

Hitomaro's Parting Poems from Iwami

A Narratological Rehabilitation of Itō Haku's "Centripetal Model"

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Hitomaro's poems on leaving Iwami are contained in the *sōmon* section in the *Man'yōshū* Book 2. Including the preliminary versions, there are nine poems, but the poem 2: 140 can also be seen to belong to them, depending on the interpretation. In the early 1970s, Itō Haku turned against the established reading and proposed a narratologically attractive model in which the time of the narrated world runs backwards towards the center in 2: 140. However, this model met with fierce resistance and is considered disproven. Strictly speaking, this concerns only the center, not necessarily the reverse chronology, but the established understanding according to which the time of the narrated world unfolds in parallel with the poem texts still dominates the discourse. Although other proposals have been attempted, some essential aspects have not been considered. These aspects, which corroborate Itō's model, will be the focus of this study. They concern the poem's contents but also its titles and the position of the sequence within the *sōmon* section.

キーワード：万葉集・相聞歌 (*Man'yōshū* / *sōmon* poems)、柿本人麻呂 (Kakinomoto no Hitomaro)、伊藤博 (Itō Haku)、中心的構図 (centripetal structure)、ナラトロジー (narratology)

The poems 2: 131 to 139 by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro are known as “Iwami *sōmon-ka* 石見相聞歌” and contained in the *sōmon* section (“correspondence”)¹⁾ in Book 2 of the anthology *Man’yōshū*.²⁾ They describe the departure from a woman who lives on the coast of Iwami, today’s Shimane Prefecture, between the cities of Gōtsu and Hamada, and since the title preceding 2: 131 mentions the name of the author, research has traditionally understood it to be Hitomaro himself who departs from the Iwami coast by taking the road through the mountains. The nine poems are followed by the short *tanka* poem 2: 140, which shows references to Hitomaro’s poems in the title and in terms of content. The poem by a certain Yosami *no wotome*, a “young woman from [the family or the place called] Yosami,” is a reflection on the man’s advice not to take his parting too hard. The fact that sequence 2: 131 to 140 closes the *sōmon* section of Book 2 must not be excluded from scrutiny.

Usually, only Hitomaro’s poems are understood as “Iwami *sōmon-ka*.” However, in Itō Haku’s reading, the poem by the woman does not only belong to them but forms their center (cf. Itō 1973 = 1975, 279-303). Itō’s model of a “centripetal structure” (*kyūshin-teki kōzu* 求心的構図) broke with the “established theory (*tsūsetsu* 通説)”³⁾ and is attractive in narratological terms. Nevertheless, it has been opposed and replaced by other models (cf. Misaki *ibid.*, p.245), which have in common their tacit exclusion of the poem by the woman.⁴⁾ It was finally Kōnoshi Takamitsu who drew the line in the second volume of his authority-claiming “Man’yō Seminar” by summarily rejecting other interpretations and asserting the established understanding as the only viable one.⁵⁾ At about the same time, Misaki Hisashi took up Itō’s

1) Cf. Duthie 2014, 169, 175. Horton (2016, 54) explains *sōmon* as “poems conveying feelings to another, mostly about love between men and women.”

2) For a literary translation into English, cf. Cranston 1993, 203-207 (including a brief introduction but without 2: 138 to 140); for paraphrases of the poem’s contents, cf. Vovin 2020, 104-123 (with the original text, *kana* transliteration, romanization, glossing with morphemic analysis, and commentary).

3) Cf. Misaki 2005, 240, who also speaks of “the frame of the old understanding” and gives Kōnoshi 1977 [= 1992] as an example; cf. Misaki *ibid.*, p.245.

4) Cf. Hashimoto 1991 [original 1977], 242-267 or Shiotani 1984. Misaki (2005, 243) mentions another examination by Shiozawa Ipppei 塩沢一平 (1995, “Iwami *sōmon-ka* no jikū 石見相聞歌の時空,” *Sundai fōramu* 駁台フォーラム 13), which he sees as being close to Hashimoto’s model.

5) Cf. Kōnoshi 1999 who had already been critical of Itō’s analyses and ideas in earlier works; for the Iwami *sōmon-ka*, cf. Kōnoshi 1992 (original 1977), 242-267, and for a critique of Itō’s *uta-gatari* 歌語り, “song narration,” cf. *ibid.* pp.342-358 (original 1977).

model to make minor improvements in a decidedly narratological approach.⁶ Even there, however, poem 2: 140 is not mentioned, and the present paper takes as its goal the attempt to verify Itō's centripetal model, including the poem by the woman.

1 The Visualized Textual Genesis

A special feature of Hitomaro's nine poems is the structure of three groups, in each of which short *hanka* poems (poetic coda, envoy; cf. Horton 2016, 53) are appended to one long *chōka* poem. Overall, however, two aspects are particularly striking at the level of the written text. First, the contents of some poems are almost identical, and second, some poem lines feature interspersed annotations that present an alternative version. These lines are introduced by 一云, "from another source," and the title to 2: 134 is 或本反歌曰, "A *hanka* poem from another book." Poems 2: 138 and 139 are again introduced by a separate title, 或本歌一首并短歌, "One poem from another book with [a] *tanka* short poem." It is thus clear that there are different text versions (so-called *ibun* 異文), for which there are two explanations. While some scholars assume that the *ibun* texts show variants of oral transmission (*densetsu* 伝説),⁷ recent research sees them as preliminary versions of the textual genesis showing the process of revision (*suikō* 推敲). The nine poems together would thus present a visualized textual genesis, and Japanese scholars speak of the "main text version (*honbun* 本文)" for the poems without the interspersed *ibun* verses and without poems from other sources. Since the *ibun* texts are so clearly marked with separate titles or with smaller characters so that there are no doubts about their textual differences, the remaining poems can be understood as the authorized main version—authorized by the implied compilers. In Itō's model as well as in the following models, the narratological readings exclusively are concerned with this authorized text, but before I come to that, the model of textual genesis must be introduced.

In the "Man'yō Seminar," Kōnoshi presents a model of "different transmissions (*iden* 異

6) Cf. Misaki 2005 [= 1998], 239-273, who blames Kōnoshi (1992) for ignoring his critical remarks (cf. Misaki 2005, 245). Duthie (2014, 219) sees Misaki as "the pioneer of narratological approaches to the poetry of the *Man'yōshū*," but that honor should be reserved for Itō Haku. Unlike Itō, however, Misaki explains his narratological approach; cf. the "Prolegomenon" in Misaki *ibid.*, 1-47. Be that as it may, narratology was not yet an issue in the 1970s. For recent narratological approaches to poem sequences from *Man'yōshū*, see Wittkamp 2021 a-d, 2022.

7) Saijō (2009, 139-170) takes the *ibun* texts as versions for oral presentation.

伝),” also described as the “arrangement of the written versions (*kisai no seiri* 記載の整理),”⁸⁾ which consists of four stages:

- I: 2: 138 and 139 (“one poem from another book with *tanka* short poem”)
- II: 2: 131 一云 (in the version with verses “from another source”⁹⁾) and poem 2: 134
- III: 2: 131 to 133 [without the verses from another source] and 2: 135 一云 to 137 一云
- IV: 2: 131 to 133 and 135 to 137 [without the verses from another source] (Kōnoshi 1999, 208)

Poem 2: 133 does not appear until level III, but the reason for this could be that it was added earlier and there are no corrections (cf. Kōnoshi 1992, 245, Hashimoto 1991, 92). However, Itō (1975, 280) assumes that the poem was added at the last stage. As has been noted, except for Itō’s model, poem 2: 140 is not included in the “Iwami *sōmon* poems” and consequently does not appear in Kōnoshi’s model. In Itō’s model of the textual genesis, on the other hand, it was originally present (cf. Itō 1975: 298). However, in his commentary from 1995,¹⁰⁾ he explains only the centripetal structure and connections while the poem itself is excluded from the textual genesis. This can be taken as a sign of the strong opposition he had to face during the twenty years after his, admittedly unconventional, interpretation.

The visualized textual genesis reveals interesting details, such as the erased “I” in 2: 131, the long poem of the revision stages II to IV. For while the character 吾 *ware, waga* or *are* for “I” occurs a total of three times in 2: 138 and 139 (stage I), it is no longer present in later stages. The character is then reintroduced only at 2: 133 (stage II or III), which is of interest for the interpretation of the poems.¹¹⁾ The textual genesis thus evidences a distance between the narrated world and its reception that increases with each stage of revision. For the reception, this raises questions such as fictionality or unreliability,¹²⁾ but important for the

8) Cf. Kōnoshi 1992, 246, 1999, 208-210.

9) Aso (1: 328) describes these as *iden chūki* 異伝注記, “different transmissions in annotation [style].”

10) Cf. Itō 1: 309 (paperback). His commentary was first published from 1995 to 1998 as a thirteen-volume hardcover edition and republished in a paperback edition in 2005 (ten volumes, without original text).

11) The *hanka* poem 2: 132 contains 我, which also means “I” but is the possessive pronoun “my.”

12) Itō (1975, 292, 297) speaks of a “work of fictionality (*kyōkō-teki sakuhin* 虚構的作品).” There are ↗

reading as a coherent narrative work is the question of who is meant by “I.” This will be returned to, and it remains to be noted for the time being that the following observations are concerned only with the poems of Kōnoshi's stage IV (= Itō's stage III), the authorized main version. It is further customary to divide these six poems into “poem group (*kagun* 歌群)” A (or I) containing poems 2: 131 to 133 and group B (or II) containing poems 2: 135 to 137.

2 The Narrative of the Authorized Main Version

The title preceding the groups A and B reads as follows:

柿本朝臣人麻呂 從石見國 別妻 上來時 歌二首 并短歌

Kakinomoto no asomi Hitomaro no, Ihami no kuni yori tsuma wo wakarete nobori-kitarishi toki no uta ni shu tanka wo ahasetari (Satake et al. 1: 109)

Two poems from the time when Kakinomoto *no asomi* Hitomaro departed from his wife in the land of Iwami and came [towards the capital, up the mountains], arranged with short *tanka* poems.

The title announces two long poems with attached short *tanka* poems, and such an arrangement of two groups occurs here for the first time in Book 2. It is thus clear that the six poems of the two groups were deliberately arranged as one coherent work, the coherence of which is blurred by the presumably later added versions from other sources and interspersed alternative lines.¹³⁾ It should be noted that Satake et al. (ibid.) render the title written in Classical Chinese into the past tense of Old Japanese, which is not a matter of course. Other commentaries transcribe with present tense or the so-called “historical present tense (*rekishiteki genzaikei* 歴史的現在形),” but a feature of the first two *Man'yōshū* books is the embedding of the poems in a peritextual framework of “historical section headings (*hyōmoku* 標目)” and poem titles (*daishi* 題詞).¹⁴⁾ Given the historiographical conception of

↘ other indications for the unreliable narrator, such as poem 2: 136, to which I will return briefly at the end of the paper.

13) The picture given by the texts is that of an abstract author and abstract compilers. If the text does indeed contain corrected text versions, their presentation is likely to be due to the interest of the abstract compilers rather than the abstract author.

14) For “historical section headings,” cf. Duthie 2014, 175, 181.

Books 1 and 2, the peritextual framework requires the past tense.¹⁵⁾ Consequently, the poem texts must also be concretized as describing happenings and events of the past, which can be seen as a feature of narrativity.

Itō (1: 292) divides the thirty-nine lines of the long poem 2: 131 into two parts but reads the last five lines as an “almost impressive *tanka* poem.” Thus, his subdivision anticipates that of Satake et al. (1: 109) who divide it into three “stages (*dan* 段)” and summarize the first twenty lines with the emotional description of the coast as the “landscape of the sea of Iwami.” Itō, in turn, understands this part as *zensōbu* 前奏部, a “prelude” or “overture,” and the rest as *shusōbu* 主想部, also *shudaibu* 主題部, “the part with the main [emotional] statement,” the “part with the main theme.”¹⁶⁾ The long poem 2: 135 also consists of thirty-nine lines, but its “prelude” is conspicuously shorter and consists of only eight lines.

According to Seymour Chatman’s distinction of “Narrative and Two Other Text-Types” (book chapter title), the “preludes” of 2: 131 and 135 belong to a text-type called “Description,” while the other lines present the “Narrative.”¹⁷⁾ In terms of the number of lines, the two long poems thus have an identical “discourse time” because the reception of 2: 131 requires as much time as the reception of 2: 135 (cf. *Ihn* article “Time” by Scheffel, Weixler, and Werner 2013 [2014, revised article]). Therefore, the two poems differ in the length of the two text-types description and narrative respectively. The discourse time of the narrative in 2: 135 with 31 lines is longer than the narrative in 2: 131 with 19 lines, and therefore, it is to be expected that it would contain more details.

For narratological analysis, the “preludes” in 2: 131 and 2: 135 can be described as “pauses” in which the time of the narrated world rests. While these parts are not relevant for the following observations and can be—heuristically—excluded, it is not to say that they are insignificant to the overall meanings of the poems. On the contrary, essential details are built up via these lines, to which the narrative text-types are connected in various ways. However,

15) Cf. Kojima, Kinoshita, and Tōno 1: 100, Inaoka 1: 91, or Aso 1: 322, who all transcribe 上來 with *nobori-kuru*.

16) Cf. Itō 1975, 281. The commentary says *zensō-bu* versus *chūshin-bu* 中心部, which is awkward in that it can lead to confusion with the centripetal structure (*chūshinteki kōzu*); cf. Itō 1: 292.

17) Cf. Chatman 1990, 6-21. The third text-type is “Argument,” and a good example from pre-modern Japanese literature can be found in the first three short sentences of Matsuo Bashō’s *Oku no Hosomichi* おくのほそ道; cf. Wittkamp 2015, 37-53.

to rehabilitate Itō's centripetal structure the questions of the present investigation are limited to the narrative parts of the main authorized version, and only in this sense the descriptive lines are of less importance. To understand the contents, a simplified translation of the narrative parts of the text and the four short poems precedes further enquiry.

[23 lines omitted] She (*imo*), who like the pearl seaweed / Slept snuggled close to me / (25) [her, like] Dew and frost / [I] have left behind, alas, [and now] since/when coming [and being] here / On this path / At each of the eighty [many] bendings / ten thousand times / (30) [I] looked back, and yet / more and more far away / [I] have moved away / More and more / High mountains that [I] have crossed / (35) [Like the withering] summer weeds / (36/37) [I] presume, [her] thoughts [= memories, yearning] are already slackening right now / "[I] wish to see the gate of my beloved / Lie down, you mountain!" (2: 131)

In Iwami, at the [high mountain] Takatsuno-*yama*, through the spaces of the trees / [I] wonder if she has seen my sleeve that [I] have waved just now (2: 132)

The rustling bamboo grass in the precious mountains, no matter how tangled it may be / I [on the other hand, will] think [clearly] of the beloved, having finally parted from her (2:133)

[...] (9/10) As the pearl seaweed gently sways in the water, the child [= beloved] lay asleep / Like the seaweed in deep water / Deeper and deeper [I] think of that/her, and yet / The nights we have spent together / Were not so many / (15) *hafu-tsuta no* [epithet] / Farewell, alas, now that [I] have departed and being here / *kimo mukafu* [epithet] / A heart, full of pain / Continuously thinking of/about [her] / (20) [I] looked back, and yet / *oho-bune no* [epithet] / At/in the mountain(s) to cross / The autumn leaves / Through their falling in chaos / (25) The [waving] sleeve of my beloved / [I] cannot see it clearly / *tsuma-gomori* [epithet, "the hiding wife"] / At the mountain Yakami / (29/30) [Like] the moon passing between the clouds [hides] / Oh how unfortunate / Since [I am now] hidden / *ama-zutafu* [epithet] / The evening sun has stung my eyes / (35) A real man / I thought of myself, and yet / *shiki-tahe no* [epithet] / The sleeves of [my] garment / Are completely soaked [with my tears] (2: 135)

The strong stallion / Since his legs are so fast / As far as the clouds / The place of my beloved / Having left it behind and realized [being here and] irreversibly parted (2: 136)
 In the autumn hills / Falling yellow leaves / Just for a moment / Don't scatter so tangledly / [I] wish to see the place of my beloved (2: 137)

The introductory lines in the two long poems have in common that they describe the coast of Iwami, although they differ in the detail. It is therefore not surprising that the narrative verses that follow also do not differ significantly in terms of content. They also possess a different number of details, and a change of emphasis may be discernible (see below, basic positions). Different are the last five lines of each of the two long poems and the appended short poems. They pose difficulties in determining the relationships to the long poems, and for narratological questions their arrangement in the space-time order of the narrated world is of particular interest. Notwithstanding the difficulties, the research on the Iwami *sōmon* poems can be organized into three basic positions (in order of appearance). The main question concerns the spatial-temporal relationship between the narratives of the groups A and B.

I. the chronological or linear model (no change of the order of time): In the established doctrine (*tsūsetsu*), the poems form a narrative context in which time of the narrated world unfolds in accordance with the text's progression, and a spatial movement towards the capital is expressed (chronology, linearity); main representatives of that model in recent research are Kōnoshi Takamitsu and (according to Shiotani, 1984, 216, 220) Inaoka Kōji.

II. the model of the reverse time order (anachrony, analepsis, flashback¹⁸⁾): The model opposing basic position I (*tsūsetsu*) also sees narrative connections in space and time, but the narrated time runs backwards from group A to group B. Within this position, one must differentiate between:

IIa: including poem 2: 140 (Itō Haku, A → B → 2:140)

IIb: without poem 2: 140 (Misaki Hisashi, A → B)

18) Cf. *Ihm* article "Time" by Scheffel, Weixler, and Werner 2013 (2014, revised article).

III. the synchronic or parallel model without narrative developments (A = B); time and space of the long poems are identical. What is claimed is a reformulation or change of mind, which is also described as “theses on the main topic (*shudai-ron* 主題論; cf. Misaki 2005, 271).” This position assumes a simultaneity of events and happenings in the two long poems 2: 131 and 135 but sees different emphases:

IIIa: In poem 2: 131, the emphasis is on the “beloved,” in 2: 135, on the “I” (Nakanishi Susumu¹⁹) and Hashimoto Tatsuo [“change of perspective”], “synchronic-parallel structure [*dōji-heikō no kōzō* 同時並行の構造] after Hashimoto 1991, 97-98, “two poems one chain” [*nishu ichiren* 二首一連] after Nakanishi 1995, 452-453)

IIIb: poem 2: 131 addresses refusal (*kyozetsu* 拒絶, *hitei* 否定) to separate (別れ *wakare*), and 2: 135 addresses acceptance (*wakare no juyō* 別れの受容). The poems display an “emotional change (*shinjō tenkan* 心情轉換; Shiotani 1984).”

3 The Mountain of the Last Look

Moving from the coast of Iwami across the country towards Yamato, where the court was located, leads quickly to the mountain behind which the coastal region is no longer visible. In Japanese research, this mountain is called *mi-osame-yama* 見納め山, the “mountain of the last look.” The character who had to depart from the beloved also must cross this mountain at one point, and the last two verses in 2: 131 presented in characters’ discourse read as follows:²⁰

妹之門將見 靡此山

imo ga kado mimu / nabike kono yama

“[I] want to see my beloved’s gate / Lie down, this [you] mountain!”

Edwin A. Cranston (1993, 205) and Alexander Vovin (2020, 106) take 山 *yama* as “mountains” (plural), but Japanese research sees only one mountain. The last lines in 2: 131 are

19) According to Kōnoshi (1992, 260-261), Nakanishi takes the “standpoint of established doctrine (*tsūsetsu*).” He cites Nakanishi’s book *Hitomaro no Kakinomoto* as a source, which, however, is unclear without revealing the year.

20) For narrator’s discourse and characters’ discourse, see Schmid 2010, 118-121.

remarkable because they contain a command to a mountain expressed in characters' discourse, the words of which, moreover, are in a grammatical inversion. This can be understood as an expression of colloquial language, but should Itō's theory of the reversed temporal order be agreed with, the inversion can also be seen as foreshadowing (anticipation) of the inverted chronicle order. The last two lines of the second *hanka* poem (2: 133) read as follows:

吾者妹思 別來禮婆

are ha imo (o)mofu / wakare kinu-re ba

I [will] think of my beloved / Since having finally parted from her

As Cranston's translation and Vovin's paraphrase also prove, the two lines contain grammatical difficulties, but first it should be noted that they are again presented as inversion. The first *hanka* poem (2: 132) thematizes the worries of the narrated character in the mountains whether the woman left behind at the coast of Iwami has seen his waving sleeve. This worry is expressed via the complex grammar in 見都良武香 *mi-tsu-ra-mu ka*, "I wonder whether she has seen [the sleeve I waved] just now." The auxiliary *-ramu* stands for a presumption of something in the present time, which is separated by space.²¹⁾ However, unlike *-rashi*, there is no perceptual clue that is connected to the object of the presumption. The auxiliary *-ramu* refers to something to which there is no spatial or material connection. In the poem, however, it is the combination *-tsu-ramu ka*, and, according to Bruno Lewin (1975, 167), the verbal suffixes *-tsu* and *-nu* "originally served to explicitly state a fact or state of affairs (assertoric)" (cf. Miyakoshi, Ishi, and Oda 2011, entry つ [助動詞], digital). Their use as aspect markers (*kanryō* 完了, perfective), he continues, probably developed only in Old Japanese of the Nara period, i.e. during the eighth century. The particle *ka* marks a question, but here it has the additional function of narrowing time to the single moment "just now."

21) Frellesvig explains auxiliaries as "inflecting suffixes" and particles as "bound postpositional grammatical words which attach to a host, minimally a word" (2011, 58, 124). He mentions the Japanese description as *setsuzoku joshi* 接続助詞, "conjunctive particles," but treats *ba* as "continuative" (... *a-ba*)/"provisional" (...*e-ba*) and *do* as "concessive [...] non-finite verb forms" (cf. *ibid.*, p.57).

The action itself is already past, but it is a just-completed past, as if the narrated self is still holding up the waving hand. The verbal phrase presents, so to speak, a pregnant moment, the very point in which the present turns into the past. Thus, while the second *hanka* poem seems to refer to the time when the coast of Iwami is no longer visible, poem 2: 132 might refer to a point in time shortly before or at the crossing of the mountain of final sighting. In any case, the two poems can thus be read in chronological order, addressing slightly different points of time and space expressed in the preceding long poem. Oddly enough, however, the waving sleeve is then thematized again in the second long poem (2: 135):

渡乃山之 黄葉乃 散之亂爾 妹袖 清爾毛不見

watarahi no yama no / momichi-ba no / chiri no magahi ni / imo ga sode / saya ni mo miezu

At/in the mountain(s) to cross / The autumn leaves / Through their falling in chaos /
The [waving] sleeve of my beloved / [I] cannot see it clearly

The last *hanka* poem (2: 137) takes up this issue again and reads as follows:

秋山爾 落黄葉 須臾者 勿散亂曾 妹之當將見

aki-yama ni / otsuru momichi-ba / shimashiku ha / na chiri-midare²²⁾ so / imo ga atari mimu

In the autumn hills / Falling yellow leaves / Just for a moment / Don't scatter so tangledly / [I] wish to see the place of my beloved

So, if the mountain of last sight has already been passed, why is the sight of the waving sleeve thematized again? The established theory, which reads the poems as a temporal development of the narrated world, of course also sees this problem, and the solution is

22) The commentaries read 散亂 *chiri-magahi*. In meaning, *magafu* and *midaru* are not too far apart, but 亂 does not appear in 2: 138 and 139, the poems of stage I. It appears in 2: 133 and occurs three times in the poems of group B (one instance is in the *ibun* line of poem 2: 137). 亂 is to be considered together with 吾, "I," which was erased from stage I in the revision. The character then reappears in the poem 2: 133, together with 亂.

explanations such as “the hope to ‘see’” (*miru koto no kibō* 「見る」ことの希望; Kōnoshi 1999, 216), an “illusional desire” (*genkaku no ganbō* 幻覚の願望; Kōnoshi 1992, 266), or simply an “illusion” (Hashimoto 1991, 80-81). However, this understanding may also be because pre-narratological research could not imagine such an elaborate narrative technique as the reverse time order. We start to understand how subtle and imaginative Itō’s thinking was. However, one point in favor of the parallel unfolding of the narrated world (*diegesis*) and the poem text (*exegesis*),²³⁾ i.e. the basic position I, might be the lines 33 and 34 of the long poem 2: 135:

天傳 入日刺奴禮

ama-zutafu / iri-hi sashi-nu-re

“The heaven-coursing sun / Sank low and shone level with my eyes” (Cranston 1993, 207)

“(33/34) the rising sun that goes across the sky is indeed shining.” (Vovin 2020, 113)

It is incomprehensible why Vovin paraphrases 入日 *iri-hi* as “rising sun” since it is the setting sun. Be that as it may, both renderings show problems with the grammar in 刺奴禮 *sashi-nu-re*, which usually is understood as an ellipsis, expressing causality, such as “because the sun is setting.”²⁴⁾ In the traditional reading, these lines are understood in the sense of “towards the hostel for the night” (cf. Kōnoshi 1992, 258-259, 1999, 216-217).

There is another aspect that is taken as an argument to corroborate the connection with the

23) For *diegesis* and *exegesis*, cf. Schmid 2010, 6.

24) The commentaries equate *irihi sashi-nure* with *irihi sashi nure ba* and translate it as “since the evening sun was shining” (Aso 1: 336) or “since the evening sun has set” (Kojima, Kinoshita, and Tōno 6: 103). Omodaka (2: 166) or Satake et al. (1: 112), who bring more examples of this grammar, also add *ba* and emphasize the reference to the following as a “condition” (*jōkenhō* 条件法 or *jōken* 条件). However, the logic behind this is not necessarily comprehensible. Nakanishi (1995, 450-451) reviews the grammar and wonders why, given the preceding double use of the conjunctive particle (postposition) *ba*, *ba* should be added here, as the commentaries call for and translate causally as *node*, “because, since.” He finds the explanation as “old usage [...] unnatural,” and he also does not accept the argument of omitting *ba* to avoid monotony or a syllable surplus that would result from *iri-hi sashi-nure ba*. He sees no other way than to read *sashi-nure* as it stands in the text, i.e., an emotional exclamation (*eitan* 詠嘆), whose meaning lies between “since, because” (*node*) and “although” (*noni*).

hostel. The lines 37 and 38, 敷妙乃 衣袖者 *shiki-tahe no koromo no sode ha*, “the sleeve of my *shiki-tahe* garment,” contain the pillow word (*makura-kotoba* 枕詞, “epithet”) *shiki-tahe no*, which precedes the words 袖 *sode*, “sleeve,” or 枕 *makura*, “pillow,” etc. Cranston also understands the hostel for the night, which he directly brings into his translation: “The sleeves of this robe / That I spread for my sleep at night.”²⁵⁾ The interpretation as “hostel for the night” seems to go back to Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697 to 1769), to whom Kōnoshi refers (cf. Kōnoshi 1992, 258-259; 1999, 216-217), and belongs to established doctrine (*tsūsetsu*). However, it has been shown that the verses created by Hitomaro evoke the erotic image of the bed shared with the woman (cf. Misaki 2005, 259), and this image also emerges from lines 24 to 26 of the long poem 2: 138 (stage I) which reads as follows:

吾宿之 敷妙之 妹之手本乎

[...] *waga ne-shi / shiki-tahe no / imo ga ta-moto wo*

[...] I slept / *shiki-tahe no* / In the arms of my beloved

Like the erased “I,” these lines no longer occur in 2: 131, the revised text, and *shiki-tahe no* was moved to 2: 135. Nevertheless, seen in the context of the presented versions of the textual genesis, the lines in poem 2: 135 do not refer to the hostel for the night but to the arms of the beloved. At the very least, the arguments of the established doctrine cannot be sustained.

4 The Poems and Their Places in the Narrated World

The narrative text-types of the two long poems account of the path through the mountains and the thoughts of the traveling character, which is to be specified as the narrated self presented by a diegetic narrator.²⁶⁾ An important element is the *mi-osame-yama*, the

25) Vovin’s paraphrase is “(38) [have] the sleeves of [my] garment (37) from the spread mulberry tree bark cloth”; cf. Cranston 1993, 207; Vovin 2020, 113.

26) Schmid explains: “A narrator is diegetic if he belongs to the diegesis, if, accordingly, he narrates about himself—or, more specifically, about his previous self—as a character in the narrated story. The diegetic narrator appears on two levels: in both the exegesis, the narration, and the diegesis, the narrated story. The non-diegetic narrator, on the other hand, belongs only to the exegesis and does not narrate about himself as a character in the diegesis, instead narrating exclusively about other people” (2010, 68); for “Narrating and narrated self,” cf. *ibid.* pp.76-78.

mountain, behind which the view of the coastal region is no longer possible. The name of the mountain as well as the location of “Hitomaro” (traditional research, Itō) or the “narrator” (*katarite* ‘[語 手]’; Misaki 2005, throughout put into brackets), which in the present paper is the narrated self, are subject of discussions. The conclusion lines in the long poem 2: 131 express the narrated self’s command to the mountain to lie down, and the long poem 2: 135 ends with a highly emotional statement that can be understood as a dramatically performed monologue or as thought speech. If the narrative of 2: 135 connects chronologically to that of 2: 131 without reversal (basic position I), 2: 135 must be an account of a different part of the mountains. Basic position III presumes the presentation of a parallel or identical time-space order, whereas basic position II sees a reversed chronology (analepsis) with an enlargement of a part of the same time-space order.²⁷⁾

Itō proposes the latter standpoint and sees a reverse chronological order with its center in poem 2: 140. However, since the narrative part in 2: 135 then would be an enlargement with more narrative details, the question arises as to the place and time of the reversed chronology as well as the amount of time captured in it. At the same time, the question arises as to the relationship of the short poems to the two long poems. Do they continue the time of the narrated world, or do they repeat scenes from the long poems? They might even continue the time reversal and lead further into the past. Of course, these questions are difficult to discuss, but the analysis of the grammar in the next section should help clarify some issues.

Itō locates the time of the narrated world in 2: 133 after the long poem 2: 131 ending with the narrated self’s command to the mountain to lie down. His starting point is the mountain 高角山 *Taka-tsuno-yama* in 2: 132, by which he understands a mountain that forms the border to the “sphere of influence (*seiryoku han’i* 勢力範圍)” of “Tsuno,” the bay (角乃浦廻 *Tsuno no ura-mi*) mentioned at the beginning of poem 2: 131. It is the name of the area where the beloved is left behind, and according to Itō, the mountain allows a view of that area from its height (高 *taka*; cf. 1975, 280-283). The problem is that in 2: 139, the only *hanka* short poem of stage I, the mountain bears another name without comprehensible connections to “Tsuno,” and that with 2: 133, at the last stage of textual genesis (in his model of three

27) On the poetical technique of inflating time and space of the narrated world in Ōtomo no Yakamochi’s poetry, see Wittkamp 2021 b/c.

stages), a new poem appears. Itō is particularly concerned with the relationship of the mountain name and the grammar in *wakare kinu-re ba*, the last line of 2: 133, which he (ibid.) translates as *wakarete kite shimatta node* 別れて来きてしまったので, “since I have irrevocably/finally parted from her” (cf. Shiotani 1984, 216-217).

Itō reads the first short poem (2: 132) as a “final lamentation of the final parting at the boundary formed by the *mi-osame-yama*” (ibid., p.281), and once one realizes this, he concludes, the “inner truth” of *wakare ki-nure ba* becomes perfectly clear. In this expression, the “acceptance of the final farewell” is inscribed as well as the “formulation of the loneliness of being finally separated from the spouse (*tsuma* 妻) and now moving all alone into the land that no longer has any relationship with the spouse’s home” (cf. Itō ibid.; the word *tsuma* is taken from the poem’s title). The established view (*tsūsetsu*) apparently does not understand “this mountain” (*kono yama*), to which the narrated self’s appeal at the end of 2: 131 is directed, to refer to Takatsuno-*yama*, since it appears in the following short poem 2: 132 (cf. Shiotani ibid., p.216).

The reading and understanding of short poem 2: 133 continue to be difficult and are the subject of discussion, which cannot be pursued further in the present paper. It should be mentioned, however, that research unanimously sees in this poem the link or bridging function between groups A and B.

Misaki scrutinizes Itō’s interpretations carefully and summarizes his findings in a series of charts (cf. Misaki 2005, 246-268). The upper part of them shows a pointed mountain, on the left side of which is the village of the beloved. Below this mountain, dots indicate the position of the poems before or after the peak (moving from left to the right). The first chart (ibid., p.249) shows Group A, and while the poem 2: 131 moves towards the highest point of the mountain without reaching it (indicated by an arrow), 2: 132 and 133 are already behind it (indicated by dots). According to Misaki (ibid., p.248), Itō expresses himself unclearly in determining Hitomaro’s spatial position at the end of 2: 131, which he sees as a trigger for the critical argument. Regarding the poem 2: 132, however, Itō writes that although Hitomaro cannot emotionally leave the mountain behind, the final farewell has been accomplished: “The body has already descended one or two steps down the mountain” (1975, 282).

The second chart (Misaki, ibid., p.252) shows poem 2: 131 in the *ibun* version together with 2:

134 “from another book,” and chart 3 (ibid., p.256) illustrates Misaki’s interpretation of group A. In his reading, all three poems (dots) of group A are located behind the highest point of the *mi-osame-yama*. Chart 4 (ibid., p.262) is devoted to group B with poems 2: 135 to 137 and locates the three poems (dots) on the left side of the highest point, i.e. before reaching it. Misaki reads 2: 136 as a “memory (*kaiso* 回想),” but otherwise his analysis of group B agrees with Itō. Finally, he (ibid., p.268) summarizes his analyses again in a diagram, and it remains to be noted that the only difference in group A is the position of 2: 131. While Itō—in Misaki’s understanding—locates this before the highest point, it lies shortly behind it in Misaki’s model. This seems logical as the narrated self commands the mountain to lie down so as to be able to see the area of the beloved.

5 Grammar

The following table shows the verb combinations of the narrative parts of the authorized main version; the building pauses—the “preludes”—in 2: 131 and 135 are not considered.

Table 1: Verb phrases

A	置而之來者 <i>oki-te (te) shi kure ba</i>	Since/when having left (the beloved) behind (- <i>tsu</i> / - <i>te</i>) to come and being here	to come 來
2: 131	顧為騰 <i>kaherimi sure do</i>	I am looking back and yet	to look back 顧
	里者放奴 <i>sato ha sakari-nu</i>	the village/I has/have moved away (- <i>nu</i>)	
	越來奴 <i>koye-ki-nu</i>	I came crossing (<i>nu</i>)	來
	念思奈要而 <i>omohi-shi-na-ye te</i>	yearn slackly	念/思 <i>omofu</i>
	志怒布良武 <i>shi-no-fu-ra-mu</i>	(she) probably longs (- <i>ramu</i>)	presumption
	將見 <i>mimu</i>	I wish to see (the gate) (- <i>mu</i>)	to see 見
2: 132	我振袖乎 <i>aga furu sode wo</i>	my waving sleeve (= object)	
	見都良武香 <i>mi-tsu-ra-mu ka</i>	I wonder if she saw my waving sleeve) (- <i>tsu</i> + - <i>ramu</i>), just now (<i>ka</i>)	見 aspect + presumption
2: 133	思 <i>omofu</i>	to think of (my beloved)	念/思
	別來禮婆 <i>wakare-ki-nure ba</i>	since having finally parted from her (- <i>nu</i>)	來
B	[角障經 <i>tsuno saha-fu</i>]	epithet with <i>fu</i> -phrase	(“prelude”)
2: 135	深目手思騰 <i>fukame te omohe do</i>	deeper and deeper I think and yet	念/思
	別之來者 <i>wakare shi kure ba</i>	farewell, alas, now that I have departed and being here	來

	念乍 <i>omohi tsutsu</i>	continuously thinking of/about (<i>tsutsu</i>)	念／思
	顧為騰 <i>kaheri-mi sure do</i>	I am looking back and yet	顧
	清爾毛不見 <i>saya ni mo miezu</i>	I cannot see (it) clearly	見
	渡相月 <i>watara-fu tsuki</i>	the passing moon (<i>-fu</i> , continuation)	
	隱比來者 <i>kakura-hi-kure ba</i>	hiding more and more (<i>-fu</i>), since/ when that is so	來
	入日刺奴禮 <i>irihhi sashi-nu-re</i>	[because?] (the evening sun) has shown (<i>-nu</i>)	
	念有 <i>omohe-ru</i>	(adnominal) I am thinking “about myself)	念／思
	袖者通而沾奴 <i>sode ha tohori te nure- nu</i>	the sleeves have become wet through and through (<i>-nu</i>)	
2: 136	足搔乎遠 <i>ashi-gaki wo hayami</i>	the feet moved quickly (horse) (although)	
	過來來計類 <i>sugi te ki-ni-keru</i>	having left (the beloved) behind and realized one's being here (<i>ni-keru</i>)	來
2: 137	落 <i>otsuru / chirafu</i>	fall (autumn leaves)	
	將見 <i>mimu</i>	I wish to see	見

The relevant conclusions²⁸⁾ can be condensed into the following points that are to be understood in associative-essayistic order:

1. Nakanishi Susumu (1995, 445) draws attention to the conjunctive postpositions (*setsuzoku joshi* 接統助詞 : cf. Lewin 1975, 85-86) *ba*, “since, because,” and *do*, “yet, although,” and reads the structure *imo wo ... oki-te shi kure ba ... kaherimi sure do ...* in 2: 131 as a lining up of causes. This affects the first two verb phrases, and the result of these “causes” is denoted in the next two verb phrases with the auxiliary *-nu* in *sato ha sakari-nu* and *koye-ki-nu*. The narrated self has moved away from the village and crossed over or passed through mountains. The structure of *ba* and *do* is complicated in the second long poem (2: 135), where two *ba* are given, and *do* also occurs twice. The auxiliary *-nu* also appears twice toward the end of the long poem, but only the last one *tohori te nure-nu*, “(my sleeve) has become thoroughly wet,” is to be understood as a possible result. In 2: 135, *-nu* does not serve to determine the spatial position of the narrated self. Whereas in 2: 131 the village lies in the distance and one or more mountains have been crossed, in 2: 135 the farewell has been taken, but in the emotional perception of the narrated self, it has not yet been accomplished.

28) Due to the page limit necessary for this essay, not all grammar issues can be discussed. I will make up for that in another place.

The woman's figure, her waving sleeve, and her village have gradually faded from view, and because of his thinking about that (*omofu*) the sleeves are soaked with tears.²⁹ The grammar in the last verses of 2: 135 is difficult to get a grip on and allows for different interpretations. 2. However, the question is whether the structure of *ba* and *-nu* must be understood at all in the strict sense as cause and result. There are enough examples that prove a simple temporal connection or succession. In Hitomaro's poem 1: 48, *ba* is not to be understood causally but as "when, after," ... *suru to* in modern Japanese : 反見為者 月西渡 *kaheri-mi sure ba tsuki katabukinu*, "when I looked back, the moon went down [in the West]." In this poem, *-nu* is not written out, but it is, for example, in poem 1: 8 : 月待者 潮毛可奈比沼 *tsuki mate ba shiho mo ka-na-hi-nu*, "when/while we were waiting for the moon, the tide had become auspicious." The line *wakare-ki-nure ba* in 2: 133, however, does not fit into this scheme. Here, the postposition *ba* seems to function causally—especially since nothing follows.

3. As already mentioned, according to Bruno Lewin (1975: 167), the verbal suffixes (auxiliary verbs) *-tsu* and *-nu* "originally served to explicitly state a fact or state of affairs (assertoric)," and their use as aspect markers (*kanryō*, perfect) probably developed only in Old Japanese of the Nara period. These assumptions might be confirmed by the Iwami poems. Regarding the difficult line 置而之來者 in 2: 231,³⁰ however, the commentaries seem to read *oki te shi kureba ba* with the postposition *te* for the "paratactic connection of predicates" (Lewin *ibid.*, p.87), "and then," which is supported by the use of the character 而 in Classical Chinese. However,

29) Hashimoto (1991, 81) further condenses the reason-result complexity. He refers to lines 21 to 24 in 2: 135 and sees the cause of "I cannot see (it) clearly" in lines 31 to 34 ("the narrated self/village has moved away") in 2: 131. Hashimoto discusses other connections of this type. According to Nakanishi (1995, 447), the structure in 2: 135 is broadly identical to 2: 131, but the epithets (*makura-kotoba* 枕詞) and poem-internal prefaces (*jo-kotoba* 序詞) make it "bloated" (*fukuramashite-ita*), and as a result, the account completely loses clarity and coherence. His conclusion, on the other hand, is clear: "There is no need for the second long poem" (*ibid.*). He gives the poem another chance, however, because it is not about the representation of farewell as an event but about the representation of the feelings at farewell (p. 448). His description of the poem as "bloated" correlates with the abovementioned "enlargement" but introduces the new aspect that the technique of bloating also brings grammar into service.

30) Kawashima devotes a paper to the two verses *tsuyu-shimo no / oki te shi kureba* but hardly addresses the grammar. His main concern is the expression *tsuyu-shimo*, "dew and frost," to show how it affects the poem's meaning; cf. Kawashima 1991.

the functions as verbal suffix (auxiliary) *-te* and postposition *te* may still have been in the process of differentiation, and in 2: 140 (see below, footnote 40) 𑖞 obviously represents the auxiliary. In any case, the origin of the suffix *-tsu* understood as perfective aspect (cf. Lewin *ibid.*, Omodaka 1983, 482) from the assertoric proposition should not be forgotten.³¹⁾ It is noticeable that the verbs referring to the time and place of the narrated self in 2: 131 are marked with *-nu* or *-tsu*. There are many exceptions, but the verbal suffix *-nu* is found in endoactive (intransitive) verbs (*jidōshi* 自動詞) and *-tsu* in exoactive (transitive) verbs (*tadōshi* 他動詞),³²⁾ where the object is determined by *wo*: *imo wo [...]* *oki-te* (2: 131), *sode wo mi-tsu-ramu ka* (2: 132), and *imo ga atari wo sugi-te* (2: 136).

4. While states and actions marked with *-nu* and *-tsu* are to be understood as completed, the additional function to emphasize the spatial position of the narrated self is absent in 2: 135. On the other hand, words expressing continuity or repetition, that is, the postposition *tsutsu* in *omohi tsutsu* and the verbal suffix *-fu* in *watara-fu tsuki* as well as *kakura-hi-kure ba* (*kakura-fu*) occur only in 2: 135.³³⁾ The commentaries read 落 in 2: 137 not as *chira-fu* but as *otsuru*, which is reasonable because the words are written with different characters. However, Omodaka's (2: 169-171) choice of *chirafu* gains credibility given the use of *-fu* in the preceding long poem. Although Takeda's (3: 417) objection that *-fu* would have to be represented by a Chinese character must be taken into consideration, the first line in 2: 135, which opens the poem with the epithet 角障經 *tsuno saha-fu*, must also be considered. There

31) For an example of *-tsu* in *Kojiki* guiding the meaning of the narrative in an almost humoristic manner, cf. Wittkamp 2018 a: 399-400.

32) Cf. Lewin 1975, 166-167, Omodaka 1983, 458-459, 551, Frellesvig 2011, 67. Frellesvig treats *te* and *do* as "gerund formant" and "concessive formant," respectively, which are "non-finite verb forms;" cf. Frellesvig *ibid.*, p.57, 133.

33) The reference of *kakurahi-kure ba* is obscured by the interpolated verses 27 to 31 and unclear in translations such as *sono sugata* その姿, "that figure" (Kojima, Kinoshita, and Tōno 6: 103), or *kakure te kita orishimo* 隠れてきた折りしも, "just at the time when ... is hidden" (Aso 1: 326, Inaoka 1: 94). However, Satake et al. (1: 112) add the woman and Omodaka (2: 166) adds the waving sleeve, both of which make sense, especially since the commentaries interpret verses 27 to 30 as a poem-internal preface (*jo* 序, or *jo-kotoba*) that introduces verses 31 and 32. Vovin's (2020: 113) paraphrasing should be reconsidered: "(31) Although [I] miss (30) the moon that crosses (29) [the sky] between the clouds (28) of Yakamī mountain (27) where spouses are secluding [themselves] in a chamber, (32) when [the moon] is hiding, [...]" First, "I" is not missing the moon but—of course—the woman, and second, it is not the moon that is hiding but the woman or the narrated self (see below).

-fu refers to a timeless, eternally continuing, or periodical repetition, which is also the case with the passing moon and the falling autumn leaves. This nuance of meaning can then also slip into *kakura-hi kure ba* (2: 135), that is, that the village or—*vice versa*—the narrated self remain hidden forever. If in this poem the auxiliary *-fu* is used with verbs whose subject is not identical with the narrated self, it would argue for *chirafu*.

Compared to *omofu* in 2: 133, the phrase *omohi tsutsu* in 2: 135 displays a delay of the discourse time and has the character of inflation or enlargement regarding the time of the narrated world. The word *omofu* is an expression of time-lapsed or summary narration since the content is not specified or can only be inferred from the context. In 2: 131, the subject of *omofu* is not the narrated self but the beloved (*imo*). However, the entire verb combination (*omohi-shinaye te shinofu-ramu*) is presented via *-ramu* as a presumption with the narrated self as its subject. In 2: 135, the verb occurs three times, and in each occurrence, the subject is the narrated self. This speaks not only for an inflated time of the narrated world, but *omofu* reveals itself as a main theme of 2: 135. At first glance, this seems to confirm Nakanishi's and Hashimoto's change of theme from the "beloved" in 2: 131 to the "I" in 2: 135. However, they do not connect with poem 2: 140, which must be returned to.

5. The verb 來 *ku*, "to come," is almost ostentatious. In all nine of Hitomaro's poems, it occurs as many as fourteen times. In 2: 138, the long poem of stage I, there are six occurrences and in 2: 131 (stage IV) including the "prelude" three. Thus, three occurrences were removed during the revision: two from the "prelude" and one from the narrative part of the text. In the authorized main version, there are three occurrences in each narrative text-type of the two groups (including the *hanka* poems), but the title contains the verb in 別妻上來時 *tsuma wo wakarete nobori-kitarishi toki* as well.³⁴ The weighting of *ku* is thus already laid out in the title, which raises the question of its significance for the question of perspective or the location of the narrated self. The characters 上 *noboru* and 下 *kudaru* in the titles of the first two *Man'yōshū* books mean "traveling up to" and "traveling away (= down) from" the court, respectively. The different formulations of the titles in the tables of contents and preceding the poems themselves show nuances of meaning that are to be understood as perspectivizations.

34) Reading according to Satake et al. 1: 109. The syllable *te* is a supplementary reading (*yomi-zoe* 読み添え), and *te* in such readings is usually understood to be the conjunctive particle ("and then").

According to Omodaka (1986: 251), besides the basic meaning “to come, to go,” 來 *ku* is used as a complementary verb (*hojo dōshi* 補助動詞) that, when attached to a main verb (*hon-dōshi* 本動詞), expresses an increase, intensification, or continuation. In this function, *ku* has apparently been in use in Classical Chinese since the Tang period and thus it may have been known to the author of the title. Incidentally, the character 上 in Middle Chinese as a verb means, among other things, “go up, ascend, get on [...] a) go forward, proceed onward” (cf. Kroll, digital, entries 來 MC loj and 上 MC dzyangH).

The verb phrase 上來 *nobori-ku* allows for three interpretations. First, in the context of the narrative of Books 1 and 2, it refers to the return journey to the court and emphasizes this aspect. Although the title does not mention the court itself, which is just as unnecessary as the word 來 *ku*, in this case the reference point is the capital or the court. 上來 can secondly emphasize the place in the mountains where “Hitomaro” (Itō) or Misaki’s “narrator” is currently located, in the sense of “having come up here.” The place where the narration is conducted (“Erzähl-Ort”) would thus be in the mountains of Iwami, but in the context of a concrete communication situation, the “addressees in the (fictional) context of the narrative” (Hühn and Schönert 2007: 11) remain unclear. To whom is “Hitomaro” or the “narrator” speaking? To the mountains? To the falling autumn leaves? His horse? While this is not entirely impossible as a monologue, the third possibility seems to make the most sense: *ku* refers to the narrated self. In this context, the presentation of the texts must be considered, which does not represent an oral storytelling at the court but a time-consuming and thus distancing work on the text. However, should Itō’s conjecture of the oral recital of the poems at court be accurate, the difference between the narrator and the narrated character would be self-evident.³⁵⁾

The “prelude” in 2: 138, the long poem from stage I, contains the verb *ku* three times, and twice it occurs as the verb phrase 來者 *kure ba*. However, all three occurrences represent processes that are eternal and therefore timeless, like the waves rising every morning or the wind rising every evening. In the revision, *kure ba* was removed and only the verb compound *ki-yoru* was left, but the spelling is different (來縁, [the waves] come to [the coast]). In the narrative poem parts as well as in the short poems, *ku* occurs only in connection with

35) Cf. Itō 1975, 293-298. This image of an oral communication scenario at court forms one of the criticisms of Itō’s model; cf. Kōnoshi 1992, 260, Misaki 2005, 243-246.

the auxiliary verb *-nu* and/or the postposition *ba*. Thus, while *ku* in the “prelude” expresses a timeless, eternally repeating process, the verb phrases *ki-nu* and *kure ba* are used to generate a concrete location in the space and time of the narrated world. On the one hand, this again shows the poet working on the text, but on the other hand it shows the effort to express the temporal-spatial position:

Table 2: *-nu* and *ba*

2: 131	置而之來者 <i>oki-te (te) shi kure ba</i> 越來奴 <i>koye-ki-nu</i>	when/since having left (object: the beloved) behind and now being here I crossed [mountains] and came here
2: 133	別來禮婆 <i>wakare-ki-nure ba</i>	since having finally parted from [her]
2: 135	別之來者 <i>wakare shi kure ba</i> 隱比來者 <i>kakura-hi-kure ba</i>	farewell, alas, since now that I have departed and am here since hiding more and more and coming here
2: 136	過而來計類 <i>sugi te ki-ni-keru</i>	having left (the beloved) behind and realized one's being here

Except for *kakura-hi kure ba*, all references are unambiguous and refer to the narrated self. Most commentaries do not specify the subject of *kakura-hi kure ba*, but Satake et al. (1: 112) adds “the woman’s figure” and Omodaka (2: 166) “the waving sleeve.” However, why should there be this one exception? It is rather to be assumed that the line also refers to the narrated self, which is hiding itself more and more. Or the ambivalent expression refers to both sides, a mutual concealment.

6. Turning again to the perfective auxiliary *-nu*, one notices that with reference to the narrated self it occurs only in 2: 131, 133, and 2: 136. The combinations with *ba* and *-nu* can possibly also be explained by the required syllable count and might, therefore, reveal nothing about the chronological order. However, if read in the sense of Itō’s narrative, the two occurrences of *kure ba* in 2: 135 express an earlier, not yet completed phase of action. While the verse *wakare shi kure ba* in 2: 135 corresponds with the narrated time in *oki te shi kure ba* of 2: 131, which together with 露霜 *tsuyu-shimo no*, “dew and frost,” might be the pivot (*kaname* 要) of the poem (cf. Kawashima 1991, 5, 18-19), there is a temporal development between *wakare shi kure ba* and *kakura-hi-kure ba*, the two lines in 2: 135. In this sense, the lines *wakare-ki-nure ba* in 2: 133 and *sugi te ki-ni-keru* in 2: 136 are not far apart in the time

of the narrated world. The former is the statement of having come to a point where the separation is completed, and the latter expresses the mental realization (*-keri*) that the separation is completed and irreversible. It is almost as if one could read both verses in direct connection: *wakare-ki-nure ba / sugi te ki-ni-keru*, "since having parted from [her], having left (the beloved) behind, I now realized I am at the point of irreversible separation." There remains, of course, the question of the chronological location of poem 2: 137, which, however, can also be read as an expression of resignation, a last attempt, an unrealizable wish of the narrated self lost in the mountains.

The grammar of the narrative parts of the poems is quite compatible with Itō Haku's reading of a reverse chronology and inflated time and space—at least his model cannot be contradicted by the grammar. Conversely, the established doctrine (*tsūsetsu*) reconfirmed by Kōnoshi Takamitsu may give rise to difficulties in explaining some of its phenomena. There is, however, the connection of Hitomaro's poems with 2: 140, the poem by the woman, that seems to be completely out of view in post-Itō research. It corroborates Itō's interpretation, as 2: 140 does indeed form a center in terms of content.

6 Reflection and Self-reflexivity

In Itō's centripetal model, the groups A and B converge on their center in 2: 140. In other words, unlike Misaki's reading of a reversed time order, from which the woman's poem is excluded, Itō's model is sufficiently motivated.³⁶⁾ However, Itō does not dwell on grammar, and he apparently overlooked an essential detail supporting his understanding. Table 1 reveals that it is not only the verb *ku* that *must* stand out for its conspicuous repetitions but also the mnemo-noetic verb *omofu*,³⁷⁾ which in Old Japanese can stand for any internal process, such as "to think, to remember," or "to long for." It appears in the preceding forty-six poems of the *sōmon* section with five instances in five poems as well as in two poem

36) According to Misaki (2005, 241), recent research "does not sufficiently understand Itō's prescience (*senkensei* 先見性)." However, by tacitly passing over poem 2: 140, he proves that he, too, fails to do so.

37) The description as mnemo-noetic is meant to emphasize that the verbs of internal activities, such as to think and to remember, were not yet clearly differentiated; cf. Wittkamp 2014 a, 22, 2014 b, 189-320.

titles.³⁸⁾ The word is usually written with two different characters,³⁹⁾ and in Hitomaro's nine Iwami poems, 念 occurs four times and 思 six times. However, three occurrences of 思 are from the previous versions 2: 138 (stage I), one in an *ibun* line "from another source," and in the line 念 思 奈 要 而 *omohi-shi-na-ye-te*, "[her] memories/yearnings are getting weak" (2: 131, stage IV), 思 is a phonogram for *shi*. This is not at all unusual but in the present context noteworthy because the corresponding line in 2: 138 (stage I) with 思 志 萎 而 *omohi-shinaye te* is written with different characters. Thus, in the revised version, the phonogram 志 *shi* was deliberately replaced by 思. This use can be described as semantic doubling or condensing (cf. Wittkamp 2014 b, 69, 96-98).

The verb *omofu* is a common expression in *sōmon* and memory poems, but poem 2: 140 makes its special meaning in Hitomaro's poems comprehensible. It reads as follows (the title is to be returned to later):

勿念跡 君者雖言 相時 何時跡知而加 吾不戀有牟

na omohi to / kimi ha ihe domo / ahamu toki / itsu to shiri-te ka / aga kohizara-mu

"Don't think of [me]!", so you say, and yet, the time when we will meet again, [even] if [I] would know that already,⁴⁰⁾ wouldn't I not be yearning for you?! [of course, I would!]

Itō writes about the poem, among other things, as follows:

"Don't be longing! (*na omohi so*)" are the words Hitomaro let loose on the woman as he leaves, but the preceding coherent sequence [of groups A and B] does not address any feelings that revolve around these words. (1975: 295)

38) Cf. poems 2: 92 (御 念 *omohosu*), 2: 102 (孤 悲 念 *kohi-omofu*), 2: 112 (念 流 *omoheru*), 2: 122 (物 念 *mono-omohi*), 2: 125 (念 *omofu*), and the titles preceding poems 2: 114 and 2: 119, both with 思.

39) On mnemo-noetic verbs, such as to think or to remember, in the context of Old Japanese memory poetry ("Erinnerungsdichtung"), cf. Wittkamp 2014 b, 189-320.

40) In this poem, the character 而 must stand for the auxiliary *-tsu* in the infinitive form (*ren'yōkei* 連用形). Japanese commentaries paraphrase the meaning of *shiri-te ka* ..., but do not discuss 而. Omodaka (1983, 171) explains in the second meaning of the question particle 歟 *ka* the combination infinitive + *ka* in the sentence, at the end of which the predicate is in the adnominal form (*rentaikei* 連体形; Frellesvig 2011, 116). This combination is also present in 2: 140.

At this point, his argument is indeed no longer comprehensible, which has to be explained. First, it is noticeable in 2: 140 that, except for 相 *ahamu*, “will meet” (future tense; on the reading, cf. Omodaka 2: 162), it consists of the mnemo-noetic verbs *omofu*, “to think longingly of, to remember,” *shiru*, “to know,” and *kofu*, “to long for,” as well as the *verbum dicendi* (verb of utterance) *to ifu*, “... so you say,” which here together thematize a reflection on mnemo-noetic activities. The entire poem is a complex reflection, and Hitomaro's preceding poems can be read as such as well, including the “preludes.” The difference is that the woman sums up in a single short poem what the man does all the time: text-type “Argumentative” versus text-type “Narrative”.

The first occurrence of *omofu* is in 念思奈要而志怒布良武 *omohi-shinaye te shinofu-ramu*, “[Like the withering summer weeds] / [I] presume that [her] thoughts [= memories, yearning] are already slackening right now,” at the end of poem 2: 131. It has been shown that in the context of poetry of memory (“Erinnerungsdichtung”), the semantics of the verbs *omofu* and *shinofu* often cannot be distinguished (cf. Wittkamp 2014b, 309-320), which may be the case here. It is crucial to realize that *shinofu*, “to yearn, long, remember,” is another verb that refers to mnemo-noetic activities. The auxiliary *-ramu*, which occurs again in 2: 132, stands for presumptions about the present and thus also displays internal processes. The two lines represent a complex reflection.

The line 深目手思騰 *fukame-te omohe do*,⁴¹⁾ “deeper and deeper I think and yet,” in 2: 135 is a self-reflection that corresponds with 念有 *omohe-ru*, “I am thinking [about myself],” the last occurrence in 2: 135. The poem 2: 133, which concludes group A, contains *omofu* with reference to the beloved (*imo omofu*), and this *omofu* is temporarily stretched by *omohi tsutsu*, “continuously thinking of/about,” in poem 2: 135. In the centripetal reading with reversed temporal order, the starting point is *na omohi* in the first line in poem 2: 140. 君 *kimi*, “my lord,” advises 吾 *aga*, the speaker of the poem, not to think about him or to forget him, and in the poems of groups A and B, this 君 changes to 吾, the narrated self, doing exactly what he advised against before, namely thinking about the separated partner all the time. This lends the poems something that cautiously might be called humor.

In addition to the verbs *ku* and *omofu*, Table 1 also clarifies another group of verbal

41) The word *fukamu* itself means “to make deep” and, via the metaphorical reference, “to think deep in the heart,” for which Omodaka (1983, 630) cites evidence.

combinations, that of visual perception. The character 見 for “to see, to look” alone appears eighteen times in the three groups (including previous versions and preludes), and groups A and B contain four occurrences in 將見 *mimu* (two times), 見都良武香 *mi-tsu-ra-mu ka*, and 不見 *miezu*. The verb *kaheri-miru*, “to look back,” is presented twice in 顧為騰 *kaheri-mi sure do*. Human visual perception of the external world is linked to internal processes, but this linkage is also made evident at the textual level. The character 目 used as a phonogram in 深目手思騰 *fukame-te omohe do*, “deeper and deeper I think and yet,” means “eye.” 手 means “hand” and together with 目 the whole body is involved—here we must also remember the tear-soaked (目) sleeves (手) at the end of 2: 135. Such intratextual connections of semantics are called isotopy.

7 Title and Position of Poem 2: 240 as the Last One in the *sōmon* Section of Book 2

Further analyses and comparisons would certainly bring to light subtleties of the narrative, but for the purpose of this examination, the results presented should be sufficient. In the last section, we shall take a look at the title to 2: 140 since it reveals another connection to Hitomaro’s poems. The question of the poem’s position is also of interest as it is the last poem of the *sōmon* section in Book 2.

柿本朝臣人麻呂 妻 依羅娘子 與 人麻呂 相別 歌一首

Kakinomoto *no asomi* Hitomaro *no tsuma* Yosami *no wotome to* Hitomaro *ahi-wakareshi uta isshu* (Satake et al. 1: 115)

A poem by Yosami *no wotome*, Hitomaro *no asomi* Kakinomoto’s wife, when she and Hitomaro are mutually separated.

Itō (1: 310) points out the expressions in the titles to Hitomaro’s poems and to 2: 140 as they refer to each other via the character 別 *wakare*, “parting, farewell.” According to him, this not only “without doubt” shows the coherence of the poems but also the special meaning of “parting” in the group of the Iwami-*sōmon* poems. The designation “from another book” implies a source of material that existed alongside the authorized main version. If the revised work included the poem 2: 140, as Itō assumes, without the texts “from another book” (stage I and II poems 2: 134, 2: 138 and 139) there would be a much closer connection between the

authorized main version and 2: 140. If the titles also existed as a genuine part of the authorized main version, the phrase 相別 *ahi-wakareshi* (past tense, adnominal) would be in direct correspondence with 別 in the title preceding 2: 131. These are speculations, but it is reasonable to presume that the formulation of 相 *ahi-* is intended to emphasize precisely this reference to 別. In its first function, 相 means “indicating reciprocal or mutual action.” The character can also express the reference to the subject (“abandoned by Hitomaro”), but “X 與 Y 相別” means “X and Y mutually parted.”⁴²⁾

There is another supporting indication for the theory of connected titles because two titles represent the precedent for “separation” as a theme given in a title. A poem title can hardly be testimony of an oral communication situation but rather is a reflection or staging on the level of writing, which already inscribes a certain distance from the actual or implied situation in which the poem might have been composed. Analogous to Kōnoshi's *hakken sareta ware* 発見された「我」, the “discovered self,” or the “discovery of ‘private emotion’ (*shijō no ‘hakken’ 私情の「発見」*; cf. Kōnoshi 1999: 215, 219)—perhaps Kōnoshi's response to Itō's “birth of the ‘poet’ (*kajin no tanjō* 「歌人」の誕生; cf. Itō 1975: 298)—別 can therefore be said to be the discovery of parting.

The title to 2: 140 contains one more special feature. Although the poem itself is a reflection on time,⁴³⁾ 時 *toki* does not appear in the title. The character 時 is part of most titles in *Man'yōshū* Books 1 and 2 and denotes the time when the poem is composed, as is the case in the title preceding 2: 131. Most of the poem titles in which 時 *toki* does not appear follow and belong to titles that display 時. For example, the titles 1: 32 to 1:33 or the titles to 1: 43 and 1: 44 are within the sphere of influence of the titles preceding 1: 29 and 1: 40, respectively. The poems 1: 29 to 31 and 1: 40 to 42 are by Hitomaro, but the following ones are by other poets (for the sequence 1: 29 to 33, cf. Wittkamp 2022). The poem 2: 140 itself thematizes the separation, but it was not composed at that time, as some commentaries suggest by their “supplementing translation.”⁴⁴⁾ The poem's title and content together imply a certain time

42) Cf. the entries 相 and 與 in Kroll 2015 (digital); Togawa 2015 (digital); Tōdō 2018 (digital).

43) The lines 3 and 4 of the poem contain twice the character 時 *toki*, “time,” in 相時何時, but what is important is their immediate proximity.

44) While in translation Kojima, Kinoshita, and Tōno (6: 106), or Satake et al. (1: 115) complement *toki* 時, “at the time, when,” Aso (1: 344) complements *sai* 際, “at the point/time, when.” Vovin's rendering of the title in English is: “A poem [composed by] Yōsamī-nō wotōmē, the wife of ↗

after the separation, and the poem exemplifies that the advice *na omohi*, “don’t think of [me],” is nothing but useless. In the narrated world, there are two brooding characters, one at the coast and the other one in the mountains.

A few commentaries address the affiliation of 2: 140 and Hitomaro’s poems but leave open the question of who appended the poem (cf. Takeda 3: 423, Omodaka 2: 181, Nakanishi 1995: 442-454). At the end, they imply the addition by the compilation, but the titles before 2: 131 and 2: 140, given the indications, plead for an affiliation that was laid out by the implied author from the beginning, at least in stage III (Itō) or IV (Kōnoshi).

As for 2: 140 being the last poem of the *sōmon* section in Book 2, the first thing to note is that the poem is not held in very high esteem. It does not appear in any canon, is not a subject of Japanese school education, and, of course, does not attract the interest of the research that opposes Itō’s reading.⁴⁵⁾ But why should such a relatively inconsequential and, moreover, stand-alone poem take on the task of closing the *sōmon* section? To be considered here is the *sōmon* poetry itself, whose ideal is not the monologue but the exchange of poetry. Poems 2: 85 to 88 introduce the *sōmon* section, and like the concluding poem 2: 140 testify to a woman whose partner went on a journey and left her behind. As the poem 1: 43 proves, this is not a unique feature of the *sōmon* poetry, but a closeness in content of the poems that open and close the *sōmon* section cannot be denied. A framing would thus be given, but as an isolated poem, 2: 140 would lose the narrative quality that pervades the section-opening poems and seems to be typical of the *sōmon* poems in the second book (cf. Kageyama 2011). The connection of 2: 140 with Hitomaro’s poems, on the other hand, would be an appropriate conclusion to the *sōmon* section in every respect, and, together with the opening poems, would form an appropriate framework.

8 Conclusion

Itō Haku challenged the conventional understanding, which can rely on a long history and is

↘ Kakinōmōtō-nō asōmi Pitōmarō at the parting with Pitōmarō” (2020, 122). He does not add “time” but “at the parting” is wrong, too, and he also does not consider the character 相.

45) Cf. Kōnoshi and Sakamoto 2005 (“Man’yō Seminar,” Vol. 12), a selection of about 400 “Excellent *Man’yōshū* poems”, Tsuneyoshi (internet, without year), an examination of *Man’yōshū* poems in Japanese schoolbooks between 1915 and 2017.

supported by distinguished experts. His model failed to gain acceptance but triggered intriguing revisions that document scientific progress and regression based on insights and mistakes. The aim of the present study was not to impose one model and reject others but to take Itō's position and show how, with the help of narratology and grammar analysis, a thick description emerges from this perspective. On the one hand, some aspects and references could be added to the discussion, and on the other hand, it became apparent that the argumentation directed against Itō's model also provides further insights but sometimes at the price of deliberately taking no account of other explanations. This is best shown by poem 2: 140, which remains unmentioned despite its importance to Itō's model in the catch-up examinations. Another example of invisibilization is poem 2: 136, which introduces the contradictory moment of speed into the narratively generated slowness of 2: 135 with its vivid stallion, which must have brought the narrated self extremely quickly to the mountain of the last sighting. Can it be possible for the narrated self on such a ride to reflect deeply on the coast, looking back at every bend in the path and thinking about this and that the whole time? Japanese research is silent on this contradictory poem that could also bring humor into play. In summary, the following arguments plead for poems 2: 131 to 2: 140 to be seen as a closed work with a coherent narrative structure:

1. the peritextual level: mutual reference via the poem titles.
2. the content and material level of the poem texts: thematic coherence, such as the mutual reference through the reflections on longing and thinking, which is expressed by the mnemo-noetic verbs *omofu*, *shinofu*, *shiru*, and *kofu*, "think of/about, remember, long for." While 君, the advising "you," in 2: 140 becomes 吾, "I," the reflective figure in groups A and B, 吾, the subject in poem 2: 142 changes to *imo*, the object.
3. the context of the *sōmon* section in Book 2 with the ideals of clear communication situations and narrativity, the framing of the section, the meaninglessness of 2: 140 as a poem standing in isolation.

In any case, in this arrangement of group A, group B, and poem 2: 140, a reverse chronology is inscribed. However, it is worth repeating that not the whole poem is the center of the reversed narration but just the first line, the advice of the departing man: *na omohi so*,

“Don’t be longing!”

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