin (2009: 919-922) analyzes -si as an attributive on the basis of its function as such and vis-à-vis past final -ki and past evidential -sika. The caveat is that -si has the function of both attributive, nominalizer, and final predication, and it is the most numerously attested form in WOJ. The past suffix -ki is not attested in Saibara. -si is only found in attributive function.

Example:
13.4.5.7.1. Past tense attributive suffix -si

(1) 安左を川乃波ノ (2) 止々呪止々呪止 (3) 不利ノ安女乃 (4) 不利尔之和礼乎 (5) 太礼曾古乃 (6) 名加比止々天々
(1) Asamudu-no pasi-no (2) todoro todoro to (3) pur-i-si ame-no (4) pur-i-n-i-si ware-wo (5) tare soko-no (6) nakapito tate-te
(1) Asamudu-GEN bridge-GEN (2) thundering DV (3) fall-INF-PAST/ATTR rain-GEN (4) old-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR I-ACC (5) who there-GEN (6) middle.person (mediator) stand(INF)-SUB
Who will be the matchmaker there for I, [who] has grown old under the thundering rain
that fell at Asamudu bridge?
(1.15)

13.4.5.7.2. Past tense evidential suffix -sika

-sika is the evidential suppletive form of -si. It has both and evidential function. It is
found once before the concessive gerund -do

(1) 左之久ノ (2) 多字万利名々川 (3) 安利之可止 (4) 太介久乃曾字乃 (5) 安之太 尔止利 (6) 与字左利止利 (7) 止利之加波 (8) 左之久之毛奈之也
(1) sas-i.gusi pa (2) tau [a]mari nana-tu (3) ar-i-sika-do (4) takeku-no zou-no (5) asita-ni tor-i (6) you sar-i tor-i (7) tor-i-sika-ba (8) sas-i.gusi mo na-si ya
(1) to stick-NML.comb TOP (2) ten exceed seven-CL (3) exist-INF-PAST-COND (4) Takeku-GEN inspector-GEN (5) morning-LOC take-INF (6) evening depart-INF take-INF (7) take-INF-PAST-COND stick-NML.comb FOC not-FIN EMPH
Though [I] had seventeen decorative combs
The inspector of Takeku took [them] in the morning
[he] took [them] upon departing in the evening
Because [he] took them, I have no more decorative combs
(1.19)

13.4.6. Lexical auxiliaries

Lexical auxiliaries are independent verbs with their own meanings, which affix to other
verbs in a compound, creating distinct lexical meanings between them.

Directional, directive, humble and honorific lexical auxiliaries are found in the text.
In contrast to the array of lexical auxiliaries in both OJ and especially MJ, Saibara is
considerably limited in its use of both honorific and humble auxiliaries.
13.4.6.1. Honorific And Humble Auxiliaries

There are only a few examples of humble and honorific auxiliaries used in Saibara. This is natural because most of the songs are colloquial in nature and typically use very casual speech.

There are several humble auxiliaries used in Old and Middle Japanese respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 30: Humble auxiliaries used in OJ and MJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>OJ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matur-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatematur-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamapē-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamapar ~ tabar-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawos- ~ mawus-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēs-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, only the humble auxiliary mawus- is found once in the collection.

Examples:

(1) 太礼加太礼加 (2) 己乃己乎 (3) 於也尔末室与已之末室之々 (4) 止々 呂介留 (5) 己乃以戸乃 (6) 於止与女 (7) 於也尔末室与已之介良之毛
(1) tare ka tare ka (2) kono koto-wo (3) oya-ni mau yokos-i mau-si (4) todrok-er-u (5) kono ipe-no (6) otoyome (7) oya-ni mau yokos-i-ker-asi mo
(1) who QPT who QPT (2) this thing-ACC (3) parent-DAT speak(HUM) slander-NML say(HUM)-INF-PAST/ATTR (4) thunder-PROG-ATTR (5) this house-GEN (6) younger brother’s wife (7) parents-DAT speak slander-INF-RETR-SUP EMPH

Who was it, who was it that spoke [and] slandered me [by] speaking of this to [my] parents?

It seems [my] sister in law, of this family, that has such a resounding [reputation]

has
told [my] parents slandering [me]!

(2.5)

On The allomorph mau-: mau- is found once in Bussoku seki ka 仏足石歌 (BS.9) and twice in Mat’yōsōhū XVIII (18.4094; 18.4061). It is thought to be a Western Old
Japanese innovation because it does not appear anywhere in the Eastern corpus or Ryukyuan (Vovin 2005: 1044-48). *Maus-* does seem to appear in some later Heian period texts (*Heike monogatari, Taketori monogatari* and *Ise monogatari*) but the occurrences are still relatively low compared with *mawos-*.

The first instance of *maus-* occurs independently as the humble verb ‘to say’ in the phrase *mau yokos-* ‘say slander-INF.’ It is being used in a pejorative sense where the author is using the humble verb for the person being described in the song (*otoyome*). This instance is widely interpreted to be an abbreviated form of *maus-i yokos-i* ‘say(HUM)-INF slander-INF’ (Tachibana 1841; Mabuchi 1906; Konishi 1957; Usuda 2000). This is probably the simplest explanation, since this line would not be able to conform to poetic syllable patterns regardless of whether the syllable *si* was left in or taken out. This is an interesting form because the verb *maus-* is analyzed in the structural analysis as *maus-* because it does not appear in the form *mau* or *mawo*. However, this form suggests that *mau* and possibly *mawo* as well were conceptualized independently from what could have historically been the irregular verb *se-~sō* ‘to do.’ Tachibana cites the *Yōshinki* which describes the character set 譏言 as being read *yokos-i-maus-aku* ‘slander-INF-HUM-NML’ (Tachibana 1967: 156). The form quoted by Tachibana switched *maus-* so that it occurs in the appropriate position of the humble auxiliary after the infinitive of the main verb. This is not dissimilar to the form found in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* (浜松中納言物語):

おぼくの事を申しけるゆめに

*opo-ku-no koto-wo mawos-i-kop-i-ker-u yume-ni*

many-INF-GEN thing-ACC say(HUM)-INF-request-RETR2-ATTR dream-LOC
In the dream [he] asked for many things (Vovin 2003: 361)

Thus, this can be interpreted as either the weak lexicalization of mau- resulting in such deviant forms being grammatical, or that, in this song the syllable si is missing and the underlying phrase is maus-i-yokos-i ‘say(HUM)-INF-slander-INF’ as a deviant form of the auxiliary maus-. I choose to interpret this as it appears and assume that mau was used or at least conceptualized as unbound and independent of s[-].

The following yokos-i ‘to slander’ is the verb form of the noun yoko ‘sideways’ here taking on the meaning ‘talk sideways’ or ‘talk from the side.’

The second occurrence is in the same line and appears to be a kind of emphatic restatement of the word ‘tell,’ this time appearing with the past tense suffix, maus-i-si ‘say-INF-PAST.’ This restatement is awkward but relatively easily interpretable. None of the commentaries on Saibara bring up this second instance of maus-, assuming its straightforwardness. While it does not have to be a convoluted situation, there are two probable interpretations and one possible but not likely one. (1) maus-i-si ‘say(HUM)-INF-PAST/FIN. Although not explicitly stated, it appears that this is the way all of the modern commenters interpret the phrase, based on the commentaries with modern Japanese translations (Usuda 2000). (2) Another possibility is the emphatic particle si following the infinitive of the verb maus-. The third possibility would be to rearrange the phrases slightly and assume that the preceding line has oya-ni mau yo followed by kos-i-maus-i-si ‘[who] tells of [this] to [my] parents? [Who] went there to tell [them].’
13.4.6.1.1. **Humble auxiliary maude-**

The OJ humble auxiliary *mawi-* is attested in both humble auxiliary functions and as an independent verb *mawi-* ‘to come; go’ (Vovin 2005: 1049). The attested forms in MJ are humble *mawir-* and *maude-*.* Maude-* is likely to be a contraction of humble verb *mawi-* ‘go’ + *ide-* ‘come out’ (cf. MYS 20.4393 (EOJ)). *Maude-* and *mawir-* are both suppletive with the verbs *ko-* ‘come’ and *yuk-* ‘go.’ The text contains only *maude-* four times in a single song where three of the lines are clear repetitions. On the basis of extra-textual occurrences and diachronic segmentation of the verbs *maude-* (< *mawi-[i]de*) and *ko-*, I treat this as a humble auxiliary verb.

Examples:

1. sake-wo taube-te (2) tabe we-u-te (3) tapu to kor-i so (4) *mau-de-kuru* (5) yorobop-i so (6) *maude-kuru*
2. wine-ACC receive(HUM)(INF)-SUB (2) receive(HUM)(INF) get drunk-INF-SUB (3) tapu be.full(NML) EMPH (4) *come(HUM)(INF)*-come-ATTR (5) stagger-INF EMPH (6) *come(HUM)(INF)*-come-ATTR

[I] [humbly] drink (lit: receive) wine
[I] [humbly] drink and become drunk
I [am] tapu (?) at [my] capacity!
[But] I [am] [humbly] coming!
[I] stagger
[But] I [am] [humbly] coming!
(2.28)

13.4.6.2. **Directive Auxiliary -ko**

Indicates direction towards the speaker or sometimes person under discussion. *Ko-* follows the infinitive of the main verb. It is found in three examples in the text.

1. mukasi-yori (2) na-no *pur-i-ko-n-u* pa (3) ima-no yo-no tame
From long before, [your] name, not becoming stale,
Is for the benefit of this world
(2.33)

Send me news of her appearance, [for] [I] will come asking
(1.15)

[1] taka-wo panat-i-age (2) wog-u-wo na-mi
(1) falcon-ACC separate-INF-rise(INF) (2) invite-ATTR-ACC no-GER
Because [I] release [my] facon at falcon mountain without inviting [her to return]…
(2.15)

13.4.6.3. Directive Auxiliary -age

Directive auxiliary age-has the independent meaning of ‘to raise’ and ‘rise.’ It is consequently used with verbs to indicate direction going up. In the examples from the txt it is used for a falcon flying into the air.

Example:

13.4.6.4. Directive Auxiliary kake-

Kake-, independent vowel verb ‘to hang,’ indicates that the action of the main verb is directed onto a certain object, specifically the upper surface of the object (Vovin, 2003: 382). Kake- follows the infinitive of the main verb. It is not attested in EOJ and seems to be only sparsely attested in WOJ, however it is attested frequently in Classical Japanese.
In Saibara, it is found once in the vowel verb final form -kake and once before the perfective-progressive bound auxiliary -tar-.

Examples:

(1) 安佐美呼利 (2) 己以波奈太 (3) 俄女介太利止毛
(1) asa midori (2) ko-i panada (3) some-kake-tar-i tomo
(1) shallow green (2) deep-ATTR light indigo (3) dye-hang(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN

CONC

Though it is dyed and hanging [cloth] of shallow green and deep indigo… [it looks like the hanging willow]

(2.24)

(1) 波之利為乃 (2) 己加也可利乎左女介
(1) pasir-i wi-no (2) ko-kaya kar-i wosame-kake
(1) run-NML well-GEN (2) DIM-Japanese pompass grass cut-INF bunch(INF)-hang(INF)

We will cut, bunch and hang the pompass grass of the running well

(1.8)

13.4.6.5. mata

Mata, ‘again,’ is attested 60 times in MYS and 119 times in Senmyō, but only once in NSK and Bussoku seki ka and only five times in EOJ (Vovin 2005: 1113; Kupchik 2012: 790). It is attested twice in the text.

Examples:

(1) 之多利也奈支 (2) 万太波太為止奈留 (3) 前栽安支波支 (4) 奈天之己可良保比 (5) 之太利也奈支
(1) sidar-i yanagi (2) mata pa.ta.wi to nar-u (3) SENZAI akipagi (4) nadesikokarapopi
(5) sidar-i yanagi
(1) hang down-NML willow (2) again TOP rice paddy.freshwater pond DV be-ATTR (3) greens autumn bush clover (4) hollyhock (5) hang-NML willow

[The hanging cloth looks like] the hanging willow… or [perhaps] (lit: again), [it is] the rice paddies, [the] autumn bush clover greens and hollyhock hanging willow

(1) 左以論語 (2) 末多波太論語乃己奈留 (3) 左伊論語

123 This grass was used for roof thatching.
(1) sa iro-n-go (2) mata pa taro-n-go-no ko nar-u (3) sa iro-n-go
(1) sa maternal-GEN-child (2) again TOP other-GEN-child be-ATTR (3) sa maternal-GEN-child

[My] [maternal] brother, or [again], [my] [maternal] brother who is the child of [my] eldest son
(2.23)

13.4.6.6. *mube* ‘Certain; Sure’

There is one dubious attestation in MYS 4.772 where it is spelled semantographically with the character 諾 ‘agree; assent.’ The earliest example I was able to find was from the *Kokinshū*, in the line *todome-afe-z-u mube mo tosi to wa if-are-ker-i sika mo turena-ku sug-uru yof-af-i ka* ‘not [even] stopping, surely [even our] age was not said, in this way is it [such] a calling of casual passing (encounters)?’ Another example from a late-twelfth century text, Saigyō Hōshi’s (西行法師) *Kasenshū* 山撰集, it appears after the adjectival nominalizer -mi in the phrase *iwayama osorosi-mi mube n-ar-i-ker-i* ‘Iwayama (Iwa mountain) is surely a frightening [place].’ There is another example from the fourteenth-century text *Shinshū wakashū* 新拾遺和歌集, however that example seems to be intertextually related to an original poem in KKS, which has the phrase *mube yama*. There is a single example of *upē* ‘surely’ attested in EOJ (14.3476). In this instance, it does not have the initial nasal /m/ which frequently appears in OJ words with back-vowel initials and nasal elements in the Heian period, i.e. OJ *umē > MJ mume*. With regard to voicing, there is no direct evidence of voicing or lack thereof in the text. There are voicing distinctions in some of the later manuscripts, but these were probably added later when these morphemes became voiced in the MJ-LMJ period. Nevertheless, considering the initial *m-* , it is fairly straightforward to view this as voiced bilabial stop /b/. Its appearance in *Saibara* is one of the earliest attestations of the adverb *[m]ube*. 
Example:

(1) 己乃止乃波 (2) 帚毛 (3) 无毛止美介利
(1) kono tono pa (2) mube mo (3) mube mo tom-i-ker-i
(1) this palace TOP (2) certain FOC (3) certain FOC abundant-INF-RETR-FIN
      It is certain, it is certain, it is certain that this pavilion will be abundant!
(2.21)

13.4.7. Conjunctions

The conjunctions connect verbal phrases in complex sentences (Vovin 2005: 1133). In OJ, there are eight conjunctions: tömo, monō[wo], monōkara, napē, gane, gani,

   karani, and tōni. In contrast, only tomo, nagara, and monokara are common in MJ (ibid). 1133; Vovin, 2003: 414) Saibara has three attested conjunctions: tomo, monowō, and gani. This is interesting when you contrast it with occurrences of conjunctions in OJ and MJ texts. There are very few attested (3 in total), however, gani which is not attested in MJ is attested once in the text. Another interesting comparison is the distribution of conjunctions in EOJ, which has only tömo, monō[wo], monōkara, gani, and special EOJ conjunction sida ‘when’ (Kupchik 2012: 801).

13.4.7.1. Conjunction tomo

Tomo introduces a hypothetical condition ‘even if.’ It follows the final form of verbs and infinitive form of adjective, -ku. It seems to be more frequent in poetic texts (Vovin 2005: 1134; Vovin, 2003: 414). It is attested once in Saibara.

(1) 安左美止利 (2) 己以波太 (3) 曾女介太利止毛
(1) asa midori (2) ko-i panada (3) some-kake-tar-i tomo
(1) shallow green (2) deep-ATTR light indigo (3) dye-hang(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN

Though it is hanging [cloth] dyed shallow green and deep indigo…
(2.24)
13.4.7.2. *Conjunction monowo*

Conjunction *monowo* follows the attributive form of verbs and inflected adjectives as well as final/attributive forms. It can probably be traced back to a combination word *mono* ‘thing’ + accusative case marker -*wo* (Vovin 2005: 1138). Again, there is only a single example in the text. It appears as the final element in a sentence.

Example:

(1) 介左々伊太留 (2) 波川波名尔 (3) 安波万之毛乃乎
(1) kesa sa[k]-i-tar-u (2) patu pana-ni (3) ap-amasi *monowo*
(1) morning bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR (2) first flower-LOC (3) meet-SUBJ CONJ

Though I would have met the first flower, which bloomed this morning

13.4.7.3. *Conjunction gani*

Gani can be translated as ‘like; as if’ or ‘so that.’ In WOJ, it only appears in *Man’yōshū*. It follows the final form of verbs (Vovin 2005: 1149). It appears twice in one poem in the text.

Example:

(1) 可保万左留可爾也 (2) 止久万左留加爾也
(1) kapo masar-u *gani* ya (2) to-ku masar-u *gani* ya
(1) countenance be.superior-FIN CONJ EMPH (2) special-INF be.superior-FIN CONJ EMPH

As if [the flower’s] countenance became superior!
As if [it] quickly became superior!

13.4.8. *Particles*

There are several classes of particles recognized in Classical Japanese language: case particles *kaku joshi* conjunctive particles *setsuzoku joshi*, emotive particles *kakari joshi*, final particles *shū joshi*, adverbial particles *fuku joshi*, and exclamatory particles *kanto*
joshi. In our text, focus particle mo, focus particle so/zo, focus particle koso, kamo, interrogative particle ya, ka, and emphatic particle ya, si, na, desiderative particle moga, restrictive particle bakari and sura.

13.4.8.1. Focus Particles

The primary function of the focus particle is to indicate attention of focus in a sentence. Focus particles attested are, pa, mo, so/zo, koso, and kamo.

13.4.8.1.1. Topic particle pa

Topic particle pa indicates the sentence topic (Martin; 1988: 52). Martin (1988) describes its primary function as indicating different types of focus.

Examples:

(1) 左久良比止 (2) 曾乃不祢知々女 (3)之末川多乎 (4)止万知川久礼留 (5)見天可戸利己无也
(1) Sakura.bito (2) sono pune tidim-e (3) sima-tu ta-wo (4) to mati tukur-er-u (5) mi-te kaper-i ko-m-u ya
(1) cherry blossom.person (2) that boat stop-IMP (3) island-GEN/LOC rice paddy-ACC (4) ten block make-PROG-FIN (5) look(INF)-SUB return-INF-come-TENT-FIN EMPH
Person of Sakura stop your boat!
[They] made ten blocks from island paddies
[I] will look and return home!

(1) 川万左留世那波 (2) 安春毛左祢己之也
(1) tuma sar-u sena pa (2) asu mo sane ko-zi ya
(1) spouse leave-ATTR beloved TOP (4) morning FOC certainly come-NEG/TENT EMPH
My beloved spouse who leaves [me] going to a far place will certainly not return
(2.4)

(1) 和伊戸疫 (2) 止波利帳毛 (3) 多礼太留乎 (4) 於保支美支万世
(1) wa ipe pa (2) tobari TYAU mo (3) tare-tar-u-wo (4) opokimi k-i-mas-e
(1) I home TOP (2) curtain.divider (standing) screen.divider FOC (3) who hang-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC (4) great lord come-INF-HON-IMP
There is a screen divider hanging in my home, [so] come in my lord (2.22)

(1) 安須加為爾 (2) 也止利 波春戸之也 (3) 於介 (4) 可介毛与之 (5) 美毛比毛左牟之
(1) Asuka.wi-ni (2) yador-i pa s-ube-si ya (3) oke (4) kage mo yo-si (5) mi-mopi mo samu-si
(1) Asuka.well-LOC (2) temporary dwelling-NMNL TOP do-DEB-FIN PT (3) oke (4) shade FOC good-FIN (5) HON-jar FOC cold-FIN

We should stay at the Asuka well, where the shade is good, where the bowls [of water] are
cold (Asuka wi)
(1.9)

Would I listen to [such a] boring thing?
(2.5)

Our garment[s] are pressed with bush clover flowers [from the] dwarf bamboo fields and
grass fields
(1.20)

Do [you] cut trees!
[You] cut true trees!
(2.13)
The pearl sinks to the bottom of the water in the Enopa well!

Ositoto
Toositoto
In this way (lit: doing it that way) the land will flourish!
Our houses will have fortune!

From old times, from long before, [your] name, not becoming stale is for the benefit of this generation

Nakayama of Kibi
From old times, from long before, [your] name, not becoming stale is for the benefit of this generation

Does it seem the men who creep [here and there] about my gate have a purpose?

Does it seem [they] have a purpose?
Without a purpose, the men [still] creep about [here and there]

Does it seem [they] have a purpose?

(1) 末之良末之川久也 (2) 於之止々 (3) 止於之止々 (4) 之可之天波 (5) 久爾曾左可江无也
(1) ma-sira tama siduk-u ya (2) ositoto (3) toositoto (4) s-i-te pa (5) kuni zo saki-em-u ya
(1) INT-white jewel sink-FIN (2) ositoto (3) toositoto (4) that do-INF-SUB TOP (5) land EMPH flourish-TENT-FIN EMPH

The pearl sinks to the bottom of the water in the Enopa well!

Ositoto
Toositoto
In this way (lit: doing it that way) the land will flourish!
Our houses will have fortune!

(2.20)

(1) 支比乃奈加也末 (2) 无可之与利 (3) 无可之加良 (4) 无可之与利 (5) 名乃不利古奴波 (6) 伊末乃与乃多女
(1) kibi-no Nakayama (middle mountain) (2) mukasi-yori (3) mukasi-kara (4) mukasi-yori (5) na-no pur-i-ko-n-u pa (6) ima-no yo-no tame
(1) Kibi-GEN inside mountain (2) past-ABL (3) past-ABL (4) name-GEN old-INF-come-NEG-ATTR TOP (5) now-GEN world-GEN benefit

Nakayama of Kibi
From old times, from long before, [your] name, not becoming stale is for the benefit of this generation

(2.35)

(1) 和加々止乎 (2) 止散加宇散(3) 祢留乎乃己 (4) 与之已左留良之也 (5) 与之古左留良之也 (6) 与之奈之尔 (7) 止散加宇散(8) 祢留乎乃己 (9) 与之已左留良之也 (10) 与之古左留良之也
(1) wa-ga kado-wo (2) to sam[a] ka[k]-u sam[a] (3) ner-u wonoko (4) yosi kos[o] ar-urasi ya (5) yosi kos[o] ar-urasi ya (6) yosi na-si n-i (7) to sam[a] ka[k]-u sam[a] (8) ner-u wonoko (9) yosi kos[o] ar-urasi ya (10) yosi kos[o] ar-urasi ya
(1) I-POSS gate-ACC (2) this and that (3) [walk].steadily man (4) purpose FOC exist-SUP QPT (5) purpose FOC exist-SUP QPT (6) reason no-FIN DV-INF (7) this and that (8) [walk].steadily man (9) reason FOC exist-SUP EMPH (10) reason FOC exist-SUP QPT

Does it seem the men who creep [here and there] about my gate have a purpose?

Does it seem [they] have a purpose?
Without a purpose, the men [still] creep about [here and there]

Does it seem [they] have a purpose?

(1.17)
13.4.8.1.2. **Focus particle mo**

Focus particle *mo*, contrary to *pa*, highlights the preceding word or phrase. It is robustly attested in the text. It is in fact, the most frequently occurring focus particle.

Examples:

(1) 安须毛以波女 (2) 乎千可太尔 (3) 川万左留世那波 (4) 安春毛左祢己之也 (5) 与与也 (6) 左安春毛左祢己之也
(1) asu to **mo** ip-am-e (2) woti kata-ni (3) tuma sar-u sena pa (4) asu **mo** sane ko-zi ya (5) soyo ya (6) sa asu **mo** sane ko-zi ya
(1) morning DV **FOC** say-TENT-EV (2) far.side-LOC (3) spouse leave-ATTR beloved
TOP (4) morning **FOC** certainly come-NEG/TENT (5) soyoya (6) sa tomorrow **FOC** certainly come-NEG/TENT EMPH

Even though your words are (lit: say) [that you will return] **tomorrow**, my beloved spouse who leaves [me] going to a far place will certainly not return **tomorrow**
Soyoya!
S/he will certainly not come back **tomorrow**
(2.4)

(1) 可見毛可美毛 (3) 曾字之多戸
(1) ametuti-no (2) kami **mo** kami **mo** (3) sou s-i-tab-e
(1) heaven earth-GEN (2) deity **FOC** deity **FOC** (3) evidence do-INF-HUM-IMP

**Deities, deities** of the heavens, grant me evidence [of this]!
(2.5)

(1) 名利之毛不介波 (2) 名利之毛太天礼波 (3) 美名曾己支利天
(1) kaze simo puk-e-ba (2) nagori si **mo** tat-er-e-ba (3) minazoko kir-i-te
(1) wind down blow-EV-CONJ (2) ripples EMPH **FOC** rise-PROG-EV-CONJ (3) deep.waters fog-INF-SUB

When the wind blows down and wave ripples rise
[When wave ripples rise], the water clouds and [I cannot see that jewel]
(2.18)

(1) 毛多利九万 (3) 多礼太留乎 (4) 於保支美支万世
(1) wa ipe pa (2) tobari TYAU **mo** (3) tare-tar-wo (4) opokimi k-i-mas-e
(1) I home TOP (2) curtain.divider (standing) screen.divider **FOC** (3) hang-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC (4) prince (lit: great lord) come-INF-HON-IMP

There is a **screen divider** hanging in my home, [so] come in my prince
(2.22)

(1) 於利毛毛尔 5) 於利天毛支世曳
(1) sa-koromo n-i (5) or-i-te **mo** ki se-m-u
(1) PREF-garment DV-INF (5) weave-INF-SUB FOC wear(NML) do-TENT-FIN
    I will weave [you] a [fine] garment [for you] to try on
    (1.4)

(1) 可須可比毛 (2) 止左之毛安良波已曾 (3) 曾乃止乃止 (4) 和礼左々女
(1) kasugapi mo (2) tozasi mo ar-aba koso (3) sono tono.do (4) ware sas-am-e
(1) metallic latch FOC (2) lock FOC exist-COND FOC (3) that palace.door (4) I close-
    TENT-EV
    If there was a metal latch and a lock, [I] would close and lock that door
    (1.7)

(1) 於保世利波 (2)久尕乃沙多毛乃 (3) 己世利已曾 (4) 由天々毛牟末之
(1) opo seri pa (2) kuni-no sata mono (3) ko-seri koso (4) yude-te mo muma-si
(1) big parsley (2) land-GEN banned thing (3) DIM-parsley FOC (4) boil.in.water-INF-
    SUB FOC tasty-FIN
    Big parsley is prohibited in these lands
    Small parsley is [also] very good boiled
    (1.14)

13.4.8.1.3.  Focus particle so ~ zo

Focus particle so/zo triggers the change of the final form of the following verb to
attributive. It can be understood to mean 'exactly'. It is found four times in Saibara.

Examples:

伊可奈留於比毘
ika n-ar-u obi zo
what DV(INF)-exist-ATTR FOC
    What [kind of] sash!
    (2.19)

(1) 久尃曾左可江无也 (2) 和伊戸良毘 (3) 止美世无也
(1) kuni zo sakay-em-u ya (7) wa ipe-ra zo (8) tomi se-m-u ya
(1) land EMPH flourish-TENT-FIN EMPH (2) I home-PLUR FOC (3) fortune do-
    TENT-FIN EMPH
    The land will flourish! Our houses will have fortune!
    (2.20)

(1) 知止世世可隆天毘 (2) 安曾比安戸留
(1) ti tose-wo kane-te zo (2) asob-i-ap-er-u
(1) thousand year-ACC anticipate(INF)-SUB FOC (2) play-INF meet-PROG-FIN
    Expecting to live a thousand years, [the cranes] play together
I have drunk to **capacity**!
[I] am **on my way**!
[I] **stagger**, [I] am on my way!

### 13.4.8.1.4. Focus particle koso

Focus particle *koso* triggers the change of the final form to attributive. It places emphasis on the preceding word or phrase. In the text, it always changes the final verb to evidential.

This is typical of MJ grammar.

**Examples:**

1. **tapu** to kori **so** (2) maude-k-u **so** (3) yorobop-i **so** (4) maude-k-uru
2. tapu(*?) DV full(NML) EMPH (2) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB come-ATTR EMPH (3) stagger-INF EMPH (4) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB come-STAT/ATTR

**I have drunk to capacity!**
[I] am **on my way**!
[I] **stagger**, [I] am on my way!

1. **tapu**(*?) DV full(NML) EMPH (2) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB come-ATTR EMPH (3) stagger-INF EMPH (4) go(HUM)(INF)-SUB come-STAT/ATTR

13.4.8.1.4. Focus particle *koso*

Focus particle *koso* triggers the change of the final form to attributive. It places emphasis on the preceding word or phrase. In the text, it always changes the final verb to evidential.

This is typical of MJ grammar.

Examples:

1. kasugapi mo (2) tozasi mo ar-aba **koso** (3) sono tono.do (4) ware sas-am-e
2. metallic latch FOC (2) lock FOC exist-COND **FOC** (3) that palace.door (4) I close-TENT-EV

   If there was a metal latch and a lock, [we] would close and lock that door.

3. pasir-i wi-no (2) ko-kaya kar-i wasame-kake (3) sore n-i **koso** (4) mayu tukur-ase-te (5) ito pik-i nas-am-e
4. run-NML well-GEN that DV-INF **FOC** (2) small-Japanese pompass grass cut-INF to bunch-build (3) that DV-INF FOC (4) cocoon make-CAUS(INF)-SUB (5) thread pull-INF do(HON)-TENT-EV

   We will cut, bunch and hang the pompass grass at the running well, then spin thread from silk cocoons.

5. big parsley TOP (2) land-GEN restricted thing (3) small-parsley FOC (4) boil-INF-SUB FOC tasty-FIN

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Big parsley is prohibited in these lands

**Small parsley** is [also] very good boiled
(1.14)

(1) 安良多之支 (2) 止之乃波之女 (3) 加久之 已 曾 (4) 川可戸末川良女也
(1) aratasi-ki (2) tosi-no pazime n-i (3) ka-ku si koso (4) tukape-matur-am-e ya
(1) new -ATTR (2) year-GEN begin(NML) DV-INF (3) thus-INF that **FOC** (4) serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV EMPH

The start of the new year will be **thus**!
(2.2)

(1) 己止乎已 曾 (2) 安須止毛以波女
(1) koto-wo koso (2) asu tomo ip-am-e
(1) words-ACC **FOC** (2) morning CONJ say-TENT-EV

Though [you] say the word “tomorrow”
(2.4)

**13.4.8.1.5. Focus particle kamo**

Focus particle *kamo* emphasizes the preceding word or phrase. It can also introduce
inquiry arising from uncertainty. It is attested five times in the text. It frequently appears
before interrogative particles.

Examples:

(1) 以川支以波比之々留久 (2) 止支爾安戸留可毛也
(1) ituk-i ipap-i s-i siru-ku (2) toki-ni ap-er-u kamo ya
(1) purify-NML (2) pray-NML do-INF striking-INF (10) time-LOC meet-PROG-ATTR
PT EMPH

Purifying and praying, it is evident that it will come to pass (lit: when [I] have
occasion [to be there]!
(2.11)

(1) 和可須留止支爾 (2) 安戸留世奈可毛也
(1) wa-ga s-uru toki-ni (2) ap-er-u sena kamo ya
(1) I-POSS do-ATTR when-LOC (2) meet-PROG-ATTR beloved **FOC** EMPH

When I do [this], I will meet my beloved!
(2.15)
(1) nani si kamo (2) sa (3) nani si kamo (4) nani si kamo (5) kokoro mo mata[g]-i-ke-mu
(1) what EMPH FOC (2) sa (3) what EMPH FOC (4) what EMPH FOC (5) heart FOC impatient-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN

Why
Why
Why

jewel-like willow was [your] heart impatient?
(1.3)

万之岐世女加毛
masi ki se-m-e kamo
you wear(NML) do-TENT-EV FOC

Perhaps I would wear [your garment]!
(1.4)

This example follows the evidential and not attributive form.\textsuperscript{124}

13.4.9. Interrogative particles

Interrogative particles ya and ka are both attested in \textit{Saibara}. Interrogative particle ya introduces general questions in contrast to ka, which introduces \textit{wh}- questions.

13.4.9.1.1. Interrogative particle \textit{ya}

Interrogative particle \textit{ya} triggers change of the final form to attribute. It can occur in both sentence final and sentence non-final positions, however, when following a verb in the final form \textit{ya} does not appear in sentence final position and \textit{ya} does not appear in sentence final position in combination with a verb in attribute form. It appears primarily in sentence-final position in the text.

Examples:

Sentence-final position

\textsuperscript{124} There is another example I am aware of where \textit{kamo} follows the evidential and not attributive in \textit{Kojiki kayō} (40).
In this new year
In this way
In this way, will [I] thus serve [as I have]? [Of course not!]
For ten thousand generations
apare!
That is good there!
[For] [another] ten thousand generations
(2.2)

When I do [this], I will be meeting my beloved
(2.15)

When I see the gentle yielding of the willow, [I wonder] are they now at their peak?
(1.16)

Sentence non-final

(1) 安良多之支 (2) 止之乃波之女尔也 (3) 加久之己曾 (4) 波礼 (5) 可久之己曾 (6) 川可戸末川良女也 (7) 与吕川与末天尔 (8) 安波礼 (9) 曾己与之也 (10) 与吕川与末天尔
(1) aratasi-ki (2) tosi-no pazine-ni ya (3) ka-ku si koso (4) pare (5) ka-ku si koso (6) tukape-matur-am-e ya (7) yorodu yo-made-ni (8) apare (9) soko yo-si ya (10) yorodu yo-made-ni
(1) new-ATTR (2) year-GEN begin(NML)-LOC EMPH (3) thus-INF EMPH FOC (4) pare (5) thus-INF EMPH FOC (6) serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV QPT (7) ten-thousand generation TERM-LOC apare (8) there good-FIN EMPH (9) ten-thousand generation TERM-LOC

In this new year
In this way
In this way, will [I] thus serve [as I have]? [Of course not!]
For ten thousand generations
apare!
That is good there!
[For] [another] ten thousand generations
(2.2)

When I do [this], I will be meeting my beloved
(2.15)

When I see the gentle yielding of the willow, [I wonder] are they now at their peak?
(1.16)

Sentence non-final

(1) 安乎也支加 (2) 之名比乎美礼波 (3) 伊末左加利名利也
(1) awo yagi-ga (2) sinap-i wo mi-re-ba (3) ima sakar-i nar-i ya
(1) green willow.tree-POSS (2) sway-NMNL-ACC see-EV-COND (3) now to peak-NML be-INF QPT

When I see the gentle yielding of the willow, [I wonder] are they now at their peak?
(1.16)

Sentence non-final

(1) 安乎也支加 (2) 之名比乎美礼波 (3) 伊末左加利名利也
(1) awo yagi-ga (2) sinap-i wo mi-re-ba (3) ima sakar-i nar-i ya
(1) green willow.tree-POSS (2) sway-NMNL-ACC see-EV-COND (3) now to peak

When I do [this], I will be meeting my beloved
(2.15)

When I see the gentle yielding of the willow, [I wonder] are they now at their peak?
(1.16)

Sentence non-final

(1) 安乎也支加 (2) 之名比乎美礼波 (3) 伊末左加利名利也
(1) awo yagi-ga (2) sinap-i wo mi-re-ba (3) ima sakar-i nar-i ya
(1) green willow.tree-POSS (2) sway-NMNL-ACC see-EV-COND (3) now to peak-NML be-INF QPT

When I see the gentle yielding of the willow, [I wonder] are they now at their peak?
(1.16)

Sentence non-final

(1) 安乎也支加 (2) 之名比乎美礼波 (3) 伊末左加利名利也
(1) awo yagi-ga (2) sinap-i wo mi-re-ba (3) ima sakar-i nar-i ya
(1) green willow.tree-POSS (2) sway-NMNL-ACC see-EV-COND (3) now to peak
Old man, do you fall trees in the deep mountains?
Is it trees [you] clear?
Is it true trees [you] clear?
Old man [who] clears trees
(2.13)

13.4.9.2. Emphatic Particle Ya

The emphatic particle ya is found in great quantity and quality in both Nara and Heian period collections. It is homophynous with the interrogative particle ya and can easily be confused with it, since their distinction can often be based on context alone. In contrast with the interrogative particle ya, emphatic ya rarely appears in sentence-final position in OJ (Vovin 2005: 1262). Positing another ya which appears only as hayashi is unnecessary. It is sufficient to view ya as the same emphatic particle that appears in Nara and Heian poetry, albeit with much more wide and free distribution. In fact, the frequent use of ya before and after other hayashi words and phrases highlights its use as an emphatic that gives further force to the preceding hayashi phrase, i.e. sakimudati ya, soyo ya, nayo ya (2.6).

Saibara has several examples where ya appears in sentence final position, however it also appears before and after banter words and in all positions throughout the songs. Its phonetic transcription with や is consistent throughout the collection. In song 1.9, ya is also found in several examples following the hayashi phrase oke. Ya is also found after the subordinative gerund -te.

(1) 左波多可波 (2) 曽天川久波加利也
(1) Sapada gapa (2) sode tuk-u bakari ya
(1) Sapada river (2) sleeve stick-ATTR RESTR PT

Though sapada river is shallow
Ya
[My] sleeves almost touch it!
We should stay at the Asuka well, where the shade is good, where the bowls [of water] are cold (Asuka wi)
(1.1)

Will [I] collect seaweed from the seashells on the pure [beach of] Nagisa in the Ise sea? [will I] pick up shells? Will [I] pick up pearls?
(1.11)

From a single thread of the green willow [It] is the plum blossom umbrella that is said to be sown by the bush warbler!
(1.10)
The flowers of the green willow!  
The flowers of the green willow!  
When I see the gentle bending of the green willow  
[I wonder] are [the flowers] now at their peak!  
(1.16)

The inspector of Takeku [came] and took [my decorative combs] this morning  
[He came and] took [them] in the evening  
Because [he] took them,  
I have no more decorative combs!  
(1.19)

Shall [we] change clothes?  
(1.21)

Things are going well [for me] (lit: heart meeting wind)!  
(1.25)

(1) 安乎也支加波名也 (2) 安乎也支加波名也 (5) 安乎也支加 (6) 之名比乎美礼波 (7) 伊末左加利名利也 (8) 伊末左可利奈利也  
(1) awo yagi-ga pana ya (2) awo yagi-ga pana ya (3) awo yagi-ga (4) sinap-i -wo mi-re-ba (5) ima sak-ar-i nar-i ya  
(1) green willow tree-POSS flower EMPH (2) green willow tree-POSS flower EMPH (3) willow tree-POSS (4) sway gently-NML-ACC see-EV-CONJ (5) now blossom-NML be-FIN EMPH  

(1) 太介久乃曾宇乃 (2) 安之太尔止利 (3) 与字左利止利以 (4) 止利之加波 (5) 左之久之毛奈之也  
(1) takeku-no zou-no (2) asita-ni tor-i (3) you sar-i tor-i (4) tor-i-sika-ba (5) sas-i.gusi mona-si ya  
(1) Takeku-GEN inspector-GEN (2) morning-LOC take-INF (3) evening leave-INF take-INF (4) stick-NML.comb FOC no-FIN EMPH  

(1) 己吕毛加戸世无也  
koromo.gape se-m-u va  
clothing.change(INF) EMPH  

(1) 己々呂安比乃加世也  
(1) kokoro ap-i-no kaze ya  
(1) heart meet-NML-GEN wind EMPH  

(1) 安名多不止 (2) 介不乃太不止左也 (3) 伊尔之戸毛 (4) 波礼 (5) 伊尔之戸毛 (6) 可久也安利介无也
Oh so magnificent!
The magnificence of today!
The past may have been thus as well!
(2.1)

於止乃左也介左也
oto-no sayake-sa ya
sound-GEN clear-NML EMPH

[It is] the clarity of the sound!
(2.6)

Let me go in the flower garden!
(2.8)

Doing purification and prayer it is evident that [it] will come to pass
(2.11)

天奈不礼曾也
te na-tor-i-pure-so ya
hand NEG-take-INF-touch(INF)-do EMPH

Do not touch [it] with your hand!
(2.12)

13.4.9.2.1. Emphatic particle si

Emphatic si is only found in two poems. Si is found in Old and Middle Japanese texts. It adds emphasis to the preceding phrase (Vovin 2005: 1248). In Saibara, it is found after a nominal in the following Example:
13.4.9.2.2. **Emphatic particle kana**

Vovin (2003: 436) defines the emphatic particle *kana* as a Heian period development that replaced OJ *kamo*. Although the emphatic particle *na* is not attested in WOJ or EOJ after the interrogative particle *ka*, in the text, it is clear that we are dealing with the interrogative particle *ka*. From this singular occurrence it looks as if the unit *kana* is an irony question, not dissimilar to evidential + interrogative particle *ya*.

Example:

(1) 須可奈支已止乎 (2) 和礼波支久可名
(1) sugana-ki koto-wo (2) ware pa kik-u **kana**
(1) boring-ATTR thing-ACC (2) I TOP listen-FIN **EMPH**

**Would I listen** to [such a] boring thing? [No I would not]

(2.5)

13.4.9.3. **Desiderative Particle Moga**

*Moga* is found in Western Old and Eastern Old Japanese. In WOJ, it is found primarily in the allomorph *mogamo* (Vovin 2005: 1230). It appears twice in a single poem in *Saibara*. Each time it appears after the defective verb *to*.

Examples:

(1) 太加左己乃 (2) 乎乃戸尔太天留 (3) 之良多末 (4) 多万川波木 (5) 多万也名支 (6) 曾礼 **毛加**止左伞 (7) 末之 **毛可**止 (8) 末之 **毛可**度
The jewel-like camellia [which blooms] like a white jewel
And the jewel-like willow tree that stand utop the peaks of Takasago
[I] realize [my] desire for those
[I] realize that [I] desire you
[I] realize that [I] desire [you]
(1.3)

13.4.10. Restrictive particles

There is only one restrictive particle attested in Saibara, bakari. OJ has the restrictive particles, nömi, dani, sura ~ sôra, sapë, and bakari (Vovin 2005: 1274). Nömi, dani, and sapë occur in EOJ (Kupchik 2012: 836).

13.4.10.1. Restrictive Particle Bakari

Restrictive particle bakari indicates extent, ‘so much,’ ‘as much’ and approximation when after a numeral (1.4 below). It is found in three songs in the text.

Examples:

(1) 比呂波可利也 (2) 止字止字 (3) 左可利手禱大禮止毛 (4) 万呂比安比介利
(1) piro bakari ya (2) toutou (3) sakar-i-te ne-tar-e-domo (4) marob-i-ap-i-ker-i
(1) fathom RESTR EMPH (2) toutou (3) separate-INF-SUB sleep-PROG-EV-CONC (4) roll-INF-meet-INF-RETR-INF

Just by a fathom
Toutou
Though [we] slept separate
We rolled together
(2.32)

(1)左波多可波 (2) 曾天川久波加利也 (3) 安左介礼度
(1) Sapada kapa (2) sode tuk-u bakari ya (3) asa-kere-do
(1) Sapada river (2) sleeve stick-ATTR RESTR EMPH (3) shallow-EV-CONC

Though sapada river is shallow so that [my] sleeves just touch it…
I have about seven white summer spinning threads
I will weave you a fifth-month garment [with them]
CHAPTER 14. CONCLUSION

Sources on ninth century Japanese are scarce. This is in large part due to the popularity of Classical Chinese during this period. This point needs to be considered when studying the Saibara text. Because, although there is no extant manuscript dating back to the ninth century, Saibara is recorded as having reached its height of popularity at this time, and the original copies of the oldest extant manuscripts (NKB and TB) probably date back to this transitional period. It is clear that some of the first applications of gagaku were of orally transmitted folk songs, which is most likely why some of them reflect poetic forms that do not adhere to standard waka style metrically or aesthetically. However, looking at the manuscripts, it is clear that the songs were edited in successive recensions, which reflect changing linguistic forms. Still, there is an inherent discordance between the age of the oldest extant manuscripts, the orthography, and grammar of the text. The transcription of the songs in man’yōgana presupposes either an archaic manuscript or an archaic text, which was copied and preserved in its original presentation. Nevertheless, a study of the language forms in the text reveals morphophonological forms that are typical of Japanese from the early-mid-Heian period. The preservation of kō-otsu distinctions to any degree in man’yōgana nevertheless strongly suggests that the text is most-likely not from the twelfth or even eleventh century, but that it may be a copy, or better, recension going back as far as the tenth century. Also, the preference for Old Japanese progressive -er- over perfective/progressive portmanteau suffix -tar- is indicative of the language of Old Japanese. I am inclined to view the “regular” morphophonological changes such as consonant lenition and nasal assimilation as manifestations of later “onbin” forms seen in Middle Japanese. But I think they reveal themselves more readily in Saibara due to its
“casual” nature which probably resisted whatever conservative literary norms had arisen by that time. In this respect, Saibara appears to be a unique “poetic” text that strongly reflects the oral vernacular of the time. Furthermore, the absence of semantographic writing, use of hayashi kotoba, and small-script scripta plena to indicate vowel length strongly suggest that the collection (at least in the case of the oldest manuscripts) was not “literary” per se, but was decidedly oral-centric, or performative in nature. In this way, even the classification of Saibara as a poetic text would be a precarious one. In this vein, it is worth noting that the hayashi kotoba appear most frequently in songs that share lines with poems from the Man'yōshū and Kokinshū collections. If they were in fact borrowed from these collections, it is plausible that the insertion of hayashi kotoba also recontextualized the poems as (performed) songs, perhaps in the specific context of gagaku.

The language of Saibara reveals a heterogeneous text, which in many ways defies a singular classification. It reveals forms from both Old and Middle Japanese and contains a paradoxical mixture of man'yōgana, semantographic writing, and kanji. The content evokes folk aesthetics, which do not conform to poetic traditions of the literature contemporary with it, while at the same time standing out from other closely related collections such as Kagura uta and Fūzoku uta. A closer look at the orthography, phonology, and morphology has provided evidence for an upper boundary of the beginning of the Middle Japanese period, due to the appearance of forms not found in any texts outside of the Nara (OJ) period. The text only maintains ko-otsu distinctions on a statistical level, suggesting scribal conservatism in the inadvertent maintenance in /ko/ and /to/ syllables. Notwithstanding, there is evidence to support a received precedent for
the manuscripts written in *man’yōgana* (NKB and TB), which were probably edited in later periods. I propose a lower boundary of the late-ninth to early-tenth century for the original transcription of the lyrics. This is further supported by the appearance of lexical items unique to the Old Japanese linguistic period, and verb and adjective morphology that is rare for Middle Japanese (i.e. *-amazi, ma[w]us*, uninflected adjectives *awo, paya*). It is apparent that further examination of *Saibara*, especially of the orthography and grammar has great potential to yield additional discoveries and facilitate our understanding of the language of archaic *Fūzoku* songs preserved in the gagaku repertoire, and their place in the context of Nara and Heian period literature.
### APPENDIX A

Song Numbers and Arrangement with Corresponding Song Names

**Ritsu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oridinal #</th>
<th>Song Name</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Wa ga koma</td>
<td>我駒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Sapada kapa</td>
<td>澤田川</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Taka sago</td>
<td>高砂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Natu biki</td>
<td>夏引</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Nuki kapa</td>
<td>貫河</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Aduma ya</td>
<td>東屋</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Pasiri wi</td>
<td>走井</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Asuka wi</td>
<td>飛鳥井</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>Awo yagi</td>
<td>青柳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>Ise no umi</td>
<td>伊勢海</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Nipa ni opuru</td>
<td>庭生</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Wa ga kado</td>
<td>我問</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>Opo seri</td>
<td>大芹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Asa mudu</td>
<td>浅水</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>Opo di</td>
<td>大道</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>Wa ga kado wo</td>
<td>我問乎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>Tori pa nakinu</td>
<td>鶴鳴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>Sasi gusi</td>
<td>刺櫸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>Apu miti</td>
<td>達道</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>Koromo kape</td>
<td>更衣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>Ika ni semu</td>
<td>何為</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>Kubo no na</td>
<td>陰名</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>Taka no ko</td>
<td>鷹子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>Miti no kuti</td>
<td>道口</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>Oi nezumi</td>
<td>老鼠</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ro**

| 2.1       | Ana taputo | 安名尊   |
| 2.2       | Aratasiki tosi | 新年     |
| 2.3       | Mume ga fyje | 梅枝     |
| 2.4       | Sakura bito | 櫻人     |
| 2.5       | Asi gaki   | 薑垣     |
| 2.6       | Ma kane puku | 真金吹   |
| 2.7       | Yama siro  | 山城/代   |
| 2.8       | Take kappa | 竹川     |
2.9 Kapa kuti 河口
2.10 Mimasaka 美作
2.11 Pudipu no 藤生野
2.12 Imo to are 婦与我
2.13 Oku yama 奥山
2.14 Oku yama ni 奥山(尔)
2.15 Taka yama 鷹山
2.16 Kono tono pa 此殿(波)
2.17 Kono tono no 此殿(乃)
2.18 Kii no kuni 紀伊国
2.19 Isi kapa 石川
2.20 Katuragi 葛城
2.21 Kono tono no oku 此殿(奧)
2.22 Wa ipe 我家
2.23 Awo no ma 青馬
2.24 Asa midori 浅緑
2.25 Imo ga kado 妹之間
2.26 Musiroda 席田
2.27 Suzuka kapa 鈴之川
2.28 Sake wo taubete 酒飲
2.29 Tanaka 田中
2.30 Mino no yama 美濃山
2.31 Opo miya 大宮
2.32 Age maki 総角
2.33 Moto sige 本滋
2.34 Ma tozime 眉止之目
2.35 Tikara naki kaperu 力無
2.36 Namuba no umi 難波海
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