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OF LONG NIGHTS AND PHEASANT TAILS
(“MAN’YŌSHŪ” 2802)*)

1. In the eleventh book of the “Man’yōshū” 萬葉集 (‘Collection of a myriad leaves’, after 771), the oldest extant anthology of Japanese poetry, under number 2802, there is included a poem of no certain authorship. The five verses, forming this tanka, read:

念友	<i>OMOPE₂ do₂ mo</i>
念毛金津	<i>OMOI₁ mo kanetu</i>
足檜之	<i>asipi₁[no₂]ki₂ NO₂</i>
山鳥尾之	<i>YAMADO₂RI NO₂ WO NO₂</i>
永此夜乎	<i>NAGAKI₁ KO₂NO₂ YO₁ wo</i>

The poem does not pose any serious problems in interpretation or translation, and can be rendered into English as follows (for comparison, the Russian translation by A. E. Gluskina, 2001, II, 350, is also given):

Although I think [of you],	Тоскую о тебе,
I cannot think any longer –	Но тосковать не в силах
during this night	Ночь эту долгую
as long as the tail	Средь распростертых гор,
of a copper pheasant. ¹	Что тянется, как длинный хвост фазана...

Immediately after the final verse, the reader is informed, however, that “或本歌曰” *huò běn gē yuē* ‘in a certain book the poem reads’:

*) The present article was first published (alas, with some grave misprints) in *Beyond borders: Japanese studies in the 21st century. In memoriam Wiesław Kotański. Proceedings of International Conference, Warsaw, May 2006*, edited by A. Kozyra and I. Kordzińska-Nawrocka, Warszawa 2007: Nozomi, 212-218. It now appears in the correct form, with a few further additions and amendments.

¹ The conventional epithet (*makurakotoba* 枕詞) of the third verse has been omitted in the English translation because its meaning seems to have sunk into oblivion long before the compilation of this anthology (JKD-J, s.v. *asipi₁ki no₂*).

足日木乃	<i>asi-pi₁-ki₂-no₂</i>
山鳥之尾乃	<i>MOUNTAIN-BIRD-GEN.-TAIL-no₂</i>
四垂尾乃	<i>si-DROOP-TAIL-no₂</i>
長永夜乎	<i>LONG-ETERNAL-NIGHT-wo</i>
一鴨將宿	<i>ONE-kamo-FUT.-STAY OVERNIGHT</i>

Those five short lines constitute a stupefying mishmash of all three notational methods employed in the eighth century by the Japanese to commit to writing words of their own tongue. Thus, they contain:

1. semantograms, i.e. Chinese characters used in their original meanings to represent Japanese words, whose phonetic value can only be surmised but never determined with absolute certainty:

山 ‘mountain’, 鳥 ‘bird’, 之 genitive marker, 尾 ‘tail’, 垂 ‘to hang down, to droop’, 長 ‘long’, 永 ‘eternal’, 夜 ‘night’, 一 ‘one’, 將 future marker, 宿 ‘to stay overnight, to spend the night’

2. phonograms, i.e. Chinese characters used for their phonetic value only, or rather, for their approximate Japanese pronunciation:

乃 *no₂* ← MC **naj* || **nai*² > ModC *nai* ‘1. (copula) to be; 2. then, therefore; 3. your’

四 *si* ← MC **si*^h || **sii*³ > ModC *si* ‘four’

乎 *wo* ← MC **yo* || **ho*¹ > ModC *hū* ‘1. interrogative, intensifying or exclamatory particle; 2. in, on, at; with; from; to; than; by’

3. rebus writings, consisting of Chinese characters to which certain native morphemes were ascribed in Japan (as in point 1), but which were later on used for this Japanese phonetic value only, disregarding the original meaning:

足 *asi* ‘leg, foot’ + 日 *pi₁* ‘sun; day’ + 木 *ki₂* ‘tree’ used for *asipi₁ki₂* ‘?’²

鴨 *kamo* ‘duck’ used for *ka* interrogative particle + *mo* emphatic particle.

It follows that the general sense of this poem, attributed in subsequent anthologies to Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (fl. ca 680-700),³ is quite clear; but not all semantograms and rebuses are unambiguous enough for us to be able to read the whole of it aloud. Nevertheless, the verses are customarily interpreted as shown:

² In the first poem the sequence is spelt with the combination of 足 *asi* ‘leg, foot’ and 檜 *pi₁no₂ki₂* ‘Japanese cypress, *Chamaecyparis obtusa* Endl.’, the latter rendering *pi₁ki₂* (the *-no₂-* of the usual reading of this character must thus be omitted during deciphering, as marked above by the crossing-out).

³ The poem is also found in the “Shūi waka shū” 拾遺和歌集 (‘Collection of gleanings of Japanese poetry’, ca 1006), book XIII, number 778, and the “Ogura hyakunin isshu” 小倉百人一首 (‘Ogura collection of single poems by one hundred poets’, ca 1235-1241?), number 3.

asipi₁ki₂ no₂
YAMADO₂RI NO₂ WO no₂
siDARIWO no₂
NAGANAGASI YO₁ wo // NAGAKI₁ NAGAYO₁ wo
PI₁TO₂RI ka mo NEMU

2. Despite the above-mentioned difficulties, the fourth verse appears to be the only one whose actual shape causes any hesitation among Japanese scholars. The first version, *NAGANAGASI YO₁ wo*, is accepted in *Man'yōshū* (III, 245), *Man'yōshū CD-ROM ban* (2802G), JKD-J (s.v. *naganagasi*), KD (s.v. *naganagasi*), *Nijūichidai shū* (*Shūi waka shū*, 00778) and by Y. Nakamura (1999, s.v. *asifiki no ...*) and T. Komachiya (2003, 11), whereas *NAGAKI₁ NAGAYO₁ wo* is preferred by N. Sasaki (1999-2000, II, 39). It must be noted, however, that the editors of *Man'yōshū*, of JKD-J, as well as N. Sasaki permit of the other version, too. Moreover, in JKD-J, loc. cit., a third possibility is entertained, namely that of **NAGANAGAKI₁ YO₁ wo*, but since the adjective **naganaga-* is missing from all four dictionaries consulted (JKD-J, IKJ, KD, Nakamura 1999), its existence is highly dubious and the whole proposal can be rejected without a qualm. On the other hand, the variant reading offered in *Nijūichidai shū*, **NAGANAGASIKI₁ wo*, distorts the original text by ignoring the character 夜 'night' and therefore must not be treated seriously.

Consequently, one is left with two possibilities: *NAGANAGASI YO₁ wo* and *NAGAKI₁ NAGAYO₁ wo*. The latter can be unhesitatingly accepted, for it consists of an adjective *naga-* 'long' in its attributive form (*naga-ki₁*) qualifying a compound noun *naga-yo₁* 'long/lengthy night' (← *naga-* + *yo₁* 'night'), and in no detail does it violate the rules of Old Japanese grammar. It might, admittedly, be argued that the attribute is superfluous as it duplicates the meaning of the noun, but the redundancy is rather a question of style, not grammatical rules.

Quite a different case is *NAGANAGASI YO₁ wo*. It cannot be agreed to without any explanation or at least a short comment on the problems involved – and this is lacking in most places where the “*Man'yōshū*” poem is quoted. The adjective *naganagasi-* ‘very long, interminable, dragging’ is derived by reduplication and suffixation of the adjective-forming *-si-* from the already adduced *naga-* ‘long’ (cf. Sansom 1928, 101; Syromiatnikov 1981, 59; Martin 1987, 103), and in order to be able to function as an attribute it should receive the ending *-ki₁*, which is here conspicuously absent. The only interpretation offered to date is that “in Old Japanese the finitive form of adjectives [here, *naganagasi*, regularly from **naganagasi-si*] could also be used as an attribute [i.e. instead of *naganagasi-ki₁*]” (Nakamura 1999, s.v. *asifiki no ...*), or that in this poem “the suffix *-ki₁* is omitted for metrical reasons” (Komachiya 2003, 11; *Nijūichidai shū*, *Shūi waka shū*, 00778). The other sources pass over the problem in silence.

Were it really for metrical reasons, then considering the usual techniques employed in classical Japanese poetry, one would rather expect the particle *wo* at the end of the fourth verse to be deleted.⁴ As for the interchangeability of finitive and attributive, it still remains a most difficult conundrum (the issue is discussed at length in Martin 1987, 806-809). Hence, it is tempting to look for another possibility, and one which should undoubtedly be taken into account is that of an adjective-nominal compound (cf. Sansom 1928, 99-103; Syromiatnikov 1981, 52, 73-75; Martin 1987, 102-103; Bentley 2001, 139-140; Ikeda 1980, 54). It would seem quite plausible to treat the *naganagasi-* as an adjectival stem being the first element of a compound noun *naganagasi-yo*₁ (which would thus be parallel in structure to, and synonymous with, *naga-yo*₁ ‘long/lengthy night’ considered above). This solution has so far been proposed at least once, namely by J. Rickmeyer (2004, 52).

Yet there are some other, apparently analogous, instances that do not easily permit of such an explanation – as is the case with the following phrase from the “Kojiki” 古事記 (‘Records of ancient matters’, 712), closely resembling the one under consideration (*Kojiki* ..., 100-101; Philippi 1968, 6-8₄):

[...] 登富登富斯
故志能久邇邇 [...]

[...] *to₂poto₂posi*
ko₁si no₂ kuni ni [...]

[...] In the far-away
Land of Koshi [...]⁵

Here, *to₂poto₂posi kuni* ‘the far-away land’ cannot be interpreted as a compound because of the intervening *ko₁si no₂* ‘of Koshi’, and anything along the lines of **to₂poto₂posi-ko₁si* ‘the far-away Koshi’ is difficult to conceive, to say nothing of the verse boundary. The question must thus stay unresolved.

3. There is, however, one more fragment of the poem which arouses suspicions, but has so far gone unnoticed. It is the second and third verses, *YAMA-DO₂RI NO₂ WO no₂ | siDARIWO no₂*, which taken as they stand, and translated into Modern Japanese as they usually are, make little sense: ‘like the drooping tail of the tail of a copper pheasant’ (*Man’yōshū*, III, 244: “山鳥の尾のしだり尾のよ うに”). Omitting the first 尾 ‘tail’ altogether, the way T. Komachiya does (2003, 11: “山鳥のたれ下がった尾のよ うに” – ‘like the drooping tail of a copper pheasant’), may work in a translation, but it does not explain the strange se-

⁴ The present author owes this remark to the students attending his course in Classical Japanese in 2005.

⁵ The credit for this and other examples goes to Professor Alexander Vovin of University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, who kindly drew the present author’s attention to them.

quence of TAILS in the original. A praiseworthy solution appears fortunately in the Russian translation by A. E. Gluskina (2001, II, 350), where the second and third verses are regarded as two independent qualifiers to the phrase ‘long night’:

Ах, этой ночью, долгой, долгой,
 Что тянется как хвост фазана, длинный хвост,
 Средь распростертых гор,
 Ах, эту ночь, возможно ль
 Без милой одному уснуть?

This is also the interpretation adopted by Y. Nakamura (1999, s.v. *asifiki no ...*), who rendered the fragment into Modern Japanese as “山鳥の尾の、あの垂れ下がった長い尾のように” – ‘like the tail of a copper pheasant, that long drooping tail’ (note the comma and the insertion of *ano* ‘that’).⁶

Nonetheless, a different elucidation is also conceivable. As mentioned earlier, the poem is written in a mixture of semantograms, phonograms and rebuses. Which part is which must be decided by the reader. Accordingly, it is possible that the character 尾 ‘tail’, used twice, is not to be understood semantographically, but stands merely as a rebus for the syllable *wo*, regardless of its meaning. In the third verse it must unquestionably be interpreted as *wo* ‘tail’ (hence, it does not matter whether one writes *siDARIwo no₂* or *siDARIwo no₂*), but not necessarily so in the second verse. There exist a number of Old Japanese morphemes pronounced *wo*, including five or six nouns, and at least one of them, namely ‘male, man, husband’, can be exploited here. The noun is used freely in Old Japanese poetry to specify the sex of animals, although elsewhere, to be sure, it appears in a different syntactic position (but cf. the poem by Fujiwara no Sadaie quoted below). The usage can be illustrated with the following poem by

⁶ It seems the only possible explanation for the following poem as well (“Man’yōshū”, VII, 1413):

庭津鳥	<i>NIPA tu TO₂RI</i>
可鷄乃垂尾乃	<i>take₁ no₂ TARIWO no₂</i>
乱尾乃	<i>MI₁DAREWO no₂</i>
長心毛	<i>NAGAKI₁ KO₂KO₂RO₂ mo</i>
不所念鴨	<i>OMOPOYENU ka mo</i>

However comprehensible the initial three verses may be, the final two remain quite obscure, therefore no English rendering will be attempted here. The Russian translation by A. E. Gluskina (2001, I, 466) is also a mere conjecture, although probably not far from the truth:

У домашних птиц – у петухов,
 И растрепанным бывает хвост
 И опущен книзу иногда.
 Как и у меня, у них спокойным сердце
 Не бывает, верно, никогда!

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718?-785) found in the “Man’yōshū”, XX, 4319 (the Russian translation is by A. E. Gluskina, 2001, III, 272):

多可麻刀能	<i>takamato₁ no₂</i>
秋野乃宇倍能	<i>AKI₁NO₁ no₂ upe₂ no₂</i>
安佐疑里尔	<i>asagi₂ri ni</i>
都麻欲夫乎之可	<i>tuma yo₁bu wo-sika</i>
伊泥多都良武可	<i>idetaturamu ka</i>

Is it perhaps that a stag,
calling his mate, has gone out
into the morning mist
[hanging] over the autumn fields
of Takamato?

Верно, вышел олень на поля
И жену призывает с тоской, –
Слышен голос его из густого тумана,
Что завесою плотною встал поутру
Над полями осенними там, в Такамато.
(emphasis added)

Given this, *YAMADO₂RI NO₂ wo no₂* can be translated as ‘of a cock copper pheasant’. The new solution just proposed is further corroborated by the fact that regarding the species in question, i.e. Japanese copper pheasant, *Syrmaticus* (or, *Phasianus*) *soemmerringii*, it is only the male that has a long tail worthy of mention (ranging from 42 to 98 cm), whereas the female’s tail is considerably shorter (16-21 cm), and can by no manner of means be described as “drooping” (Imaizumi 1977).

Finally, it must be noted that the compound *sidariwo* (← *sidar-* ‘to hang down, to droop’ + *wo* ‘tail’) appears four times in the collection of twenty-one imperial anthologies (the “Nijūichidai shū” 二十一代集), and one of them bears striking resemblance to the verses under consideration.⁷ The poem, found in the “Shin kokin waka shū” 新古今和歌集 (‘New collection of Japanese poetry of ancient and modern times’, 1205), V, 487, was composed by Fujiwara no Sadaie /Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), “百首歌たてまつりし時” *FYAK^USYU NO UTA ta-tematurisi TOKI* – ‘while presenting the hundred songs’⁸:

⁷ The other three occurrences are:

- “Shin kokin waka shū” 新古今和歌集 (‘New collection of Japanese poetry of ancient and modern times’, 1205), book II, number 99,
- “Shoku gosen waka shū” 續後撰和歌集 (‘Later collection of Japanese poetry continued’, 1251), book IV, number 221,
- “Shin shoku kokin waka shū” 新續古今和歌集 (‘New collection of Japanese poetry of ancient and modern times continued’, 1439), book XIV, number 1417.

⁸ The question of whether those ‘hundred songs’ are the anthology “Ogura hyakunin issu”, whose compilation is ascribed to Fujiwara no Sadaie and in which the examined “Man’yōshū” poem is also to be found (see footnote 3), goes beyond the scope of the present article.

独ぬる	<i>FITORI nuru</i>
山鳥のおの	<i>YAMADORI no o [pro: wo] no</i>
したりおに	<i>sidario [pro: -wo] ni</i>
霜をきまよふ	<i>SIMO wokimayofu [pro: o-]</i>
床の月かけ	<i>TOKO no TUKIkage</i>

A beam of moonlight on the bed
mistaken for hoar frost that covered
the drooping tail
of a cock copper pheasant
which sleeps alone.

It provides the final proof that not two tails are at issue, but a cock's tail. The second and third verses cannot be understood here as two independent qualifiers, the way it was done by A. E. Gluskina and Y. Nakamura with the other poem, for they differ in both form and syntactical characteristics (*no* versus *ni*).⁹ If one does not want to return to the traditional 'drooping tail of the tail of a pheasant', which is hardly satisfying, then the first 尾 of the discussed phrase is better treated as a phonogram for *wo*, meaning 'male, cock'.

4. Taking all the above into account, the poem from "a certain book" can be restored to its original sense as follows:

<i>asipi₁ki₂ no₂</i>	_____
<i>YAMADO₂RI NO₂ wo no₂</i>	During the interminable night
<i>siDARIWO no₂</i>	resembling the drooping tail
<i>NAGANAGASI-YO₁ wo¹⁰</i>	of a cock copper pheasant
<i>PI₁TO₂RI ka mo NEMU</i>	shall I really sleep alone?

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⁹ That is probably what led Y. Nakamura (1999, s.v. *okimayofu*) to the mistranslation "ヤマドリの尾の長く垂れている尾の上に" – 'onto the long drooping tail of the tail of a copper pheasant'. The present interpretation of the whole poem diverges from his as well.

¹⁰ Or, *NAGAKI₁ NAGAYO₁ wo* 'during the long, long night'.

Abbreviations, symbols & c.

- SMALL CAPITALS parts of a Japanese text written in Chinese characters used as semantograms, i.e. because of their meaning and not sound value
- MC Middle Chinese (sixth-tenth century AD, centring around AD 600; reconstructions according to Pulleyblank 1991 || Tōdō 2001)
- ModC Modern Standard Chinese (*pǔtōnghuà* 普通話; after BKRS)
- * reconstructed, either comparatively or internally, or by both methods
- + constructed for the sake of argument (expected, postulated, searched for); hence, non-existent
- > < historical development
- ← borrowing
- ← derivation

“Man’yōshū” poems are quoted after *Man’yōshū* and *Man’yōshū CD-ROM ban*, other poems come from *Nijūichidai shū*.

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